

ARS ORIENTALIS

XXV

ARS ORIENTALIS



RICHARD EDWARDS

ARS ORIENTALIS

A SPECIAL ISSUE ON

CHINESE PAINTING

guest edited by Louise Yuhas

IN HONOR OF

RICHARD EDWARDS

sponsored by

FREER GALLERY OF ART
SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

THE DEPARTMENT OF THE HISTORY OF ART
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

published by

THE DEPARTMENT OF THE HISTORY OF ART
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Volume 25 1995

Freer Gallery of Art

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EDITORIAL OFFICES: The Department of the History of Art, Tappan Hall, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48109-1357.

The full text of *Ars Orientalis* is also available in the electronic versions of the *Art Index*.

ISSN 0571-1371
Printed in the United States of America
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University of Michigan

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RICHARD EDWARDS

When the rock embeds jade, the mountain glows. (Lu Ji)

THIS VOLUME OF *ARS ORIENTALIS* IS COMPOSED OF articles by the students, colleagues, and friends of Richard Edwards, as a tribute to his generosity of mind and spirit and to his long service in the worlds of scholarship and teaching. In what used to be the still small domain of Chinese painting studies, he has long been one of the most amiable despots, forcing his students and his peers to recognize those particular virtues of hand, eye, and mind which make that other world, just around the bend in the river, so full of substance and of song.

"Have you been to Cold Mountain?" Then you must be numbered among the elite, and you see *The World around the Chinese Artist* (as one of his most meditative books is called) with an intensity and an understanding that would otherwise have passed you by.

As a preface to our volume in Dick's honor, it is appropriate to review the sources of his particular style. He passed through, without apparent harm, other than a slightly rumpled appearance and an ever-forward scholar's slouch, the privileged worlds of Deerfield Academy, Princeton (B.A. 1939), and Harvard (M.A. 1942 and Ph.D. 1953), with corrective service during World War II with the American Field Service in North Africa and Italy, followed by further duty in the China Friends' Ambulance Unit. The high and austere integrity that his friends have always felt in Dick may have found its best possible wartime residence in the ambulance-driver's seat, where the necessities of duty and one's pain and fury at human foibles could come into some conjunction as one sought out the dead and dying on the desert sands.

An interlude for Chinese language study at Yale University (1946–48) was obviously a welcome change. Not only did he have time for work, becoming a master of the idiom, but he had time for play as well. Soon recognized as the "teacher's pet," he proposed (with a characteristic stubborn insistence) to his instructor and then married her. Though with his discriminating eye he acquired many Chinese treasures—some humble, some of high sophistication—Vee Ling was surely the most beautiful of all. Dick's emotions,

at least in my experience, have never been for public sale, but it is evident to all that Vee was one of the joys of his life. Having an authentic Chinese word processor in the house may account for a small sliver of the nourishing whole, but the vast portion was compounded of her humanity, her sensitivity, and (it is only fair to say) her cooking. Many of us count as among our most unforgettable evenings the absurd abundance, the camaraderie, the wine so improved by the conversation, and the ecstatic deliciousness of the offerings placed, over and over again, upon the famous round table on Brooklyn Avenue. Many of us still treasure Vee's beautiful ceramic cups, which cannot be touched without a fond remembrance.

Dick's career as an eminent and unforgettable teacher, fortunately for us in Ann Arbor, was early stabilized. Starting as an instructor in Oriental Art at Boston University (1953–54), Assistant Professor at Brandeis University (1954–56), and Associate Professor at Washington University (1956–59), he was appointed, in 1960, Professor of Far Eastern Art at the University of Michigan. Here he remained, both as teacher and chair (1969–73), until his still-active retirement and appointment as Professor Emeritus in 1987.

His students continue to speak of the revelation that so often occurred when Dick communicated to them his deep spiritual (sometimes mystical) but also incisive "stylistic" understanding of the brush as it is led by the mind—as the hand fuses the personality of the artist with that of a particular world. No one else can look with such a frustrating perceptiveness at what the artist was trying to do and how he did it. To "develop an infallible technique and then place yourself at the mercy of inspiration" is an adage applicable to the one who *studies* the painter as much as to the painter. There are few who have not been awed by the process of Dick's "looking" and by the bold intimacy with which he becomes a guest, obviously honored, within the enduring world of the mountains and the waters.

Over his long career as a teacher, Dick has not merely talked about these works. In what other university have students had the opportunity to

see exhibitions of the stature of those that he so early brought to Ann Arbor, and thus to scholars throughout the world? It is fair to say that his exhibitions on Shen Zhou, Wen Zhengming, and Shitao told us what we should be doing, as well as how to look; and each produced a splendid catalogue filled with a fusion of useful information and trenchant, often poetic, perceptions. Obviously, such exhibitions are not prepared without pain as well as pleasure, and the pain, even if therapeutic (as well as the ultimate satisfaction) could be felt by the museum staff as well, as they confronted the unstoppable determination of someone who knew exactly what he wanted to do.

Dick built the Chinese painting collection in our museum in the same way, using discrimination and daring in lieu of really sufficient funds; and his very personal connection with the museum's growth is reflected in his many gifts, perhaps the most beautiful of all the *Red Cliffs* by the seventeenth-century Sun Yi. Consistent with this interest in showing his students the actual object, Dick was long the chief force behind the annual Freer trips, which enrich the experience—both aesthetic and social—of students here so much. Although graduate students have always been a bit awed by his presence, Dick's warmth and his sense of fun always come through. Eleanor Mannikka, a former student now a colleague (like so many others), gives a delightful example:

Professor Edwards was trying to convey the differences in the use of the brush. In a particular figure painting a servant had been cleaning some brushes at the side. Summarizing the irony so quickly perceived, Professor Edwards wryly commented, "that's yet a different kind

of brushwork." This lightened our intensity and helped place everything in a proper perspective.

It was humor of course, but it also sprang out of deeply subtle humanity. And it pleases me to have so often heard and seen in such wryly tossed-off fragments of experience something of the slightly growling-drawling voice and the lowered-eyes-slightly-peeking-upward chuckle of his early mentor, Professor Benjamin Rowland, whom he loved.

Seasonally, Dick mysteriously disappears, but it is no mystery where he has gone. He has gone back to the huge and tiny world of nature. Although we have floated down many rivers together, me with beer, he with coke (the Johnny Walker would lighten the campfire later) and though he never really learned how to roast potatoes and whole onions (all enclosed in a triple enfoldment of Reynolds Wrap and put in the hot coals to be judged when done by me, while at the right moment Dick—always the patriarch—applied the steak to the pan), this is not, finally, where he goes. His true solitude is found on Edwards Island, on the edge of Isle Royale. There, nourishing his soul, he can freshly see again, like the poet Rumi, "the gorgeous dirt road down to the river . . . the gold around the frog's eye. . . . The intimacy of the present moment, all the wealth we need."

I feel that he has always been rich, with a wealth increased by his sharing; and although he wouldn't want me to say it, I will say (and I speak for so many) that I love him very much.

Walter M. Spink
Fardapur, India
September 14, 1995

INTRODUCTION

By LOUISE YUHAS

RICHARD EDWARDS'S FIRST ENCOUNTER WITH CHINA came, not unusually for men of his generation, in wartime. His was not the usual experience, however: a conscientious objector in World War II who drove Red Cross ambulances as alternative service, the young scholar—who had received his M.A. degree in (European) art history from Harvard in 1942 and served with the American Field Service in North Africa and Italy—found himself with the Friends Ambulance Unit, transporting medical supplies over the Burma Road into Yunnan, Sichuan, Guizhou, and Xikang. When pressed by his students over twenty years later, Dick would tell stories of converting the gasoline engines of the ambulances into wood-burning motors when no gas was available.

Profoundly moved by his experiences in China and intrigued with the richness of Chinese culture, Edwards began to study the Chinese language at Yale in 1946, where his first teacher was a remarkable young woman named Vee Ling who had persuaded her parents that she, like her older brother who had enrolled the previous year at Duke University, should have the opportunity to study in the United States. As Vee herself might say, theirs was a match “made in heaven,” and Dick and Vee were married soon after. Returning to China on a Fulbright Fellowship in 1948, the Edwards were overtaken by the Chinese Revolution in Sichuan Province and were forced to leave in 1950. Among the stories told around the big round table at 1327 Brooklyn were Vee’s tales of their flight—with two small children—down the Yangzi from Sichuan to Shanghai, where they boarded one of the last ships to leave the harbor before the new Chinese government closed the port.

Upon his return to the United States Edwards joined the graduate program in art history at Harvard and received his Ph.D. in 1953. Like most institutions in this embryonic stage of Chinese painting studies in America, Harvard was without a specialist in the field, and Edwards completed his dissertation on the art of Shen Zhou under the guidance of Benjamin Rowland, who, although the author of several articles on Chinese painting, is chiefly remembered as a great scholar of Indian art. After holding teaching positions at Boston University, Brandeis, and Washington University in St. Louis, Edwards joined the Department of the History of Art at the University of Michigan in 1960.

Richard Edwards received another Fulbright Fellowship for the 1963–64 academic year (this was his third; a fourth would follow when he was appointed Fulbright Distinguished Research Scholar in 1977). The family moved to Taichung, Taiwan, where Dick assisted in the inventory and photographing of the paintings from the Imperial Palace collection that had been stored in caves since their transportation from the mainland in 1949. The negatives were transported to Ann Arbor, where the newly created Palace Museum photographic archive was set up in the basement of Tappan Hall to duplicate and disseminate the archive to academic institutions. (Shen Fu studied the archive in Ann Arbor in 1969, as he recounts in his contribution to this volume.)

This incomparable visual resource was complemented by the research collection of the Asia Library, which Edwards helped build into one of the finest libraries for the study of Chinese art history in the nation. Many of its volumes were housed in the “Oriental Seminar Room” in Tappan Hall, to which graduate students in my day were issued keys (in more recent years the seminar room has fallen under the domain of the departmental library, and access is more strictly controlled). Those years of the late 1960s and early 1970s seem in retrospect really to have been the “good old days”: financial support for graduate study abounded (even the Department of Defense supported those of us who were studying Chinese), and we enjoyed a luxury of time unknown to more recent generations of scholars. Classes were small, seminars intense, and we at least approximated a “community of scholars.”

Frequent excursions to Midwestern museums and, above all, the annual weeklong “Freer Trip” to the east coast enriched our experiences with original works of art (the Freer Foundation provided travel and housing to Michigan graduate students in Asian art history, and a motley crew of students and faculty in Indian, Chinese, Japanese, and Islamic art participated each year). As ever, Dick was unwilling to waste a minute of these precious days, scheduling viewings from dawn till dusk (and into the night) in museums and private collections from Philadelphia and Washington to New York and Boston. And of course we walked... and walked... and walked. Despite our ostensible youth and vigor, Dick outlasted us all with his inexhaustible energy and tireless eyes.

From these firsthand encounters we began to develop our critical and analytical faculties. Discussions of the artistic qualities of the paintings were supplemented by informal photographic workshops, as Dick shared with us the techniques he had accumulated over many years of experience.

Scholarly symposia and exhibition openings, on the other hand, were for Edwards a necessary (?) evil. He preferred being alone in the gallery with the objects to listening to papers or academic discussions because, for him, the paintings themselves were the primary documents; he would rather convene a colloquium at the end of an exhibition to discuss what we had learned from the paintings. His article "The Painting of Tao-chi: Postscript to an Exhibition" (1968), which followed his landmark exhibition of Shitao's art—the first "one-man show" of an early Chinese painter in the West—exemplifies this aspect of his scholarship.

In fact, this is one of the hallmarks of the "Edwards approach" to both teaching and learning: assemble a group of objects and look at them until they eventually begin to make visual sense. "Paintings First" is the cornerstone of his method. Research in documentary sources is secondary to the encounter with the works themselves, and the learning process is one of refinement of vision and discrimination rather than accumulation of factual information. Seals and inscriptions are supplementary but not decisive in determining authenticity, a process that depends on the viewer's encounter with the work itself. He avoided advocating any comprehensive theoretical model, a trait that sometimes frustrated his students and made us feel that he was perhaps too much like Shitao, whose "method" was "no method." His only recurring admonition was to "look at the paintings."

I remember my first seminar in 1966—on Southern Song painting, to which Edwards has returned in recent years and which I suspect is his secret passion—the huge table in the seminar room a sea of photographs from the Palace Museum archives, the small group of graduate students (five in number, I think, and all painfully ignorant and inexperienced in various ways) struggling to discover some underlying order. Perhaps the most important thing we learned is that any perceived order is provisional, subject to continuous revision as one's frame of reference and experience broaden and as more paintings come to light.

Always central to Richard Edwards's studies of

Chinese landscape painting—regardless of period or tradition—is the person of the artist and his relation to the natural world. It is not surprising, then, that his monographs and exhibition catalogues focus our attention on single artists. The nature of that attention is aesthetic rather than sociological or psychological, as Edwards leads his readers toward a deeper understanding of the artist's relationships to nature and to his own literary and artistic traditions. His first book, *The Field of Stones: A Study of the Art of Shen Chou* (1960), was the first monograph on a single Chinese painter published in this country. It opens with these words: "It is well to begin by stating the implicit conclusion of every scroll that Shen Chou painted: that the end of man is to be found in the world of nature." More than twenty-five years later this theme was still strong in Edwards's writing: in the Rackham lectures celebrating his retirement and published as *The World around the Chinese Artist* (1989), Edwards explored the relationships among art, nature, and poetry in the paintings of Xia Gui, Shen Zhou, and Shitao. Even when dealing with Wen Zhengming, a painter known more for his manipulations of past traditions than for a direct relationship with the natural world, Edwards cautions (in *The Art of Wen Cheng-ming* of 1976) that in considering the multiplicity of styles and genres practiced by this versatile painter, the art "is always closely allied to the *person* of the artist, and the very fact of its variety reflects not only wide-ranging interests but his mood and personal feelings at a given time." And his hope was that "the viewer will be led to sense the nature of the artist himself."

Throughout his career Edwards has been a quiet but steady presence in the field of Chinese painting studies. Impatient with purely theoretical discourse and perhaps emulating the literati ideal of awkwardness rather than adroitness in public affairs, he has avoided direct engagement in the debates over methodology that have periodically shaken the foundations of the discipline and has pursued his goals with typical self-effacement. His first trip to the People's Republic of China as it began to open to American visitors was not as a member of the official "Chinese Painting Delegation" of 1977 (which included others of the first rank of American historians of Chinese art) but as an indirect beneficiary of "ping-pong diplomacy": Vee, because of her fluency in so many dialects of Chinese, had served as an interpreter for the visiting Chinese ping-pong team and was among those invited for a

reciprocal visit in the spring of 1974; Dick went along as her spouse.

Six years later, in 1980–81, the Edwards returned to China on a fellowship administered by the Committee of Scholarly Communication with the People's Republic of China. Lacking an official sponsoring agency in China, they traveled the length and breadth of the country without official escorts and often on the local economy. Imagine my surprise upon coming down to breakfast one chilly October morning in the Datong Guesthouse (I was a member of the Art Study Delegation organized by Jeannette Elliott in 1980), to see two familiar figures seated alone at a huge round table sipping xifan! They had been traveling out to the Yungang caves each day by public bus; after some negotiation with our Chinese escorts we were able to offer Dick and Vee the hospitality of our relatively luxurious minibus. They returned to Ann Arbor the following summer with pictures of the Qiao and Hua mountains in Shandong, the waterfall at Mt. Lu, and Zhanggong's Stalactite Grotto in Yixing, as well as many of the scenic spots around Suzhou that had inspired paintings by Ming and Qing artists. While staying in Suzhou the Edwards managed a day trip to Shen Zhou's hometown of Xiangcheng, where Dick assisted in the recovery of Shen's family stele, which had been cast into a muddy canal during the Cultural Revolution.

This was Dick and Vee's last trip to China together. They had dreams of returning after Dick's retirement from teaching, but Vee passed away before this dream was realized. Dick himself, true to his Confucian persona, continues to teach occasionally at Michigan and elsewhere (including Williams College and New York University), and to read and write about Chinese painting.

The papers assembled in this special issue of *Ars Orientalis* in honor of Richard Edwards testify to the high regard of his colleagues and to the fond relationships forged over a lifetime of scholarship and teaching. In selecting works for inclusion, many authors chose papers dealing with individual or small numbers of works, but the variety of approaches taken reveals no single prevalent methodology—a fact that Edwards himself will, I hope, applaud. Two of his students, Alice (Tita) Hyland and Eun-wha Park (the former is Visiting Assistant Professor at Trinity University, the latter an independent scholar in Seoul, Korea), bring forward previously unpublished paintings from private collections, adding to the corpus of known

works of the Ming and Qing dynasties. Park also identifies the subject of Zhu Duan's winter landscape as *Searching for Plum Blossoms after Snow*. James Caswell (Professor in the Department of Fine Arts at the University of British Columbia), Edwards's most senior student and an authority on Chinese Buddhist art, here turns his attention to a single collaborative painting of the Yuan Dynasty, seeking to reconstruct the context in which it was created as well as the motivation of its creators.

Several of the papers in this volume take up issues of attribution. Although the field of Chinese painting history has turned away from a dominant interest in questions of connoisseurship and authenticity, in the end our understanding of Chinese painting depends upon how we define the body of work under study. Richard Edwards cautioned us, however, never to believe that we had "figured it out" but always to allow new discoveries and reconsiderations of known works to broaden our conceptions of the limits of an artist's or a period style. James Robinson (Curator of Asian Art at the Indianapolis Museum of Art) had participated in the seminars leading up to the Wen Zhengming exhibition of 1976 and contributes a paper which grew out of that exhibition: the reattribution of a fan painting from Wen Zhengming to a collaborative work by Wen and his contemporary Qiu Ying.

Richard Barnhart, Professor of Chinese Art History at Yale University, uses the reattribution of a painting from the Ming to the Southern Song on stylistic grounds as a springboard for reconsidering the larger issue of the style of Li Tang and his immediate followers and then the identification of a key group of Song and pre-Song paintings sharing a common registry system. Shen Fu, Professor in the Graduate Institute of Art History at Taiwan University, considers a reattribution in the opposite direction, moving a painting from the oeuvre of the Yuan artist Tao Fuchu to that of Xiang Dexin of the late Ming. Like Barnhart, Fu's initial argument is stylistic; he goes on to explain how the misattribution occurred—the misidentification of the artist's seal by the cataloguers at Qianlong's court—and then to place the painting within the little-known oeuvre of Xiang Dexin. The importance of seals in the documentation and authentication of works of art also concerns Sasaki Kozo, recently retired from his professorship at Waseda University and now living in Kyoto, who attempts to identify Chinese paintings in Muromachi collections and

in particular to identify the owner of the *Zen'a* seal, which appears on many of them.

James Cahill, Professor Emeritus at the University of California at Berkeley, and his former student Richard Vinograd, Professor in the Department of Art at Stanford University, are more concerned with the ways in which individual paintings, through both text and image, express the psyches of their makers. Cahill explores the enigmatic self-portrait of Ren Xiong, illuminating the ways in which the artist embodies his self-image in references—stylistic, iconographic, and literary—to a wide variety of sources. Starting from the text “Record of a Dream Journey of the Great Purified One [Shitao]” by Shitao’s contemporary Li Lin, Vinograd ventures to untangle the multifarious strands connecting Shitao’s work of the opening years of the eighteenth century, around the time of his sixtieth birthday. Like Cahill, Vinograd weaves a complex tapestry of allusions to historical themes and styles and the manipulation of these allusions into thoroughly innovative expressions of the self.

Another kind of self-representation is explored by Wen Fong, Professor Emeritus at Princeton University and Consultative Chairman of the Department of Asian Art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. His study of imperial portraiture in the Song, Yuan, and Ming dynasties examines the relationships between imperial portraits and the prevailing religious and political ideologies of the time. The dual impact of Tibetan influence (which began in the Yuan) and the growing absolutism of the Ming emperors shaped the transformation from the naturalistic style of Song portraits to the flat formality of the Ming images of around 1500 and after.

The chronological span of the articles in this volume is as broad as their content and approaches. We have already mentioned Richard Barnhart’s study of the Song academic tradition of Li Tang; two others take up aspects of the Song literati tradition. Hironobu Kohara addresses several puzzling features of Mi Fu’s *Huashi*, a collection of observations on paintings by this paragon of Song literati. Kohara links several key passages with the rise and fall of Mi’s political fortunes and proposes that the rather loose organization and content of the text results in part from the fact that treatises on painting were not taken as seriously as writings about calligraphy and followed different standards of composition and diction. This, according to Kohara, helps explain differences between the *Huashi* and Mi’s *Shushi*, which deals with the history of calligraphy.

The poetic legacy of Mi Fu’s older contemporary Su Shi provides the focus for Jerome Silbergeld’s essay on Song illustrations of the “Red Cliff” poems. The only paper in this collection dealing with a specific literary/artistic tradition, it explores the relation between poetry and painting and the nature of narrative in the formative phase of the literati tradition. Silbergeld, Professor in the School of Art at the University of Washington, challenges our usual understanding of the meaning of “poetic” as applied by Su Shi and his circle to visual art, demonstrating through his analysis that “fidelity to nature” was a quality prized in poetry itself and therefore also in painting and that a strong interest in subject matter is evident in “their careful, thoughtful, and creative rendering of text.”

Jason C. Kuo, Associate Professor in the Department of Art History and Archaeology at the University of Maryland in College Park, brings us close to the present with his analysis of “cultural politics” in postwar Taiwan. He focuses particular attention on the tensions—embodied in the controversy over what constituted “orthodox Chinese painting” for the purposes of selecting works for government-sponsored provincial exhibitions that began in 1946—between Taiwan-born brush painters influenced by Japanese *Tōyōga* and mainland-born practitioners of traditional Chinese painting (*Guohua*) who came to Taiwan in the 1940s.

The contributors to this volume come from four “schools,” both literally and figuratively. The “Michigan school” of Edwards’s students is represented by James Caswell, Jason Kuo, Alice Hyland, James Robinson, and Eun-wha Park. Wen Fong, and two of his protégés—Shen Fu and Richard Barnhart—can be said to represent the “Princeton school”; and the “Berkeley school” appears in the articles by its founder, James Cahill, and his student Richard Vinograd. Sasaki Kozo, who spent a year in Ann Arbor in the late 1960s, claims Edwards as his teacher, and Hironobu Kohara has been a friend for many years. Although from varied backgrounds and following varied lines of inquiry into the history of Chinese painting, all share a deep affection and respect for Dick.

It is as an expression of that affection and respect that we present this volume of essays in honor of the distinguished scholarship and teaching of Richard Edwards, and in memory of his beloved Vee.

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PART 1

TOPICAL STUDIES

NOTES ON READING MI FU'S *HUASHI*

By HIRONOBU KOHARA

IT IS WIDELY ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE *HUASHI* 畫史 written by Mi Fu 米芾 (1051–1107) is an indispensable document for scholars of the history of Chinese painting. Yet the text has not been exhaustively studied by non-Chinese scholars because of the paucity of reliable translations and annotations. I am now attempting such a translation (into Japanese), for which this article forms a portion of the introduction. In it, I examine each of the critiques of the *Huashi* mentioned in *Siku quanshu zhongmu tiyao* 四庫全書總目提要 and take up the following new points: the date of composition of the text; its organization; the anomalous inclusion of passages on astronomy and music; and the genre of writing to which the *Huashi* belongs. Properly understood, the *Huashi* provides unique insights into Mi Fu's political ambitions as well as his views on the history of painting. His machinations on behalf of his own political advancement in fact underlie several of the most puzzling aspects of the text.

Mi Fu at Court

Cai Zhao 蔡肇, in his epitaph for Mi Fu, states that in June of 1104,

一旦奉詔以黃庭小楷作千文以獻，繼進所藏法書名畫賜白金緡錢甚腆，方民間競以前代筆跡來上，萃于秘府，號宣和御覽，幾百帙特詔丞相太師楚國公跋尾，公亦被旨預觀，縉紳以為榮遇。

Mi Fu received an imperial commission to write out the *Qianzi wen* 千字文 in the small standard style of calligraphy from the *Huangting jing* 黃庭經 for presentation to the throne. Mi subsequently submitted several famous works of painting and calligraphy from his collection to the throne and was granted large sums in return. When others heard about it, they hastened to bring more examples of famous brushes from earlier dynasties to offer up. These were gathered in the inner palace and became known as the Xuanhe imperial collection (Xuanhe yulan 宣和御覽). . . . Mi Fu was invited to preview the collection, which was seen by other officials as a mark of great favor.¹

At this time Mi was fifty-four and held the office of Erudite of the Court of Imperial Sacrifice

(*Taichang boshi* 太常博士). When he presented himself at court for the special viewing, however, the threadbare condition of his court costume (which the excessively fastidious Mi Fu had worn through repeated washings) caused offense, and Mi was demoted to the post of governor of Wuwei 無為 in Anhui 安徽 Province. While there he had carved into stone replicas of the calligraphic treasures of the Jin dynasty in his possession, as well as his own copies of other works. These are collectively known as *Bao Jin sanfatie* 寶晉三法帖.²

Again according to Cai Zhao,

踰年復召為書畫學博士…擢為禮部員外郎復以言者罷知淮揚軍…以某年月日卒于郡廨享年五十有七。

In the following year [1105] [Mi] was recalled to court and appointed Erudite of the School of Calligraphy and Painting (*Shuhua xue boshi* 書畫學博士) . . . and then given special promotion to Vice Minister of the Ministry of Rites (*Libu yuanwailang* 禮部員外郎). But he was censured and relieved of his post and was sent to Huaiyang 淮陽 as governor, where he died in office at the age of fifty-seven.³

It is not clear how many or which specific works Mi Fu submitted to the throne in 1104, but given Mi's desire for promotion and the fact that he received "large sums" in return, there can be little doubt that he parted with the best in his collection. The three Jin works making up the *Bao Jin sanfatie* mentioned above were particularly treasured: Mi had begun to use the sobriquet Bao Jin zhai 寶晉齋 (Studio for Treasuring the Jin) in May of 1102,⁴ in honor of his acquisition of (1) Wang Xianzhi's 王獻之 *Shieryue tie* 十二月帖, (2) Xie An's 謝安 *Ba Bayue wuri tie* 跋八月五日帖, and (3) Gu Kaizhi's 顧愷之 *Vimalakirti and Celestial Maiden* (*Weimo tiannü tu* 維摩天女圖), and a *Guanyin* 觀音 by Dai Kui 戴逵. The following year (1103) he added (4) the *Wanglüe tie* 王略帖 by Wang Xizhi 王羲之 (fig. 1), further enhancing his collection of Jin treasures.

Of these four works, only the first and the last are recorded in the catalogue of Huizong's 徽宗 collection of calligraphy, the *Xuanhe shupu* 宣和書譜; the others appear in neither *Xuanhe shupu* nor *Xuanhe huapu* 宣和畫譜 (The catalogue of

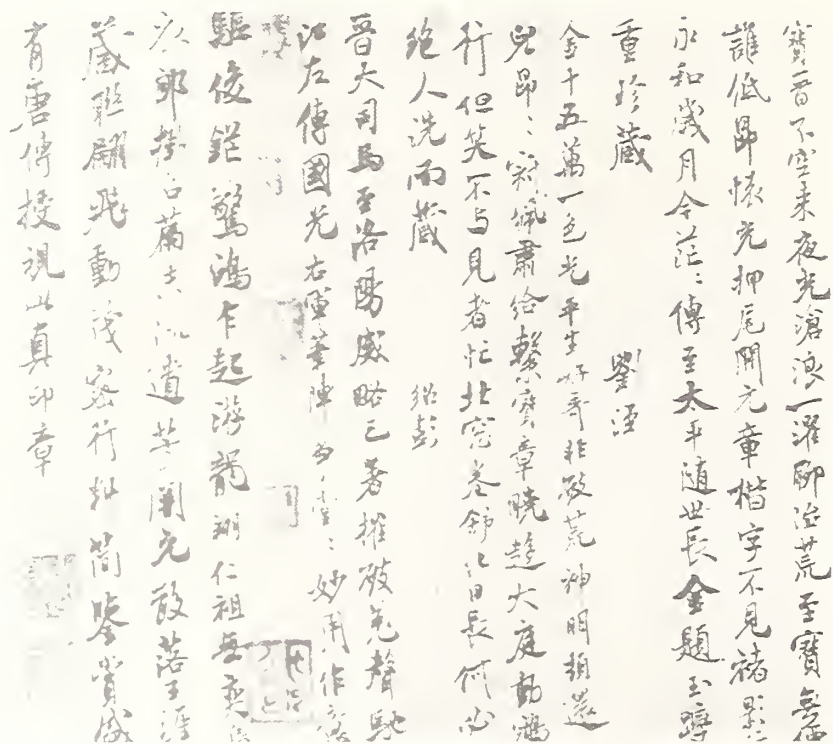


FIG. 1. Mi Fu, colophon of *Wanglüe tie*, dated 1103.
From the *Shodo zenshu*
書道全集, vol. 25.
Location unknown.

paintings), indicating that Mi Fu did not include them in his submissions to the imperial court. In fact, Mi might not have included any of the original works in his donations. While his admiration for Wang Xianzhi declined in his later years, he said of the *Wanglüe tie*: "Its brushwork enters the divine; it is absolutely extraordinary."⁵ In his colophon for the calligraphy he wrote, "I have been scrutinizing calligraphy all my life. Now I am old, but I still believe this to be the foremost [writing] in existence." In the same inscription he admitted to having paid one hundred fifty thousand *qian* 錢 for the work, a fact that was widely known.⁶

Mi Fu had owned the *Wanglüe tie* for only a year when he made his presentations to Huizong. He could not have refused to submit it, but he would have been very reluctant to do so. I suggest that in fact he chose to keep the work, submitting a copy in its place. This hypothesis is supported by the colophon that Huang Bosi 黃伯思 wrote for this calligraphy in 1107, three years after Mi Fu's donations to the imperial collection and the year of Mi's death:⁷

破羌帖今在米淮陽家崇寧癸未春米在都下以泉十五萬得之。

The *Boqiang tie* 破羌帖 [another name for the *Wanglüe tie*] is now in the possession of Mi, the governor of Huai-

yang. He bought it in the capital for 150,000 *qian* in the spring of 1103.

One does not ordinarily request a colophon for a copy one has made, and Mi Fu obviously showed Huang the work as the original. In other words, Mi kept the *Wanglüe tie* (and probably the *Ba Bayue wuri tie*) in his own possession until his death.

Mi Fu himself wrote often about substituting copies for original works with absolute confidence that they would not be discovered. He often boasted of his mastery of the styles of painters and calligraphers of the past, and we may judge his prowess by comparing his copy of the *Wanglüe tie* with the original, as preserved in the *Bao Jin sanfatie* (figs. 2, 3). Mi's copy is, probably deliberately, written in a slightly thicker line than the original, but it is indeed extremely similar, down to the finest details.

Mi Fu hinted at the problematic fates of the *Wanglüe tie* and *Ba Bayue wuri tie* in article 115 of the *Huashi*, probably written shortly before his death:

余家晉唐古帖千軸蓋散一百軸矣。今惟絕精只有十軸在。有奇書亦繼續去矣。晉畫必可保。蓋緣數晉物命所居為寶晉齋。身到則挂之。當世不復有矣。

I had a thousand [examples of] Jin and Tang calligraphy, of which a hundred are now scattered and lost,

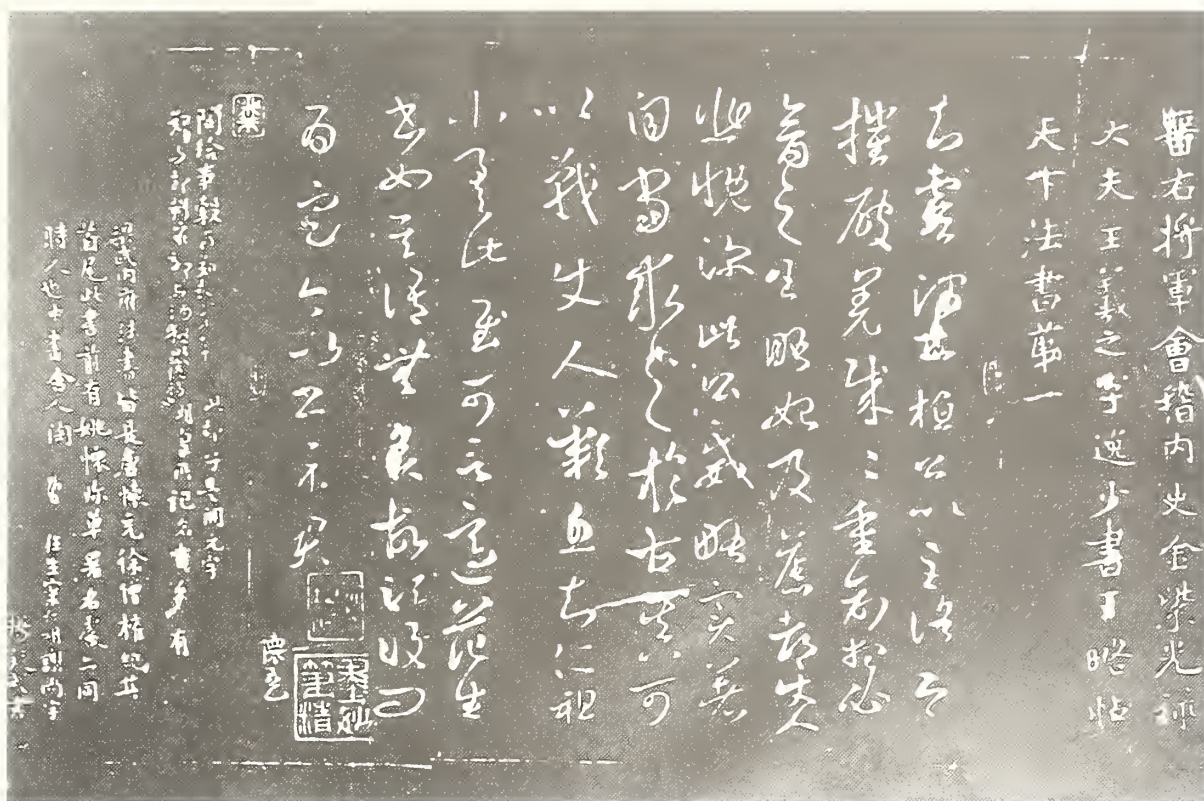


FIG. 2. Wang Xizhi, *Wanglüe tie*, rubbing from *Bao Jin sanzatie*.

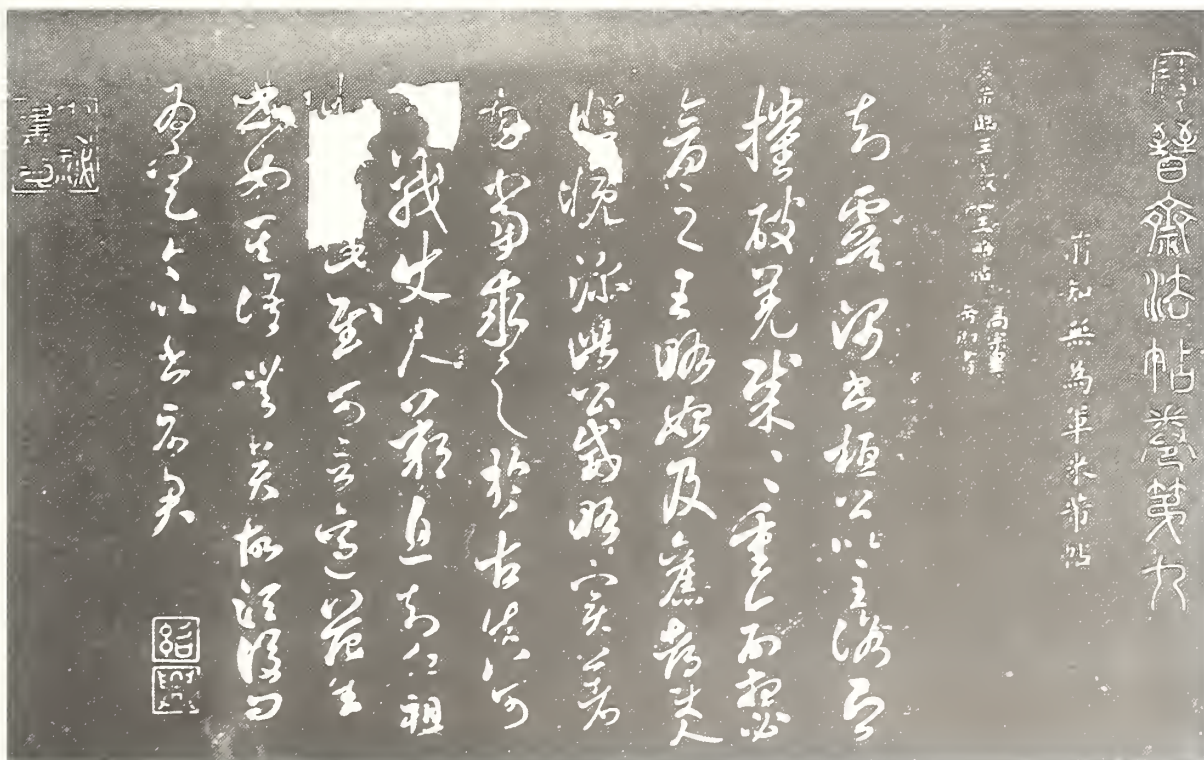


FIG. 3. Mi Fu, Wanglue tie, rubbing from Bao jin sanfatie.

leaving only ten truly superb works among the remainder. Many rare pieces gradually disappeared over the years. The Jin paintings [on the other hand] I have been determined to keep with me because I have a particular affinity for them, and I have named the study where I keep my Jin works the Bao Jin zhai, or "Studio for Treasuring the Jin." Whenever I enter this studio I hang several paintings on the wall. There is nothing else like [this collection] in the world today!

This is an ambiguous passage. "The Jin paintings I have been determined to keep with me" is consistent with the hypothesis that Mi Fu did not submit the original paintings to the imperial collection, but he does not explicitly mention his Jin calligraphies. Mi intended this ambiguity over whether he had (by implication) given calligraphy over to the emperor or still had it in his possession. He perhaps could not resist the temptation to hint that the original works were still in his possession.

Although the *Huashi* contains a total of one hundred ninety-five sections, they are not numbered in the order of writing; article 115, quoted above, was in fact written in the year of his death, while article 195, last in the work, is dated 1088 and details a conversation between the thirty-eight-year-old author and Shen Kuo 沈括. The sections of the *Huashi* are instead arranged according to the dynasty in which the works discussed were produced; within each dynastic section the entries are arranged roughly by artist in chronological order. The first section (entries 1–5) is devoted to Jin works, the second (entries 6–11) to the Six Dynasties, and the third—by far the longest—covers the Tang, Five Dynasties, and Song. The bulk of the manuscript, from about the twenty-eighth article on, deals with Song works.

Although the third section of the *Huashi* does not proceed in strict chronological order, its organization is not so "completely chaotic" as Yu Jianhua 俞劍華 charges.⁸ In fact, the first entry of a Song artist's work records his family name and sobriquets, subsequent entries omit one or the other, and these items are arranged in order. The only anomaly is paragraph 115, which should be at the end; it has been moved to the middle of the book, probably to deemphasize Mi's implied deception.

Another example of Mi's manipulations for personal advancement was related by Wang Mingqing 王明清:

米元章崇寧初為江淮制置發運司勾當直達綱運置司真州大漕張勳深道見其滑稽玩世不能

俯仰順時深不樂之每加形跡元章甚不能堪會蔡元長拜相元章知己也走私僕懇於元長乞於銜位中削去所帶制置發運司五字仍降旨請給予位人從並同監司元長悉從之遣僕持人敕命以來元章既得之閉戶自書新刺凌晨拜命畢呵殺徑人謁直抵張之廳事張驚愕莫測及展刺即講鈞敵之禮始知所以

In 1102 Mi Fu was working in Lianshui 漣水, Jiangsu 江蘇, as an official in the Office of Grain Transportation by Water and was extremely dissatisfied with his superior officer. When Cai Jing 蔡京 became prime minister, Mi sent a servant to him with a message requesting that Mi's own salary, rank, and number of employees under his supervision be increased to match those of his superior. The servant returned with the requested imperial order, and the next morning Mi marched into his office with a herald, who announced him loudly. Mi's superior, unaware of what had transpired, was astonished but greeted Mi Fu as an equal when presented with Mi's new credentials.⁹

One suspects that this eccentric conduct, as well as his notorious fastidiousness, were parts of a calculated strategy, which Mi Fu used selectively when the occasion demanded. On the latter point, Zhuang Chou 莊綽 reports:

其知漣水軍日先公…每傳觀公牘未嘗滌手余昆弟訪之方投刺則已須盥矣以是知其為偽也

My father says that when Mi Fu [at the age of forty-seven] was the governor of Lianshui, he never washed his hands before reading official documents. When my brother visited him, on the other hand, [Mi] waited for a basin to be prepared [whereupon he poured water over his hands with a silver ladle and dried them by clapping them together without a towel]. This demonstrates his hypocrisy.¹⁰

Mi Fu and the Ministry of Rites

Cai Zhao's epitaph for Mi Fu's tombstone begins: "This is the epitaph of Mister Mi Fu, Vice-Director of the Ministry of Rites." There is no mention of this title, however, in the obituary Mi wrote for Zhang Di 章迪 (*Zhang Jilao mubiao* 章吉老墓) in May of 1107, just before Mi's own death (fig. 4). Although this was the highest rank Mi attained, he was never able to use the title, as the strong opposition to his promotion led to its immediate revocation:

崇寧四年米元章為禮部員外郎言章云傾邪險怪詭詐不情敢為寄言異行以欺惑愚眾怪誕之

事天下傳以為笑人皆目之以顛儀曹春官之屬士人觀望則效之地今芾出身冗濁冒玷茲選無以訓示四方有旨罷差知淮陽軍其曰出身冗濁者以其親故也

When Mi Yuanzhang 米元章 was appointed Vice-Director of the Ministry of Rites in the fourth year of *chongning* 崇寧 [1105], the Remonstrance Officials objected strongly, noting "[Mi Fu] is malicious and depraved; he speaks lies and has no consideration for others. By his strange behavior he deceives and confuses the common people. His eccentric behavior makes him a laughingstock, and he is regarded as a madman. The officers of the Ministry of Rites should serve as a model to be respected by the lower classes. Moreover, [Mi] Fu himself is a man of low birth, and should his promotion be recognized, it will adversely influence the hierarchy of government officials in the future." The phrase "Fu himself is a man of low birth" refers to his relatives.¹¹

This reference to Mi's "relatives" alludes to the fact that his mother was a court midwife.¹² According to Zhao Yi 趙翼, "in no other age was nepotism [*enyin* 恩陰, referring to the acquisition of official position on the merits of one's father, relatives, or close friends] as rife as it was in the Song."¹³ In fact, however, only two men were appointed to prominent posts irrespective of success on the civil service examinations.¹⁴ One of these was Mi Fu, who had never taken the examinations; as we have seen, however, his unprecedented appointment met with immediate opposition.

Mi, of course, took characteristic exception to these objections, responding in his inimitable style when the Remonstrating Officials overturned his promotion. As reported by Wang Mingqing, Mi retorted:

言者謂…人謂之顛不可以登朝籍命遂寢元章大不平即上章政府訴其事以為在官十五任薦者四五十人此豈顛者之所能竟不報

"I have been in office for nearly forty-five years [not true], and I have forty or fifty persons to recommend me. If I were crazy, how could this be so?" In the end, this petition was ignored.¹⁵

Zhou Hui continues the story:

自謂久任中外被大臣知遇舉主累數百皆用吏能為稱首一無以顛薦者世遂傳米老辯顛帖…生生勿恤浮議…不幸一旦死不得潤色帝猷黼黻王度臣某實惜之

[Mi Fu] appealed, "I have worked in both the capital and the provinces and have enjoyed the favor of ministers. I have hundreds of sponsors, and they all praise my administrative abilities." But no one came forward to support his appointment, and his petitions were made public under the title *Milao biandian tie* 米老辯顛帖 (Old Mi's notes of self-justification). . . . To this Mi replied: "I beg you not to heed my bad reputation. . . . If by some unhappy chance I should die, I would be unable to assist in effecting the emperor's policies. This would indeed be regrettable."¹⁶

The personality traits that we may observe here—the supreme self-confidence, delusions of

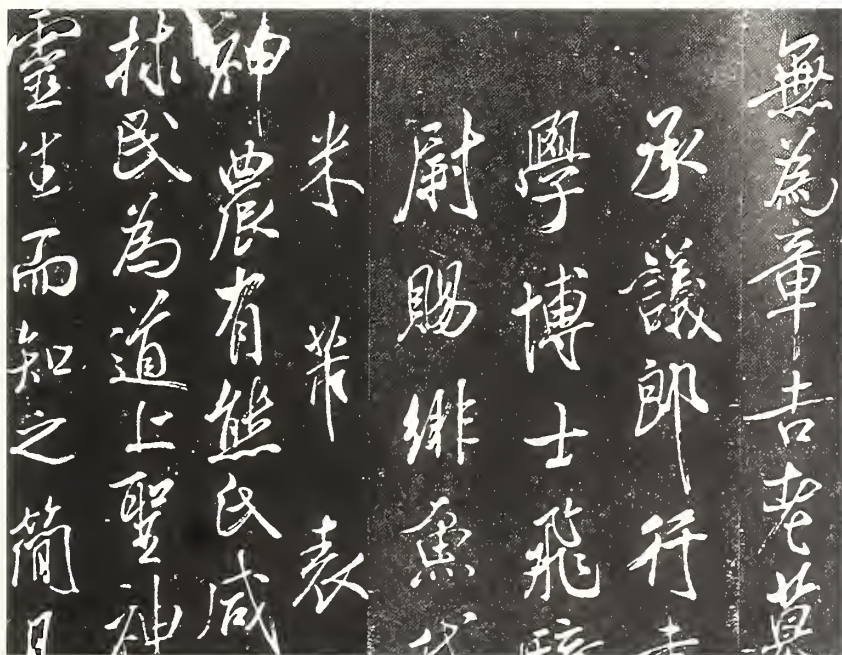


FIG. 4. Mi Fu, *Zhang Jilao mubiao*, dated 1107.

grandeur, and exaggeration—appear with even greater force in paragraphs 166 and 167 of the *Huashi*. Ostensibly concerned with astrology and music, respectively, this passionately written passage in fact represents a further pleading of Mi's case for promotion:

漣漪藍氏收晉畫渾天圖…余嘗作天說以究天地日月旁側之形盈虧之質。作成晝夜圖六十本。因得究潮候大小…所引六經以黜古今百家星曆之妄說。又著潮說以證盧肇皮日休之緣飾釋氏。假佛之詭論。將上之御府。藏之名山。

Paragraph 167: Mr. Lan 藍 of Lianyi 漣漪 has acquired the Jin painting *Huntian tu* 渾天圖 (*Map of the Heavens*). . . . At one time I formulated a *Theory of Heaven* (*Tianshuo* 天說), in which I set forth the nature of the organization and movements of the heavenly bodies, including the waxing and waning of the sun and moon. I also drew a complete rendering of the day and night [skies] in sixty illustrations (*Zhouye tu liushi ben* 晝夜圖六十本) and, by coordinating them with references in the Six Classics, disproved the theories regarding the astrological calendar of hundreds of past and present scholars. Further, I wrote my *Theory of the Tides* in order to show that Lu Zhao 盧肇 and Pi Rixiu 皮日休 fabricated their theory from the false teachings of the Buddhists.¹⁷ I plan to submit these to the throne, to be preserved in the imperial archives.

夫五音之聲出于五行自然之理…沈隱侯只知四聲。求其宮聲不得。乃分平聲為二以欺後學。幾于千年無人辨正。愚陋之人從而祖述作…余于是以五方立五行。求五音…千歲之後。疑互判清太初漏露。神奸鬼秘無所逃形。著云大宋五音正韻。用以制律作樂。能召太和。致太平。藏之名山。百世以俟與我同志者。不徒為蒙陋生設也。

Paragraph 168: . . . The five musical notes are born from the Five Elements according to the principles of natural law. Shen Yue 沈約 (441–513) knew only four notes, and because he could not find the [primary] *guan* 官 note, he divided the [level] *ping* 平 tone into two. This error has remained uncorrected for nearly a millennium, as fools accepted and defended Shen's theory. . . . For myself, I have derived the pentatonic musical scale from the five directions. . . . Thus after a thousand years the doubts and confusions can be laid to rest, and the principles of the creation of heaven and earth are revealed. [Malevolent] spirits and demons can never obscure them again. My manuscript is titled *Da Song wuyin zhengyun* 大宋五音正韻 (The correct correspondences of the five notes of the great Song); when music is composed according to its principles, yin and yang will be harmonized, and the world will be at peace. This work should be preserved in the imperial archives to await kindred spirits a hundred generations hence, as it is not intended only for the fools of the present age.¹⁸

The *Zhouye tu* 晝夜圖 mentioned in paragraph 167 is probably an error in writing *Xuanye tu* 宣夜圖. The Xuanye, Huntian 渾天, and Zhou Bi 周髀 were the Three Schools of Astrology in the Han dynasty. Xuanye was the first to disappear, and its doctrines were thought to be impossible to reconstruct. Mi boasts that he has restored this theory, clearly an unfounded claim. The books he mentions were probably never written. His *Theory of Tides* is plagiarized from Shen Kuo's *Mengxi bitan* 夢溪筆談, volume 5.

That paragraphs 167 and 168 were written as a continuous passage is evident in their similar emotional tone; the latter ends with a quotation from Sima Qian's 司馬遷 preface to the *Shiji* 史記. Further, matters of both astrology and music, as well as worship, had been administered by the Ministry of Rites since the time of Renzong 仁宗 (r. 1022–62). In addressing these issues, Mi Fu implies that his discoveries should lead to changes in official policy regarding astrology and music. In fact, he possessed neither the knowledge nor specific proposals to interest specialists, and his hyperbolic assertions could have no purpose other than self-aggrandizement, announcing in effect that "I am well versed in antiquities and have extensive knowledge." Thus, they were written in the same spirit, and in the same context, as the so-called *Milao biandian tie*, already discussed, protesting the revocation of Mi's appointment as Vice-Director of the Ministry of Rites.

Mi Fu wrote this *Huashi* passage in self-defense, when he was under attack and feeling isolated and friendless. At that time, in 1105, Mi Fu's mentor Cai Jing was also under pressure from the central government and was compelled to resign his position.¹⁹ We should note that there was no mandatory retirement age for government officials in the Northern Song, and slanderous charges by ambitious rivals against those entrenched in office were not unusual.

Considerations of Genre

Why did Mi Fu include paragraphs 167 and 168, which have little to do with the history of painting, in the *Huashi*? There are five additional sections unrelated to paintings, mountings, or painting materials, and these are the passages that lend an air of disorganization to the text. The *Shushi* 書史, in comparison, contains only passages dealing explicitly with calligraphy. How can we explain the anomalies of the *Huashi*?

The answer to this question lies, I believe, in the difference in prestige accorded to writings on calligraphy and painting. This interpretation is supported by the fact that in the *Songshi* 宋史 chapter on art and literature, Mi's *Shushi* is listed among "lesser studies" related to the Confucian classics, which include *Chuci* 楚辭, *Erya* 爾雅, and *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字. The *Huashi*, on the other hand, is found in the section on miscellaneous arts, devoted to such gentlemanly amusements as archery, chess, and drinking games like pitch-pot. The level of prestige accorded to painting was thus no higher than in previous ages.²⁰

Since writings about painting were held in lesser esteem than writings on calligraphy, it is possible that Mi Fu himself considered *Huashi* to belong to the lesser category of anecdotal essays, rather than the more erudite study embodied in his *Shushi*, and thus felt free to introduce material unrelated to the history of painting. Such anecdotal essays were widely circulated in the Song, due in part to improvements in and popularization of printed texts. These essays contained personal details about current figures, such as their physical stature, favorite foods, the sound of their voices, use of language, and quirks of personality, as well as accounts of social scandals and other items of gossip and rumor.

Reading between the Lines

Although Mi Fu might have considered his *Huashi* to be an anecdotal essay, it does not contain the personal attacks common to similar works of the Song. What interested Mi Fu were the collection, trading, sale, and mounting of paintings, as well as the exchange of opinions about them. Human beings were of interest only as the points of contact for these activities, and the foibles of human conduct were of no concern to him. In this sense, *Huashi* is an unusual example of the anecdotal essay, and to

comprehend it accurately the reader must be prepared to fill in the background with living, breathing human beings. The reader must also fill in the parts that Mi did not, or could not, write. For example, paragraph 138 reads:

王球字夔玉。有兩漢而下至隋古帝王像。云形狀有怪甚者。恨未見之。此可訪為秘閣物也。

Wang Qiu 王球 owns a scroll of portraits of ancient emperors from the two Hans 漢 to the Sui 隋; its appearance is rumored to be very odd. I have not been fortunate enough to see it, but no doubt it should be investigated for acquisition for the imperial collection.

This passage should not be read as simply stating that the scroll should be brought into the imperial collection but rather as implying the contemptuous judgment that "an odd painting like this is perfect for the imperial collection, such as it is." In fact, when Mi later saw the painting, he found it to be a copy by a contemporary painter and discussed it in another section of the *Huashi* (paragraph 175).

Mi Fu's future as a high-ranking official was doubtless compromised by his reckless and scornful depreciation of works he examined for the imperial collection in 1104. This rashness is apparent as early as 1088, when he wrote the preface to the *Chunhuage tie* 淳化閣帖 at the age of thirty-eight.²¹ Although he does not mention the imperial collection directly, his evaluation is clear from the figures cited in paragraph 63 of the *Huashi*: "three hundred forgeries of Li Cheng 李成 and three hundred of Wu Daozi 吳道子." That these opinions were known to Song scholars at court is indicated by the fact that *Xuanhe huapu* discusses only two comments from Mi Fu's *Huashi* (one of which the editors use to correct Mi's confusion between Li Yu 李煜 and Zhongshan 中山) but quotes freely from other Song books on painting. This reflects the hostile feelings of the officials who had once worked closely with him.

Notes

This research note is condensed from an article that appeared in Japanese in *Kokka*, no. 1157 (February 1994). The English translation was prepared by Haruki Yoshida.

1. Cai Zhao 蔡肇, *Gu Libu Yuanwailang Mi Haiyue xiansheng muzhiming* 故禮部員外郎米海岳先生墓志銘, in Zhang Chou 張丑, *Qinghe shuhua fang* 清河書畫舫 (Chibei Caotang, 1763), *dian-zihao* 點子號, p. 27.
2. Nakata Yujiro, *Nakata Yujiro chosakushu* (Nigensha, 1985), 4:125–201.
3. Cai, *Gu Libu*, 27.
4. Mi Fu, *Baojin yingguan ji* 寶晉英光集, in *Sushi baotie zan* 蘇氏寶帖贊 (Taibei: Xuesheng shuju, 1971), 6:101.
5. Mi Fu, *Huanwenbo qiangtie ba* 桓溫破羌帖跋 in *Baozhang daifanglu* 寶章待訪錄 (*Meishu congshu*, vol. 4; Shenzhou guoguang she, 1937), 27.
6. Mi Fu, *Ba Wang Xizhi tie* 跋王獻之帖, in *Bao Jin yingguan ji*, 7:124.
7. Huang Bosi, *Ba Yishao Poqiang tie hou* 跋逸少破羌帖後, in *Dongguan Yulun* 東觀餘論, *xiajuan* 卷下, p. 3, in *Wenyuange Siku quanshu* 文淵閣四庫全書 (Taibei: Commercial Press, 1983), 850:344.
8. Yu Jianhua, *Zhongguo hualun leibian* (Zhongguo gu-dian yishu chubanshe, 1957), 462.
9. Wang Mingqing, *Huizhu lu houlu* 揮麈錄後錄 (Zhonghua shuju, 1961), 7:171–72.
10. Zhuang Chou, *Jilei bian* 雞肋編, *juan shang* 卷上, p. 10, in *Wenyuange Siku quanshu*, 1039:133.
11. Wu Ceng 吳曾, *Nenggaizhai manlu* 能改齋漫錄, *juan* 12, p. 374, in *Wenyuange Siku quanshu*, 850:748.
12. Qian Daxin, *Ershi'er shi kaoyi* (Xinhua shuju, 1960), 81:1318; Zhang, *Jilei bian*, 10.
13. Zhao Yi, *Ershi'er shi zhaji* (Xinhua shuju, 1958), 25:486–88.
14. Wang, *Huizhu lu houlu*, vol. 7.
15. Ceng Minxing 曾敏行, *Duxing zazhi* 獨醒雜誌, *juan* 6, p. 2, in *Wenyuange Siku quanshu*, 1039:557.
16. Zhou Hui 周輝, *Qingbo biezhì* 清波別志, *juan* 1, p. 20, in *Wenyuange Siku quanshu*, 1039:102.
17. Lu Zhao and Pi Rixiu both lived in the Tang dynasty. Lu wrote *Haichao fu* 海潮賦 (Song of sea tides) and *Huntian fa* 渾天法 (Astrological principles). Pi is remembered primarily as a poet but was ordered by Huang Chao 黃巢 to compose sham prophesies. It is not clear why Mi mentions these men together.
18. The editors of *Siku quanshu zhongmu tiyao* recorded a scathing criticism of this passage, accusing Mi Fu of bragging and “spouting nonsense in areas about which he knows nothing.”
19. Chen Bangzhan 陳邦瞻, *Cai Jing shanguo* 蔡京擅國 in *Songshi jishi benmo* 宋史紀事本末 (Zhonghua shuju, 1977), 49:488.
20. This traditional treatment of writings on painting as anecdotal essays continued into later periods; the writings of Li Rihua 李日華 in the Ming dynasty provide a later example.
21. Mi Fu, *Fatie tiba yuanti* 法帖題跋原題, in Huang Bosi, *Fatie kanwu* 法帖刊誤, *juan er* 卷二 (*Baichuan xuehai xinji* 百川學海辛集, 1614), 136.

BACK TO THE RED CLIFF: REFLECTIONS ON THE NARRATIVE MODE IN EARLY LITERATI LANDSCAPE PAINTING

By JEROME SILBERGELD

IN 1082, WRITING FROM POLITICAL EXILE IN SOUTH China, Su Shi, *hao Dongpo* 蘇軾·東坡 (1037–1101) described a moonlit journey down the Yangzi River past the famous historical battle site of the Red Cliff. He composed this in the *fu* 賦 or “prose-poem” form, which was popular at the time of that ancient battle, in A.D. 208, and which Su helped to revive after centuries of neglect.¹ In 1601, the chief arbiter of taste for his time, Dong Qichang 董其昌, wrote on Su Shi’s surviving manuscript of this “Red Cliff” prose-poem (now preserved in the National Palace Museum, Taipei), “This *fu* of Mr. [Su] Dongpo transforms the *Chu Sao* 楚騷; his handwriting transforms the *Orchid Pavilion Manuscript*. Of all Song literature, this is the ultimate.”² The spell of Su Shi’s “Red Cliff” prose-poem lingers on in modern times, as described by Lin Yutang: “the poet establishes a prevailing mood that casts a hypnotic effect on the reader, no matter how many times he has read [it] before.”³ Even Su Shi himself, having gone there once and written of it in unforgettable terms, felt compelled to go back “for another trip past the base of the Red Cliff” and risked writing about it a second time.⁴

The “Red Cliff” poems’ theme of political exile had particular resonance in Su Shi’s own time, when the scholar class was deeply rent by factionalism and public service was punctuated by rough dismissal from office. This was still truer in the decades that followed, when half of China was conquered by Jin Tartars and many northern scholars became exiles in their own land. Not surprisingly, illustrations of Su’s two prose-poems appeared almost immediately. Those works initiated one of the longest standing pictorial traditions, dealing with the theme of political exile, and they now comprise some of the earliest surviving works in the literati tradition of painting that emerged from the cultural circle of Su Shi and his friends.

Popular through the centuries, Su Shi’s “Red Cliff” prose-poems are now among the most frequently translated into English of any Chinese verse. Paintings based on these poems have been the subject of a number of studies and have

helped illuminate the study of broader topics.⁵ Yet despite the frequent excursions into this material, I propose still another trip back to the Red Cliff. Not only does the “hypnotic effect” of the topic encourage a periodic retelling, but all these previous studies still leave some of the most basic issues unresolved: the authorship and dating of three major paintings on this theme; which of Su’s two prose-poems is illustrated by some of these paintings; and, most importantly, the very relationship of these painted images to the written text. What can be learned from an exploration of this topic is broader than might be expected, for these questions bear directly on our understanding of Chinese literati painting in its formative years.

The “Qiao Zhongchang” Handscroll

At least five Song-period paintings on the “Red Cliff” topic can still be studied. These include two versions that, arguably, illustrate the first prose-poem: a tall handscroll now attributed to Wu Yuanzhi 董其昌 of the late twelfth century (fig. 5; National Palace Museum, Taipei) and a fan by Li Song 李嵩 from the early thirteenth century (fig. 2; Nelson-Atkins Museum).⁶ And there are three Song handscroll versions of the second prose-poem: one attributed to Qiao Zhongchang 喬仲昌, probably painted prior to 1123 (fig. 1; Nelson-Atkins Museum); one after an original, now missing but (all too loosely) said to be by Zhao Bosu 趙伯驩 (1124–82), copied by Wen Zhengming 文徵明 in 1548 (fig. 4; National Palace Museum, Taipei);⁷ and one by Ma Hezhi 馬和之, in the mid-twelfth century (fig. 2; Palace Museum, Beijing).⁸ Ultimately, it can be shown which prose-poem each painting is related to, and it can be shown that the paintings in each group share a common stylistic source. Probably representing the oldest surviving illustration of each prose-poem, the scrolls attributed to Wu Yuanzhi and Qiao Zhongchang are the most important of these and represent the focus of this study.

The Qiao Zhongchang attribution (fig. 1), based on Su's second "Red Cliff" prose-poem, is supposedly the oldest of all these paintings, but the work is without signature or artist seals, and the attribution lacks any substantial evidence. The oldest inscription, dated 1123, is by Zhao Lingzhi 趙令時, a member of the Song royal family and a painting collector who in his youth knew Su Shi; but Zhao wrote only of his feelings for this long-deceased acquaintance and left no clue to the artist's identity. The only reference linking this scroll to Qiao Zhongchang—a cousin and painting student of Su Shi's close colleague in

art, Li Gonglin 李公麟⁹—was recorded in the eighteenth-century imperial catalogue, *Shiqu baoji* 石渠寶笈, in a colophon neither signed nor even extant today.¹⁰

This historical murk contrasts with the visual clarity of the scroll itself, which of all "Red Cliff" scrolls best illustrates the physical setting of Su Shi's excursions. Of the two pictorial traditions that emerge from Su's two poems, this work establishes for the latter poem a more literal approach to the narrative treatment of text, with the repeated appearance of major figures, architecture, and landscape settings in a long, narrative

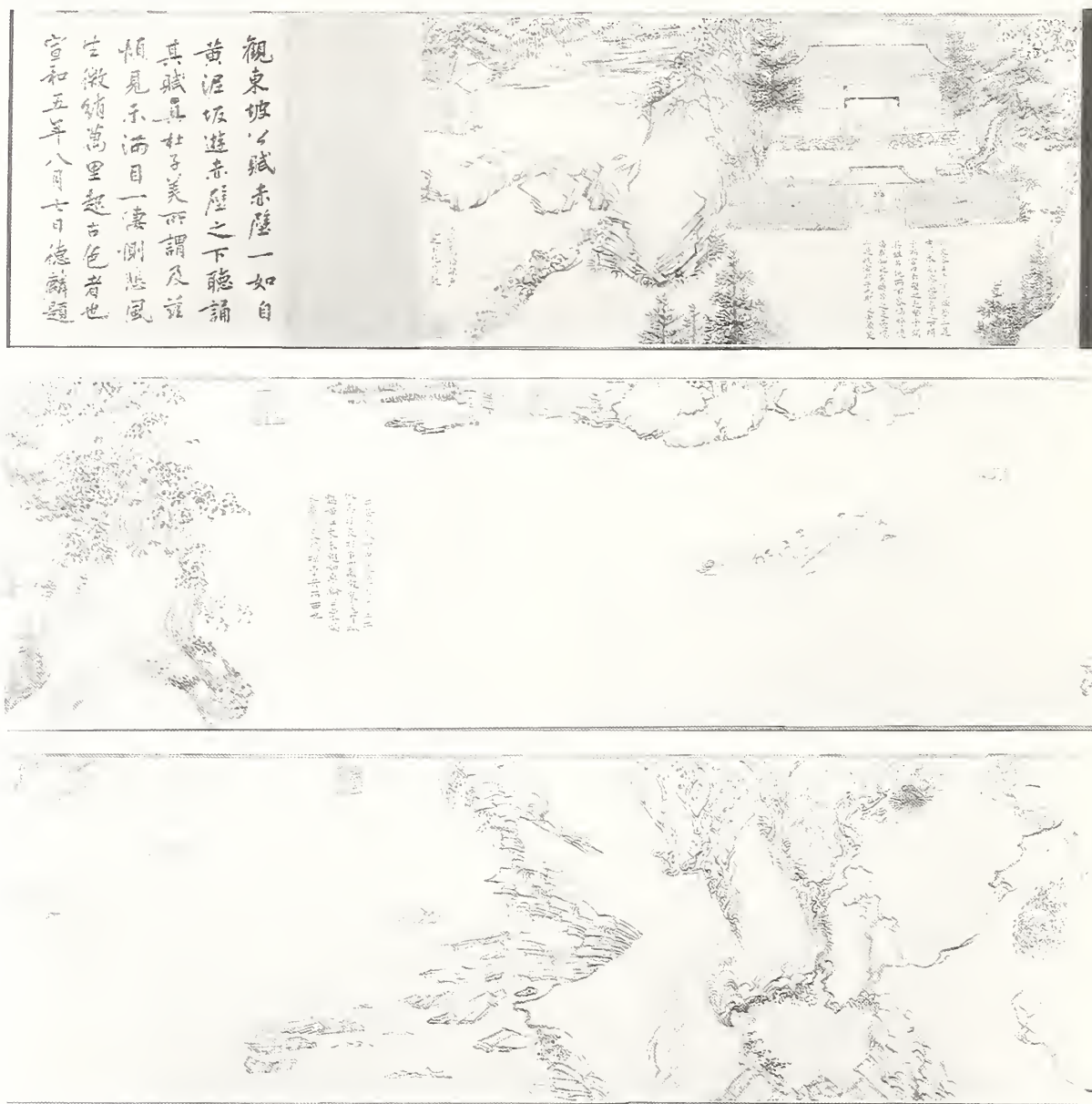


FIG. 1 continued.

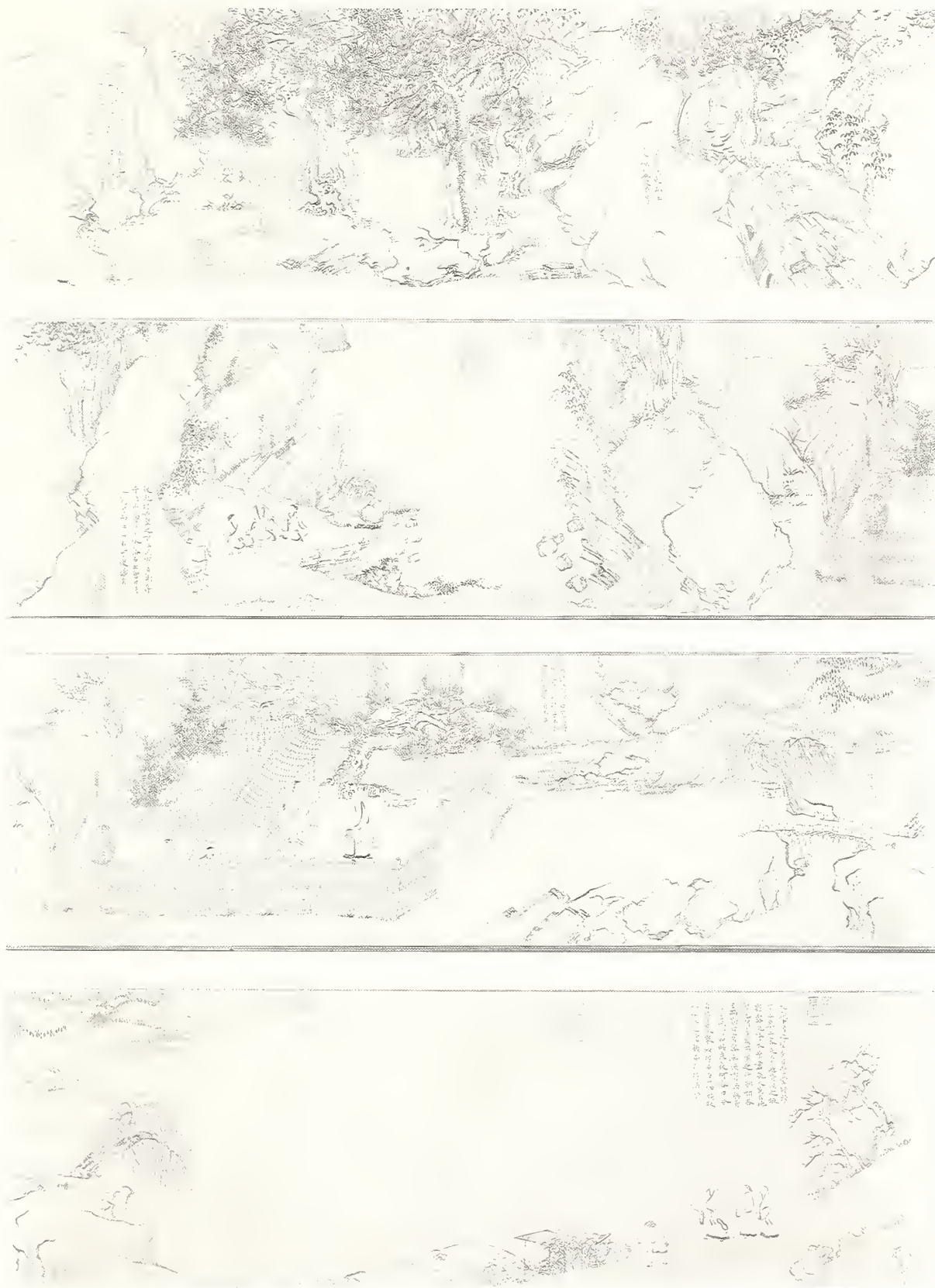


FIG. 1. Qiao Zhongchang, attributed, *Latter Prose-Poem on the Red Cliff*, handscroll, ink on paper, 29.5 × 560 cm.
The Nelson-Atkins Museum, Kansas City.

format (in nine distinct scenes; Su Shi is depicted eight times and his home appears three times). Not merely conservative, this approach is conspicuously archaistic, adopting Li Gonglin's mode of reference to Six Dynasties and Tang narrative traditions. The spatial treatment of architecture and many of the landscape motifs clearly demonstrate a knowledge of Tang painting, as James Cahill suggested in describing "the strong bilateral symmetry of the house and yard near the end," "the strange shell-like forms of Qiao Zhongchang's rocks," and "the square-cut formalized drawing of fractured rock strata."¹¹ Even the peculiarly modulated brushwork used for the rocks makes a knowing statement about mid-Tang traditions, and the looming scale of the poet compared to his diminutive companions looks back to earlier norms.

Beyond the lack of proper documentation, the chief connoisseurial problem obscuring the date and attribution of this work—or at least instilling my own doubts about them—arises from its more progressive features, from artistic details that too clearly anticipate later literati painters, especially those of the mid-to-late Yuan. Some of these progressive characteristics have already been noted by Cahill—willows like Zhao Mengfu's 趙孟頫 and Wang Meng's 王蒙 and low, rolling hills like Huang Gongwang's 黃公望.¹² In addition, there are texture strokes (at the very beginning and end) distinctively like Huang Gongwang's, slender tree trunks like Ni Zan's 倪瓚, thick-trunked pines like Wang Meng's, Zhang Wu's 張渥, or Yao Tingmei's 姚廷美, dried-mud embankments derived perhaps from the Li-Guo 李-郭 tradition by way of Huang Gongwang, a bridge drawn just like one by Wang Meng, and so forth. Looked at from a skeptical perspective, this work assumes the aura of a pastiche. And yet it is superb in execution and surely not the work of a minor, derivative artist. Moreover, numerous features and telling details—ranging from the rocks to the rendering of roof tiles to the distinctive facial features of the poet—lack correspondence in the work of any later artist. And finally, even if executed at some later date that permitted the inclusion of late Yuan features, its composition could still only be understood in terms of late Northern Song archaism, taking us back to Li Gonglin and the cultural circle of Su Shi. This is, in all likelihood, an original work of the period it claims to be from, however tenuous its link to any particular artist's name. And if so, it deserves broader recognition as the finest narrative painting surviving from that cultural milieu

and as a reliable guide to a kind of painting Su himself must have admired.¹³ Indeed, then, rather than harboring the unsavory air of a pastiche, this scroll reveals the ways in which, and the striking degree to which, the leading Yuan scholar painters based their trademark styles—perhaps their whole landscape "revolution"—on Song precedents by Su Shi, Li Gonglin, and friends.

An old-fashioned narrative following step by step the sequence of the second "Red Cliff" prose-poem, the so-called Qiao Zhongchang painting visually introduces, with greater credibility than can be found anywhere else, the setting for Su Shi's Red Cliff excursions. By 1079, Su had spent a decade in outspoken opposition to the political reforms designed by Wang Anshi 王安石, reforms which would have reshaped the nature of Chinese government had they succeeded and which from Su's "conservative" point of view would have undermined the hallowed independence of the Confucian scholar-official. In that year, his political adversaries charged Su with writing poetry "slandorous" of the emperor (that is, of opposing Wang's policies, which the emperor then favored), and he was cast into the imperial censorate prison for 130 days. In December, after a lengthy trial and imperial review of the case, Su was demoted to low rank and ordered into exile under tight travel restrictions.¹⁴ Soon after arriving in the small, rustic town of Huangzhou 黃州 in February 1080, Su (and his family, which arrived shortly after) lived at a government way-station intended to house officials traveling up and down the Yangzi River. Located beneath a hill known as Lin'gao 臨皋 and set just a "few dozen steps" above the north bank of the Yangzi River, this crude abode was distinguished not by its architecture but by a lovely view of the river and the scenery of Wuchang 武昌 beyond (not the modern-day city of Wuchang).

Su Shi's famous villa on the Eastern Slope (Dongpo, which he took as his studio name), set on some five-to-ten acres just east of the city, was acquired a year later from the district administration for his personal use, rescued from neglect as a military encampment.¹⁵ It consisted of a three-room house above, a pavilion below that, and still further down, his thatch-roofed Snow Hall, completed in a snowstorm in February of 1082. The Snow Hall, whose walls he painted with scenes of forests and rivers and fishermen, was Su's cultural center, where later that year he hosted the twenty-two-year-old Mi Fu 米芾. Su personally farmed these acres to help make ends meet, but his family continued to reside at

Lin'gao, to which he returned almost daily, about a third of a mile down a "yellow mud" path that became well known in his verse. It is the Lin'gao home to which Su returned from his Snow Hall at the outset of his second Red Cliff excursion and which is depicted three times in "Qiao Zhongchang's" painted scroll. (Each time the home is rendered differently, but the presence of two flat garden rocks and an old, gnarled pine along the right side of the forecourt is common to all three depictions.)

In "Qiao Zhongchang's" painting, alone among all these works, the intent of painting literally to illustrate the text is fulfilled by the inclusion of the complete text written episodically across the painted scroll (nine passages in all, ranging from three to ninety-five words), in a fashion already archaistic by Song times.¹⁶ If the other antique features already noted refer to the Tang, this one harks back further still, to the Six Dynasties period. So, too, does the arrangement of landscape forms to isolate a series of narrative scenes. Dubbed the "space-cell" in Western art history (by Ludwig Bachhofer) but actually based on Chinese notions of architectural siting, this convention continued into the Tang but was already old-fashioned by the time Wang Wei 王维 applied it to his *Wang River Villa* in about 740.

The nine inscribed scenes show: 1) Su and two friends walking back to his home at Lin'gao, inspired by the moonlight and equipped with some freshly caught fish; 2) back home, Su's wife providing a jug of wine that she saved for just such an occasion; 3) Su and friends seated at the foot of the Red Cliff, overlooking the river; 4) the poet ascending the cliff, something not undertaken in his first excursion; 5) the rugged mountain-side scenery depicted, *sans* Su Shi, in accord with a three-word inscription, "[rocks like] crouching tigers and leopards"; 6) again without showing the poet—more surprising this time—a view down into the Hall of Bingyi, the river god, into which Su gives a long whistle and is startled by the "mountain's moan, the response of the valley,"

then retreats down the cliff; 7) the poet and friends, back in their boat, continuing their journey when overtaken by a large crane flying out of the east; 8) home again, Su shown twice, once in bed dreaming, and once seated with two Daoists in feathered robes, whom he realizes had appeared earlier as cranes flying past his boat;¹⁷ 9) the poet waking to seek these Daoist spirits at his door but realizing they are nowhere to be found.¹⁸

Many observations can be made about this work; a few are pertinent here. First, the painting closely follows the events of the text. The primacy of figures and the archaic organization of landscape are means to that end. In a few cases, the rendition is remarkably literal, as in its depiction of a nesting falcon mentioned in the text or the shadows cast by the figures in moonlight in the opening scene; and occasionally this becomes supraliteral, as in the treatment of textual passages like "[rocks like] crouching tigers and leopards," "[branches like] ascending coiled dragons." This is not to deny that a great deal of artistic imagination has been used visually, for the text is no painter's textbook—another artist could have followed the text equally closely yet produced entirely different results. On the other hand, anyone who knows the text will easily recognize the subject and can readily identify the images in terms of certain passages. The painting is bound to the text; it is an illustration of it.

Second, the scenes are viewed from right to left, as might be expected, though more will be said of this expectation later on. Also from right to left is the flight of the crane, described in the text as westward.

Third, the narrative elements of this painting are quickly reduced to their very essentials in later painted versions, the presence or absence of this crane providing the chief, and sometimes the sole, distinguishing means for identifying paintings as based on the second or first prose-poem. This reduction can already be seen a generation later in Ma Hezhi's painting of the second prose-poem (with crane) (fig. 2) and a century later in



FIG. 2. Ma Hezhi, *Latter Prose-Poem on the Red Cliff*, handscroll, ink and color on silk, 25.9 × 143 cm. Palace Museum, Beijing. After Xu Bangda, *Zhongguo huihua shi tulu*.

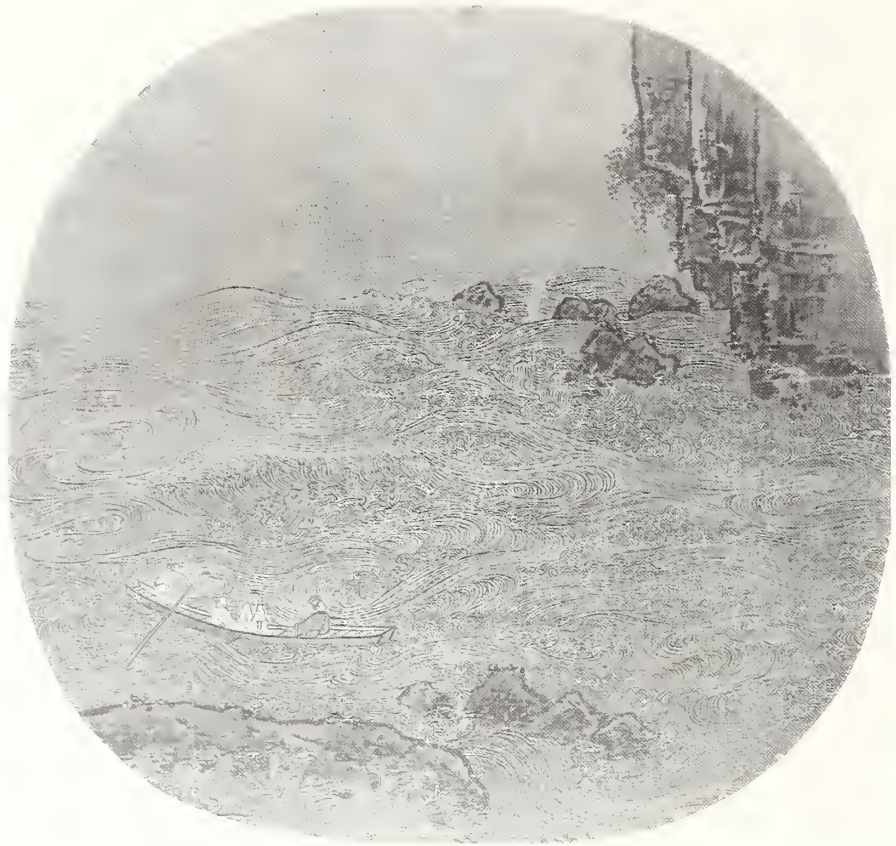


FIG. 3. Li Song, *Former Prose-Poem on the Red Cliff*, fan, ink and color on silk, 24.8 × 26 cm. The Nelson-Atkins Museum, Kansas City.

Li Song's treatment of the first poem (without it) (fig. 3). Such reductive works offer little by which to judge their narrative virtues other than the relation of men and crane. In the painting attributed to Qiao Zhongchang, of the three companions only Su Shi seems to notice the crane at all, perhaps because he alone is privy to its spiritual message. In the Ma Hezhi, the crane and cliff are juxtaposed, and all bodies wheel, all eyes turn to see the two, so despite the limitation of narrative detail, the effect is quite dramatic. In the Wen Zhengming painting "after Zhao Bosu" (fig. 4c), nobody looks at anything.

Fourth, though the Wen Zhengming painting differs greatly from the "Qiao Zhongchang" in many respects, in others, telling details show it to be derived from it or to share with it a common origin. The narrative differences begin immediately—Wen's painting begins with the catching of the fish and illustrates Su's Snow Hall before it shows his Lin'gao home. But scenes three through seven of "Qiao's" scroll, as described above, are recognizable in Wen's scroll, the chief difference being that Su Shi himself is depicted in scene six (fig. 4b).¹⁹ Various other minor details confirm the relationship between

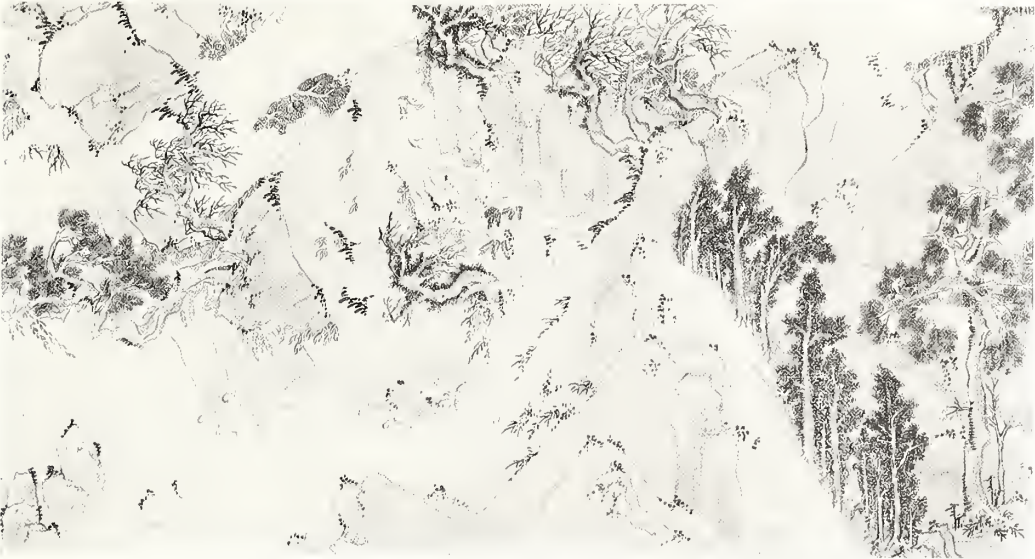
these two scrolls. Among them: in both scrolls, to the left of Su's Lin'gao courtyard is a stable with a horse and a groom lying down, mentioned nowhere in the poem and hardly a chance coincidence (fig. 4a);²⁰ in both, again with no textual basis, as Su departs from his Lin'gao home, he looks back over his right shoulder to his wife, who stands with hands in sleeves accompanied by a serving girl carrying a candle. If the attributive basis of the "Qiao Zhongchang" and Wen Zhengming "after Zhao Bosu" works is more or less accurate, as seems possible, then we have a major work of the Southern Song court (under which Su Shi's political goals and artistic values were restored to high favor) borrowing not only literary subject matter but also compositional motifs from Su's cultural circle (albeit, the court artist has substituted one superficial Tang archaism—blue-and-green color—for other more erudite and "literary" ones, as discussed above).

The Handscroll Attributed to Wu Yuanzhi

At first sight, the painting attributed to Wu Yuanzhi of Su Shi's first "Red Cliff" prose-poem



4a



4b



4c

FIG. 4. Wen Zhengming, *Copy after Zhao Bosu's Latter Prose-Poem on the Red Cliff*, three sections, handscroll, ink and color on paper, 31.5 × 541.6 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

(fig. 5) seems entirely different from the “Qiao Zhongchang” scroll. The rendering of surface detail with hatching strokes, small “ax-cut” texture strokes, contrasts with “Qiao’s” “plain-line” manner of drawing.²¹ Landscape dominates, not the figures. The scroll is short, and the narrative seems to be truncated or nearly eliminated, as in Ma Hezhi’s work. Surely, these are major differences, and yet there is more here than meets the eye to indicate an equally strong narrative intent. To appreciate the narrative dimensions of the work, some detailed background is necessary.

There is no signature or seal of the artist, and the work is not readily identified. But a traditional attribution to Zhu Rui 朱銳 and the modern re-attribution to Wu Yuanzhi are well known and need only to be summarized. The painting is preceded by a title in four large characters by Sun Gong 孫恭 of the Ming, in small-seal script: “The

Text, Bequeathed, of the Red Cliff” (*Chibi yi yan* 赤壁遺言), which specifies neither artist nor even just which text he has in mind. The chief inscription that follows the painting, set on a separate piece of paper and dated 1228, is a poem by Zhao Bingwen 趙秉文 (1159–1232), rhyming with Su Dongpo’s *ci* 詞 (not with either of his *fu*) on the Red Cliff; this inscription, too, makes no mention of the artist, referring only to Su Dongpo, whose cultural standard Zhao himself held aloft in north China a century after Su’s death. At the beginning and end of the scroll are inscriptions by Xiang Yuanbian 項元汴 (1525–90) attributing the work to Zhu Rui, who served as a painter-in-attendance at both the late Northern and early Southern Song courts. It is peculiar that Xiang specifically referred in his first inscription to Zhu’s Northern Song period of service as a possible date for the painting, since Su’s ideas



FIG. 5 continued.

and his followers were *non grata* at court at that time; Xiang's postscript, by contrast, referred to Zhu by the title of *gonglang* 功郎, which he received under Southern Song rule; by that time Su's values were made popular again by imperial decree. While Xiang's varied dating suggests a clouded judgment of the attribution, the Qing dynasty imperial painting catalogue *Shiqu baoji* followed his lead, and the attribution to Zhu Rui stuck until about 1960.

At that time, Zhuang Yen of the Palace Museum in Taipei, where this scroll is now housed, noted a colophon dated 1251 by Yuan Haowen 元好問 (1190–1257), now lost but recorded as originally attached to *some* painting of the "Red Cliff," identifying the artist as Wu Yuanzhi and referring to an inscribed Zhao Bingwen poem harmonizing with Su Shi's "Red Cliff" *ci*. A poetic anthology edited by Yuan includes the same

poem by Zhao as inscribed on the Palace Museum scroll, so he clearly knew this text. But Yuan's inscription is not attached to *this* work and might have belonged instead to some other. And nothing precludes the possibility of Zhao's having inscribed the same poem on other scrolls by other artists. Although Wu Yuanzhi is known through other documentation to have painted this theme,²² none of this makes him the artist of the Palace Museum scroll. So while a better argument might be made for Wu Yuanzhi than for Zhu Rui as the artist of this painting, no firm conclusion can be drawn.

The significance of the Wu Yuanzhi attribution, widely (and perhaps too readily) accepted today, is that it would place the painting in the intellectual milieu of Su Shi's cultural followers in northern China, under Jin rule, rather than at an atelier of the Song court, where Zhu Rui



FIG. 5. Wu Yuanzhi, attributed, *Former Prose-Poem on the Red Cliff*, handscroll, ink on paper, 50.8 × 136.4 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

(fig. 5) seems entirely different from the "Qiao Zhongchang" scroll. The rendering of surface detail with hatching strokes, small "ax-cut" texture strokes, contrasts with "Qiao's" "plain-line" manner of drawing.²¹ Landscape dominates, not the figures. The scroll is short, and the narrative seems to be truncated or nearly eliminated, as in Ma Hezhi's work. Surely, these are major differences, and yet there is more here than meets the eye to indicate an equally strong narrative intent. To appreciate the narrative dimensions of the work, some detailed background is necessary.

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and his followers were *non grata* at court at that time; Xiang's postscript, by contrast, referred to Zhu by the title of *gonglang* 功郎, which he received under Southern Song rule; by that time Su's values were made popular again by imperial decree. While Xiang's varied dating suggests a clouded judgment of the attribution, the Qing dynasty imperial painting catalogue *Shiqu baoji* followed his lead, and the attribution to Zhu Rui stuck until about 1960.

At that time, Zhuang Yēn of the Palace Museum in Taipei, where this scroll is now housed, noted a colophon dated 1251 by Yuan Haowen 元好問 (1190–1257), now lost but recorded as originally attached to *some* painting of the "Red Cliff," identifying the artist as Wu Yuanzhi and referring to an inscribed Zhao Bingwen poem harmonizing with Su Shi's "Red Cliff" *cí*. A poetic anthology edited by Yuan includes the same

poem by Zhao as inscribed on the Palace Museum scroll, so he clearly knew this text. But Yuan's inscription is not attached to *this* work and might have belonged instead to some other. And nothing precludes the possibility of Zhao's having inscribed the same poem on other scrolls by other artists. Although Wu Yuanzhi is known through other documentation to have painted this theme,²² none of this makes him the artist of the Palace Museum scroll. So while a better argument might be made for Wu Yuanzhi than for Zhu Rui as the artist of this painting, no firm conclusion can be drawn.

The significance of the Wu Yuanzhi attribution, widely (and perhaps too readily) accepted today, is that it would place the painting in the intellectual milieu of Su Shi's cultural followers in northern China, under Jin rule, rather than at an atelier of the Song court, where Zhu Rui



FIG. 5. Wu Yuanzhi, attributed, *Former Prose-Poem on the Red Cliff*, handscroll, ink on paper, 50.8 × 136.4 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

painted. Some three-quarters of a century after the time of Zhu Rui, Wu Yuanzhi was about a generation older than Zhao Bingwen and two older than Yuan Haowen. Other paintings by Wu were inscribed by Zhao, who wrote of him as a fellow intellectual ("Master Wu is not an artisan painter: / His breast is satiated with exceptional scenes"), and Wu's poetic rhyme schemes were followed by Yelü Qucai 耶律楚材 (1190–1244, another major adherent of Su Shi's tradition), as Susan Bush has documented.²³ So Wu's socio-intellectual *bona fides* may be secure, but his link to this particular work is not. The painting is especially alert to the style of Li Tang 李唐 (1050s–after 1130)—but does that betray a southern pedigree and artisan lineage, or does it remind us of Li's own northern roots and a lack of distinct social linkage in the perpetuation of his style?

Relationship of Text to Painting

If the authorship and dating, the social context, and the locus of this painting all remain somewhat uncertain, equally disputed is the matter of what text it illustrates and the nature of how text relates to painting. Zhao Bingwen's inscription on the "Wu Yuanzhi" painting is in *ci* form and entitled "Harmonizing with the Immortal Po's [Su Dongpo's] *Ci* on the Red Cliff." That could imply that he regarded the painting as illustrating Su's *ci*, "Historical Remembrances of the Red Cliff, [to the tune of] Remember This Woman of Yours for Her Delicateness," often called "The Great River Flows Eastward" from its first line. This is a "sentimental" poem, by Su's own internal description of it, the writer comparing his graying hair and dimming fortunes to the "majestic and spirited" looks of that conquering hero of the Red Cliff, Zhou Yu 周瑜, when Zhou was a newly married gallant. While the poem concludes nostalgically, "Life is but a dream / [So] let us pour a goblet of wine as a libation to the river moon"—Su's excursion down the river thinly analogized to his life's journey—on the whole, it has neither the philosophical depth nor the political significance of Su's first "Red Cliff" poem.²⁴ At least as likely a reason for Zhao Bingwen's use of Su Shi's *ci* in writing an improvisational colophon is that he was capable in a single sitting of producing a harmonizing poem in the short, lyrical *ci* form, whereas the *fu* (that most

difficult of poetic undertakings) is not at all subject to matching—in other words, Zhao's choice of *ci* poetry probably does not represent an identification of the painting as illustrating Su's *ci*.

Whatever Zhao Bingwen's understanding, modern scholars have not hesitated to identify this work otherwise. Bush regards the scroll as based on Su Shi's second "Red Cliff" prose-poem.²⁵ Stephen Wilkinson, who wrote a dissertation on Song paintings of this theme, offers an even less predicable view:

Looking at the painting [attributed to Wu Yuanzhi], we see passages that seem to refer to each *Prose Poem*: the broad expanse of river at the beginning suggests the passage at the beginning of the first poem where Su says, "its shining surface reached to the sky." The choppy waves and vertical rock walls in the left portion reflect the description in the second poem, "The river races along noisily, its sheer banks rising a thousand feet." . . . We are presented with a view of nature done with more abstracted brushwork, but inventively combining the style of depiction of rocky mountain masses from Northern Song academic painting with the composition of Zhao Danian 趙大年 and Mi Youren 米友仁, Northern Song literati artists. This is done in order to evoke the naturalistically incompatible elements of the river described in both *Prose Poems*, and directed toward the end of dramatizing in a single view, the impact of the two excursions of three men in a small boat to the imposing natural site, the Red Cliff.²⁶

Esther Jacobson believes the painting to be "based on the 'First Prose Poem on the Red Cliff'."²⁷ On the other hand, her conviction that the painting is by no means a visual translation of the text²⁸ would seem to suggest that the subject matter, really, is unknowable. I believe, to the contrary, that a knowledge of the literary subject matter suggests otherwise, that *through the painting* the subject matter is knowable, and that only with this knowledge can the aesthetic dimensions of the painting be fully appreciated.

On receiving his sentence of exile, Su wrote, "In all my life, writing has brought me into trouble. / From now on the lesser my fame, the better it is for me."²⁹ In exile and isolation, he wrote less, yet he achieved his greatest literary fame with these poems.³⁰ His "Red Cliff" *fu* must be understood not only within the context of this trouble but as exactly the kind of writing that produced trouble. The *fu* itself spells trouble. The very idea of *fu* poetry as originally representing a moralizing

form was expressed in the fifth century by Liu Xie 劉勰, whose *Wenxin diaolong* 文心雕龍 refers to its “purpose of encouraging good and censuring evil.”³¹ That famous Han practitioner of the form, Sima Xiangru 司馬相如, defined the *fu* as a work of uncensored individual disclosure—“to reveal one’s concerns and to express them without reserve”—and yet the form that the prose-poem takes, rather than direct and obvious, is complex, “obscure and coded” in Friedrich Bischoff’s words.³² Bischoff regards the *fu* as intentional in every detail, in every word, with each phrase a painstakingly selected referent to something more specific than itself, and he notes the famous case of the young Yang Xiong 揚雄 (53 B.C.–A.D. 18), who worked so intently over a single prose-poem that he had a nervous breakdown and remained ill for a year.³³

The idea that the first “Red Cliff” *fu* conceals political intent is an old one, with interpretations linking the appearance of the Han general Cao Cao 曹操 in the poem to Wang Anshi, the boat to the Song state, and the “widow . . . in her lonely boat” to abandoned government officials like Su himself. That Su Shi himself recognized, at the very least, the potential for such readings is evident in his own surviving manuscript of the first *fu* (National Palace Museum, Taipei), handwritten a year after the poem’s creation, with the text proper followed by this dedication to a politically like-minded friend:

Su [I, Su Shi] composed this *fu* last year. I have not lightly brought it forth to show others: those who have seen it are perhaps one or two people, and no more. A messenger from Qinzhi [Fu Yaoyu 傅堯俞, 欽之, 1024–91] has come to seek my recent writings, so I have personally written this out to send him. With so many painful and dangerous matters [as have occurred to me], if Qinzhi loves me, he must bury this away deeply and not bring it forth.³⁴

Su was particularly conscious of the relation of *fu* to the themes of exile and recall: in 1100, during his last period of banishment, in Danzhou, Hainan, he reportedly informed his son, Guo, “I have always told you that I do not intend to remain banished for the rest of my life. Lately, I have had a premonition that I shall return to China.” Then, preparing ink and paper, he continued, “If I write down eight of my *fu* without a single mistake, then what I have said will come true.” Upon writing them all without mistake, he concluded, “Undoubtedly I shall return home,”

and within a few days an imperial pardon arrived with orders for him to travel to Lianzhou, in Guangdong.³⁵

This *fu* is cast in three parts, shaped by an alternation of voices: first that of Su Shi in high spirits; then that of a friend, frustrated and disconsolate; then Su’s voice again, in calm and lofty reply. Though the poem (some would say every line, every word) is full of literary allusion, there are three direct references (not at all obscure to the educated reader of that period) that assist these alternating voices and focus the intent of the *fu*. These three have to be understood in advance. The first of these paraphrases Qu Yuan 屈原, a balladeer-in-exile who hoped to catch his king’s ear with verse that would win his recall to court and who first brought the *fu* to maturity. The passage alluded to by Su Shi comes from the “Nine Songs,” poetic laments traditionally thought to be about Qu, in which shamans romantically pursue gods and goddesses as a metaphor for Qu pursuing his lord at court; in each lament (this one about a goddess of the Xiang River), the shaman falls from spiritual ecstasy to mortal form, just as Qu failed to attain his lofty political goal:

And over the great River [I] waft my spirit:
Waft, but my spirit does not reach her;
And the maiden many a sigh heaves for me:
While down my cheeks the teardrops in streams are falling,
As with grieving heart I yearn for my lady.
The cassia oars, the sweep of orchid
Churn the waters to foaming snow.
Would you gather the wild-fig in the water?
Or pluck the lotus-flower in the tree-tops?
Unless two hearts are both as one heart,
The matchmaker only wastes her labours;
And love not deep is too quickly broken.³⁶

The second reference emphasized by Su deals with the northern military dictator Cao Cao, whose southward drive to unify China at the end of the Han dynasty was halted in the year A.D. 208 at the barrier of the Yangzi, his strategy for crossing the river undone at the Red Cliff by the hero Zhou Yu. This defeat left China politically dismembered for years to come, transformed into the Three Kingdoms and numerous later geopolitical permutations.³⁷ Two lines of a famous poem by Cao Cao are quoted by Su Shi. In the fictionalized account by Luo Guanzhong 羅貫中, whose fourteenth-century retelling classicized the

popular view of that war, this poem was composed before the battle and revealed the character of Cao Cao in a way that made it clear that character, more than strategy, would determine the military outcome. Seemingly assured of crossing the Yangzi and celebrating his victory before actually securing it, Cao Cao was drinking on board his vessel with several hundred of his men, warming to his wine and exulting in the booty soon to be taken, when

suddenly they heard a raven cawing as it flew southward. Cao said: "Why does the raven cry in the night?" Those around him replied: "It supposes the brilliance of the moon to be the dawn. That is why it has left its tree and cries."

This inauspicious omen of miscalculation reappeared shortly afterward, in the midst of a long poem that Cao Cao composed, obliging the others to sing with him,

The moon is bright, stars are few,
The raven flies south,
Circling three times a tree
That offers no branch to roost on.

Then, from the company,

a man stepped forward and said: "At this juncture of confrontation for our armies, when the generals and officers must apply their commands, for what reason do you utter such ominous words?" Cao looked at him. The speaker was Liu Fu 劉馥, a man long in Cao Cao's service and with many achievements to his credit. Cao leveled his spear and asked: "What was ominous about my words?" Liu Fu: "The moon is bright, stars are few, the raven flies south, circling three times a tree that offers no branch to roost on—these are ominous words." Cao: "You dare to wreck our delight and enthusiasm?" With a single heave of his spear, Cao Cao pierced Liu Fu. He was dead. The assembly was aghast; the banquet was dismissed.³⁸

The measure of Cao Cao as a potential Son of Heaven, ruler of all China, is taken here, and no wonder that fate ordained him to lose the battle of the Red Cliff. Little wonder, too, that "Red Cliff" readers sympathetic to Su Shi might equate Cao Cao with Su's nemesis, Wang Anshi.

The third of these references is to the *Analects*, which reads (with admirable Confucian terseness), "The Master, standing by a stream, said, 'It passes on just like this, not ceasing day or night.'"³⁹ The personification here is manifest,

but since Confucius's intent was often no more clear than this, it was left for followers like Mencius to ensure that others understood:

The disciple Xu said, "Zhongni [Confucius] often praised water, saying, 'O water! O water!' What did he find in water to praise?" Mencius replied, "There is a spring of water; how it gushes out! It rests not day nor night. It fills up every hole, and then advances, flowing on to the four seas. Such is water having a spring! It was this which he found in it to praise."⁴⁰

The moral function of the Red Cliff may not yet be fully apparent, but the role of the Yangzi River flowing past it, like Confucius's fathomless source of natural virtue, necessitates that its earthly counterpart be gauged through a reading of the complete text. Again, a reading in three parts (marked below as such) seems most appropriate.⁴¹

(1) In the autumn of the year *renxu*, the seventh month, when the moon had just passed its prime, a friend [or friends] and I went out in a small boat to amuse ourselves at the foot of the Red Cliff. A fresh breeze blew softly across the water, leaving the waves unruffled. As I picked up the wine jar and poured a drink for my friend, I hummed a poem to the moon and sang a phrase on its strange beauty.

In a little while, the moon rose from the eastern hills and wandered across the sky between the Archer and the Goat. White dew settled over the river, and its shining surface reached to the sky. Letting the boat go where it pleased, we drifted over the immeasurable fields of water. I felt a boundless exhilaration, as though I were sailing on the void or riding the wind and didn't know where to stop. I was filled with a lightness, as though I had left the world and were standing alone, or had sprouted wings and were flying up to join the immortals. As I drank the wine, my delight increased and, thumping the edge of the boat, I composed a song that went:

With cassia sweep and
Oars of orchid wood,
Strike the empty moon,
Row through its drifting light.
Thoughts fly far away—
I long for my loved one
In a corner of the sky.

(2) My friend began to play on an open flute, following my song and harmonizing with it. The flute made a wailing sound, as though the player were filled with resentment or longing, or were lamenting or protesting. Long notes trailed through the night like endless threads of silk, a sound to make dragons dance in hidden caves, or to set the widow weeping in her lonely boat.

Saddened by his playing, I straightened my robe, bowed and asked, "What makes you play this way?"

He replied,

"The moon is bright, stars are few,
The raven flies south.

That's how Cao Cao's poem goes, doesn't it? There you can see Xiakou to the west, Wuchang to the east. A dense tangle of dark green, bounded by mountains and river—this is the very spot where the young Zhou Yu swooped down on Cao Cao, isn't it? After Cao Cao had conquered Jing and taken Jiangling, he sailed down the Yangzi to the east. The stems and sterns of his ships touched for a thousand miles, and his flags and pennants blocked out the sky. He drank wine overlooking the river, laid his lance across the saddle, and wrote his poems. Surely he was the greatest hero of his time—yet where is he now?

"What then of you and me? Fishermen and wood gatherers by the banks of streams, companions to fish and crayfish, friends of deer and elk, riding this leaf of a boat, dipping gourds into the wine jar and pouring for each other—we are no more than summer flies between heaven and earth, a grain of millet on the waste of the sea? It grieves me that life is so short, and I envy the long river that never stops. If we could only link arms with the flying immortals and wander where we please, embrace the moon and grow old with it. . . . But I know that such hopes cannot quickly be fulfilled, and so I confide these lingering notes to the sad air."

(3) I asked, "Do you know how it is with the water and the moon? 'The water flows on and on like this,' but somehow it never flows away. The moon waxes and wanes, and yet in the end it's the same moon. If we look at things through the eyes of change, then there's not an instant of stillness in all creation. But if we observe the changelessness of things, then we and all beings alike have no end. What is there to be envious about?

"Moreover, everything in the world has its owner, and if a thing doesn't belong to us, we don't dare take a hair of it. Only the clear breeze over the river, or the bright moon between the hills, which our ears hear as music, our eyes see beauty in—these we take without prohibition, these we make free with and they will never be used up. These are the endless treasures of the Creator, here for you and me to enjoy together!"

My friend was pleased and, laughing, washed the wine cups and filled them up again. But the fruit and other things we had brought to eat were all gone and so, among the litter of cups and bowls, we lay down in a heap in the bottom of the boat, unaware that the east was already growing light.

Esther Jacobson has written,

It would be highly irresponsible to infer that the painting and the poem are analogous in effect or that Wu

Yuanzhi necessarily tried to capture the dynamic patterns of Su Shi's poem when executing this scroll . . . such conclusions would be purely hypothetical, if not completely erroneous. Each work of art—painting and poem—has its own unique aesthetic form, its own means and ends.⁴²

The drift of recent research and interpretation in the field supports this view, suggesting that despite the Chinese belief in "painting being poetry without words, poetry painting without forms"—words that Su Shi himself applied to Wang Wei and Du Fu 杜甫—these arts may be complementary but are by no means identical. Richard Edwards, looking at Southern Song court painting, has shown just where the differences might lie. Edwards concludes that

the poetry-painting link clings more to idea than to visible fact and is fed most comfortably at the ever-expanding borders of imagination. The poem that conformed to the painting endangered the richness of verbal ambiguity; the painting that surrendered to the poem compromised the clarity of seeing.⁴³

To be sure, in painting and poetry there are different possibilities and different modes of realization. Su's verse has its temporal dimensions, its shifts of voice, its explanations and evocations of mental states, not readily translated into images. On the other hand, as Esther Jacobson explains, the painter more effectively explores such physical dimensions as the space created between the three boating companions, made poignant and "richly filled with implied sensory interaction," or the "often harsh strokes and tones [that] prevent the viewer from subjectively romanticizing the scene," or the "very atmosphere in which [any particular object] is implicitly bathed [forcing] the viewer to become aware of extensions of space."⁴⁴ But Jacobson shuns a more direct comparison of text and image; and while the artist's visual options are different from Su's literary ones, we shall see that much of his inspiration comes directly from the poem. It is hypothetical but I think not "irresponsible" or "completely erroneous" to conclude that the artist of this work strove to achieve specific visual analogues to the text and that his achievement can best be understood when interpreted in that fashion. These analogues evoke emotional responses derived from a known text, as visual narrative should, so that image and text work together, visual and textual components inseparably joined as one. It involves no denigration of the painting—or of painting

in general—to see it so. The effective translation of text into painting is no mean feat. It is simply a different feat than we have sometimes been led to anticipate, especially from the Song literati who encircled or followed Su Shi and for whom independent self-expression is thought to have been the watchword. To pursue this form of interpretation, we must suspend those expectations, reexamine the nature of textual narration in Song literati painting, and be prepared to note major differences between Song and post-Song literati art.

An important aspect of the so-called “Wu Yuanzhi” scroll is the left-to-right trajectory of the boating party. This contrasts with “Qiao Zhongchang’s” boaters, who travel from right to left because that is the direction of the scroll-based narrative format. In the “Wu Yuanzhi” scroll, the reason for this left-to-right direction must be and soon will be sought elsewhere, but it shows where the boatmen have already been and where the narrative must begin. In fact, if one looks for the narrative connection of painting with text, it cannot be found by reading the scroll from right to left in the usual manner. Rather, it is the left side of the scroll that corresponds to the first part of Su Shi’s prose-poem. The first portion of the poem is defined by the poet’s initial

boundless exhilaration, as though I were sailing on the void or riding the wind and didn’t know where to stop . . . filled with a lightness, as though I had left the world and were standing alone, or had sprouted wings and were flying up to join the immortals

—a shamanical flight identified by its specific reference to Qu Yuan. Su Shi’s initial mood corresponds to the first part of a Qu Yuan song, when his pursuit of the deity is still filled with high-energy magic, all potential and optimism. Without figures, it is the landscape that personifies this here: the river, compressed into a rapidly flowing, downward rushing, narrow channel, is the embodiment of all this energy; the rock-strewn passage suggests the dangers of the course that the boatmen have just safely traversed. Cast in secular terms, this is the moment when the political exile still expects an imperial summons and a glorious return to court.

But here the tone shifts, triggered perhaps by Qu Yuan’s own negative potential, and the poem introduces a new voice. Historically, we may know

to whom that voice literally belonged,⁴⁵ but poetically the voice serves as an external foil for Su’s own vaunted optimism, or even as a second inner voice expressing the usually optimistic Su Shi’s rare self-doubt. Here, in poetry and painting alike, it is the mountain, the Red Cliff itself, the specter of history, that dominates the scene. Mystic time gives way to historical time. Here, where the greatest warrior of his time failed to win the day, how can the lowly exile hope for anything more? Politics, as embodied in the tale of Cao Cao murdering Liu Fu, is a dirty business. In painting, the mountain pins the travelers to the base of the painting with the weight of history, bearing down upon them like fate itself.

But the Red Cliff is also a turning point in the poem, just as it was in history, a pivot in this three-part drama; and so the river, not the mountain, dominates the final stretch. In the painting, beyond this low point in its course, the river rises. It broadens out, no longer rushing as before but calmly flowing on, a tranquil source of virtue for those who know how to rely on it. Historical time now passes into timelessness, like changeless virtue flowing from a fathomless source. And in the end comes the light of the rising sun—the imperial symbol, no less—to welcome the exile home, and the painter drenches his mountains in natural sunlight, just as distinctively as the moonlight of Su’s second prose-poem had inspired “Qiao Zhongchang” to paint the only shadows known to be cast in early Chinese painting.⁴⁶

Clearly, this painter understands the prose-poem well. His re-creation of the poem in visual terms is couched in the realization that the poem is about the victory of optimism over doubt, of virtue over persecution, of choice over fate. He understands and gives visual form to that sublime optimism for which Su Shi has long been beloved in China, a beacon of hope in the all-too-brutal world of Chinese politics, embodied best among all Su’s works by this one.⁴⁷ This painting is no less a narrative work, bound to text, than that attributed to Qiao Zhongchang. It is simply more compressed and more conceptual. Among the most striking, and perhaps most innovative, of its narrative features is that landscape forms, not figures, carry the tale.

But this compositional structure is classical, not new, and can be traced—in figure painting—back in time through Tang to Han, all the way back to the earliest political narrative now known.

In the horizontal format of an architectural lintel executed even before the painted handscroll existed, from a first-century B.C. tomb excavated at Loyang, a similar tripartite structure prevails. Illustrating *The Feast at Hongmen*, the central figures serve as a pivot: Liu Bang 劉邦, later to become first emperor of the Han dynasty, and his archrival, Xiang Yu 項羽, plotting to have him slain. And the dramatic characters emerge from the wings, posing alternative histories—Xiang Zhuang 項莊 from the far left, quite prepared to kill and assure Xiang Yu's ascendancy, and Fan Kuai 樊噲 from the far right, intent on Liu Bang's rescue.⁴⁸ This formula was developed into a truly classic arrangement in Tang and post-Tang compositions and is reflected in such well-known works as *Xiao Yi Seizes the Orchid Pavilion Manuscript*, attributed to Yan Liben 閻立本, and "Zhou Fang's 周昉" *Ladies Playing Double-Sixes*.⁴⁹

What still requires explanation, then, is why the "Wu Yuanzhi" narrative progresses from left to right, contrary to all experience in Chinese scroll painting. We have seen that the painting is faithful to the text, and beyond that, where the text calls for it, beholden to naturalistic observation. That, too, is where the answer to this question lies, bound up with another question: just where was the Red Cliff located? The troubling fact is that the Red Cliff of Cao Cao's time became so famous that the local inhabitants at numerous sites subsequently laid claim to the name. Locating the real Red Cliff today is difficult, complicating the attempt to locate Su Shi's excursion. It must be remembered that the terms of Su Shi's exile proscribed him from traveling out of the Huangzhou district, and generally it is agreed that the original Red Cliff site was farther upstream than he could legally have traveled. Unintentionally, Su once wrote a poem sparking a rumor that he had sailed away, frightening the Huangzhou magistrate responsible for seeing that he not leave the district. But that poem was just a poem, not the record of a real journey.⁵⁰ Bischoff, who regards the *fu* as a form of detailed personal allegory, doubts that *any* expedition took place at the date specified by Su Shi. For him,

whether Su Shi visited the original site illegally, or any other site legally, or whether (as I feel most likely) he joined the boating party at his desk only, is irrelevant in understanding the *fu*: *Red Cliff* stands as the archetype of all defeats crushing and absurd. The date

specifies the fall of the year *renxu*, the sixteenth day of the seventh moon, namely, August 12, 1082. On this date the army of Song suffered a defeat crushing and absurd.⁵¹

But the documentation suggesting Yang Shichang's 楊世昌 companionship with Su Shi on these journeys is explicit about the date of the second trip and should leave little doubt that actual events served as the basis for Su's two prose-poems.⁵² So the question remains important, but it is resolved only with a three-part answer.

The best-educated guess today is this: the historical Three Kingdoms Red Cliff area, referred to as Sanguo Chibi 三國赤壁, was much farther upstream than Su Shi traveled, past Jiayu 嘉魚 in Puqi County 埔圻縣, with the cliff of that name located on the south bank;⁵³ the battle site itself was located across the river from Sanguo Chibi, at the foot of the Wulin 烏林 cliffs on the north bank;⁵⁴ what Su Shi wrote of as the Red Cliff, now referred to as Dongpo Chibi 東坡赤壁, is located in Huanggang County 黃岡縣 on the north bank of the Yangzi, northwest of modern Huangzhou city.⁵⁵ Su himself questioned the historic authenticity of the Huanggang Red Cliff in writing, "A few hundred paces from where I keep my home in Huangzhou is the Red Cliff, sometimes said to be the place where Zhou Yu defeated Cao. But I don't know if this is really true or not."⁵⁶ Yet if Su was unclear about where along the river the Red Cliff was located, he clearly understood it to be on the northern bank of the Yangzi, as did his close cultural followers. And from the standard historical documentation in the *Sanguo zhi* 三國志, he knew that the battle site itself was on the northern bank.⁵⁷

Given this, in the "Wu Yuanzhi" painting, it is a simple act of fidelity to both text and geographical accuracy for the boatmen to travel from left to right. If the cliff is placed to the rear with the river set in front of it, for obvious pictorial reasons, then with the cliff being to the north, the west-to-east flow of the Yangzi *must* be depicted from left to right. Although the artist might have steered his boatmen toward the left, in a struggle against the river's current, he has wisely chosen instead to show them borne along by the water's own natural course, true to the essence of the poem. Free of the hubris and fate that halted Cao Cao's progress at this point, they will journey on downstream beyond the cliff, sprawled

together in a mystic heap, riding a tide of virtue toward the auspicious eastern sunrise.⁵⁸

Conclusion

Central to the concept of literati painting in China is the superiority of the artist over art. The subject to be rendered, be it nature or text, is less important than its expression. Painting, it was said over and over, should be more “poetic,” which is often read today to mean more “spontaneous,” “expressive,” “free,” or “sketchy” and less bound to descriptive skill and thematic intent. Something of this notion is affirmed in a study of subject matter in early Chinese painting by Lothar Ledderose, who writes of “the progressively diminishing concern with subject matter parallel to the rise of gentleman painting”:

It was this very development that transformed Chinese painting into an art in which iconographical considerations were almost irrelevant. . . . Both landscape and flower and bird painting, which superseded figure painting in popularity, tend to be iconographically more “neutral.” In these latter two fields very few paintings have a thematic basis in specific literary sources. If they are, as with “The Red Cliff” which illustrated the famous poem by Su Dongpo, they tend to look very similar to other paintings without a comparable degree of thematic specificity.⁵⁹

Su Shi is regarded as the fountainhead of literati theory and painting, and it is assumed that his own paintings, which no longer survive, can only be imagined in terms consistent with his theoretical writings. Yet Su Shi’s art and theory pose a dilemma that resists easy assumptions: if we misunderstand Su’s visual frame of reference, we are subject, ironically, to misreading the writings themselves; and yet how can we reconstruct this visual context without his writings?⁶⁰ So what was

meant by Su Shi and his contemporaries in likening good painting to good poetry? That as in verse, the “depiction of shapes” may be neglected for the expressive “realization of conceptions,” with style becoming the true subject of painting?⁶¹ Or that as in good Song poetry, fidelity to nature was a much-valued aid to expression, and formal description and structural qualities were honed, crafted, and handled with remarkable skill? What, in other words, was meant by “poetic”?

The two paintings attributed to Qiao Zhongchang and Wu Yuanzhi allow us to broaden our understanding of the landscape traditions known to and appreciated by Su Shi, enhancing what can be gleaned from a few other rare works in the idioms of Li Gonglin, Mi Fu, and Mi Youren. What they reveal is a strong interest in subject matter, not simply by choice of theme but through their careful, thoughtful, and creative rendering of text. Undoubtedly, the tendencies that Ledderose has documented came into being, but they did not come about all at once, and they were probably not an intended result of some theoretical agenda. Ironically, the first two paintings to treat the Red Cliff tradition with diminished interest in narrative came not from literati amateurs but from artists working under court patronage—from Ma Hezhi (fig. 2) and Li Song (fig. 3), each reducing “Qiao Zhongchang’s” or “Wu Yuanzhi’s” painting to a singular, focal detail (what might be labeled “iconic” as opposed to narrative).⁶²

The gradual decline of narrative literati art in the post-Song period and its sudden, if brief, reemergence in the era of Wen Zhengming still require much study. But the “Qiao Zhongchang” and “Wu Yuanzhi” paintings tell us that at the outset, in the formative years of Song literati painting, narrative interest was still strong and literati painters were still great masters of the formal discipline of narrative art.

Notes

This study intersects with a number of Professor Richard Edwards's interests, including later Song painting, the "Red Cliff" theme (which he dealt with especially in his Wen Zhengming scholarship), and the relationship of Chinese painting to poetry. It is modeled on his ideal of seeking the broader meanings of art through the patient study of critical detail.

1. This revival began with Su's literary mentor, Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–72), in whose hands the *fu* became "more prose than poem," and quickly reached its high point with Su Shi; see Liu Wu-chi, *An Introduction to Chinese Literature* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1968), 138–40. Ch'ien Chung-shu has provided this critique: "The whole Tang dynasty is a blank as far as prose-poetry is concerned. The famous prose-poems by Han Yu and Liu Zongyuan are all stiff-jointed and second-rate. [In the Song], Ouyang Xiu first shows the way by his magnificent *Autumn Dirge*, and Su [Shi] does the rest"; in Cyril Drummond Le Gros Clark, *The Prose-Poetry of Su Tung-p'o* (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1935), xxi. See also Ronald Egan, *The Literary Works of Ou-yang Hsiu (1007–72)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).
2. *Gugong shu hua lu* (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1965), 1:50. Tung's references here are to Qu Yuan's *Li sao* 離騷, the most famous of prose-poems, from the ancient *Chu ci* 楚辭 anthology, and to China's most time-honored calligraphy, by Wang Xizhi 王羲之.
3. Lin Yutang, *The Gay Genius: The Life and Times of Su Tungpo* (New York: John Day, 1947), 228.
4. Su Shi, *Second Prose Poem on the Red Cliff*, translated in Burton Watson, *Su Tung-p'o: Selections from a Sung Dynasty Poet* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), 91–93; Su's first "Red Cliff" prose-poem appears on pp. 20–21.
5. James Cahill, catalogue entry in Laurence Sickman et al., *Chinese Calligraphy and Painting in the Collection of John M. Crawford, Jr.* (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 1962), 72–75; Susan Bush, "Clearing after Snow in the Min Mountains," *Oriental Art*, n.s., 11 (1965): 163–72; Susan Bush, "Literati Culture under the Chin (1122–1234)," *Oriental Art*, n.s., 15 (1969): 103–12; Esther Leong [Jacobson], "Transition and Transformation in a Chinese Painting and a Related Poem," *Art Journal* 31 (1972): 262–67; Richard Edwards, *The Art of Wen Cheng-ming* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Museum of Art, 1976), 109–11, 182, 196–97, 209–12; Stephen Wilkinson, "Paintings of 'The Red Cliff Prose Poems' in Song Times," *Oriental Art*, n.s., 37 (1981): 76–89; Daniel Altieri, "The Painted Visions of the Red Cliffs," *Oriental Art*, n.s., 39 (1983): 252–64; *Chibi fu shu hua tezhan* (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1984), with text by Zhang Guangbin. Writing on Wen Zhengming, who revived the popularity of this subject for his own era, Edwards, *Art of Wen Cheng-ming*, emphasizes the Red Cliff journey as a thematic example of scholarly gathering.
6. A copy of the Li Song fan exists in album-leaf format in the National Palace Museum, Taipei; see *Chibi fu shu hua tezhan*, fig. 13.
7. In a colophon on the work, dated 1572, Wen's son, Wen Jia 文嘉, wrote: "Painting of the Latter Prose-Poem on the Red Cliff. In inscriptions about the Song period painting academy, they always write about [the works being by] Zhao Boju 趙伯駒 and Zhao Bosu. And all the works I see, if they come from Suzhou area collections, then they're all by Zhao Bosu. When they heard about this one, they wanted to seize it to present it to the prime minister [presumably, Yan Song 嚴嵩]. But the owner clung to it. Then my father said to him, 'How can you court danger for a thing of such value? I'll make you a copy and perhaps preserve something of its outer appearance.' And so he made this scroll." *Gugong shu hua lu*, 2:193; for a complete illustration, see *Chibi fu shu hua tezhan*, pl. 11. A Southern Song "academic" origin for this work seems agreeable, but it is ironic that Wen Jia's skeptical colophon became the basis for entitling it "after Zhao Bosu."
8. Ma's painting is mounted together with a calligraphic rendering of Su's text by the first Southern Song emperor, Gaozong 高宗.
9. For sources documenting the relationship of Qiao and Li, including the comment by Lou Yue 樓鑰 (1137–1213) that Qiao's paintings were frequently mistaken for original works by Li, see Robert Harrist, "A Scholar's Landscape: *Shan-chuang t'u* by Li Kung-lin" (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1989), 60–62, 78, 249.
10. *Shiqu baoji* (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1971), 2:968–69; cf. Cahill, *Crawford*, 72–73.
11. Cahill, *Crawford*, 74–75.
12. Cahill, *Crawford*, 75.
13. Cahill, in *Crawford*, 74, has perceptively noted the similarity of this scroll to the only one plausibly attributed to Su Shi himself, the *Old Tree and Rock* (collection unknown), illustrated in Osvald Sirén, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters and Principles* (London: Lund, Humphries, 1956), 3:195.

14. The landscape painter Wang Shen 王誡 (ca. 1046–after 1100), son-in-law of the emperor, was deprived of all rank for having engaged in sympathetic communications with Su; Su's younger brother, Su Che, *zi* Ziyou 蘇轍·子由 (1039–1112), was demoted and exiled to Jiangxi Province. For accounts of Su Shi's opposition, arrest, and trial, see Ronald Egan, *Word, Image, and Deed in the Life of Su Shih* (Cambridge: Council on East Asian Studies and Harvard University Press, 1994), 27–53; also Lin Yutang, *Gay Genius*, 166–204.
15. For discussion in biographical terms of Su's *shi* poetry composed during this period, see Michael Fuller, *The Road to East Slope: The Development of Su shi's Poetic Voice* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), chap. 6.
16. Authorship of this calligraphy is unclaimed and unknown.
17. Watson, *Su Tung-p'o*, 92, has him visited by a single Daoist; but Chinese editions are inconsistent on this matter, and the inscription on this scroll specifies two. Cahill (*Crawford*, 74) identifies the two guests in this scene as his boating companions, but they are clearly a different pair.
18. For suggestions on the political interpretation of this poem, see n. 46, below.
19. Of the original absence of the poet from this critical scene in the "Qiao Zhongchang" scroll and his belated insertion into the "Zhao Bosu/Wen Zhengming" rendition of it, James Cahill writes: "The disappearance of the image of the poet at this climactic point has the effect of interiorizing the experience, so to speak, just when it is at its most intense and personal, so that one seems to be looking through the poet's eyes instead of looking at him having the experience, as in the rest. Fine, original touch, which the 'Wen Zhengming' version loses" (personal correspondence). Perhaps shaping this sensitive judgment is an implicit partiality to painting that implies rather than describes.
20. The philosophic significance of such resting figures is a central theme of Professor Edwards's "Li Gonglin's Copy of Wei Yan's *Pasturing Horses*," *Artibus Asiae* 53 (1993): 168–94.
21. Xu Bangda calls its style "related to late Song style, but still not a 'member' of the Southern Song school of Li Tang, Liu Songnian, Ma Yuan, and Xia Gui." Xu Bangda, *Gu shu hua wei e kaobian* (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1984), 2:5.
22. Bush, "Clearing," 171, n. 28, provides documentation that a Wu Yuanzhi *Red Cliff* scroll was in existence around 1195 with a poem on it by the Jin scholar Li Yan 李晏 (d. 1197).
23. Bush, "Literati," especially 107–8; for further details on the attribution of the Wu Yuanzhi scroll, see Xu Bangda, 2:5–7, in which all the relevant Chinese texts are gathered, and Bush, "Clearing," 171, n. 28.
24. For the translation of Su Shi's "*Ci* on the Red Cliff," see Liu Wu-chi, *Introduction*, 110. Zhao Bingwen's poetic response is recorded in *Gugong shu hua lu*, 2:100, and is translated in Bush, "Literati," 108.
25. Bush, "Literati," 108.
26. Wilkinson, "Red Cliff," 85, 88.
27. Leong, "Transition," 263.
28. Leong, "Transition," 267. Altieri, "Painted Visions," 256, 261, shares the same view of this whole genre: "Many of the details of the prose-poems are lost in the artists' conceptualizations. . . . [The] transcendent spirit of the *Red Cliff fu* is more important to the successful execution of the paintings than small details concerning the setting of the prose-poems."
29. Lin, *Genius*, 204.
30. Fuller, *Road to East Slope*, 262–63.
31. Liu Xie, in Burton Watson, trans., *Chinese Rhyme Prose: Poems in the Fu Form from the Han and Six Dynasties Periods* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971), 121.
32. Friedrich A. Bischoff, *Interpreting the Fu: A Study in Chinese Literary Rhetoric* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1976), 9.
33. Bischoff, *Interpreting the Fu*, 5.
34. *Gugong shu hua lu*, 2:49; illustrated in *Chibi shu hua tezhan*, fig. 3.
35. Clark, *Prose-Poetry of Su Tung-p'o*, 8.
36. David Hawkes, *Ch'u Tz'u: The Songs of the South: An Ancient Chinese Anthology* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1959), 37–38.
37. For the standard historical account of this battle, see below, n. 57.
38. Luo Guanzhong, trans. Moss Roberts, *Three*

- Kingdoms: China's Epic Drama* (New York: Pantheon, 1976), 183–86, except for Cao's quatrain in my own translation.
39. James Legge, trans., *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 1: *Confucian Analects* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960), 22.
 40. James Legge, trans., *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 2: *The Works of Mencius* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960), 324–25.
 41. The translation that follows is from Watson, *Su Tung-p'o*, 87–90, except that Cao Cao's poem is my translation; the Chinese text of both poems may be found in *Su Dongpo quanji*, in *Zhongguo wenxue mingzhu di liu ji*, ed. Yang Jialuo (Taipei: Shijie Book Company, 1982), 268–69.
 42. Leong, "Transition," 267.
 43. Richard Edwards, "Painting and Poetry in the Late Sung," in Alfreda Murck and Wen Fong, *Words and Images: Chinese Poetry, Calligraphy and Painting* (New York and Princeton: Metropolitan Museum of Art and Princeton University Press, 1991), 413.
 44. Leong, "Transition," 264.
 45. This flute (or pipes) player has been identified through Su Shi's writings as Yang Shichang, a Daoist and musician from Su's home province in Sichuan. Chinese language allowing for ambiguity on the matter, one or more companions might have been intended in this prose-poem—translations usually indicate one, paintings two. The second prose-poem is specific about there being two companions, and Yang was apparently also one of them. For documentation of this, see Clark, *Prose-Poetry*, 130–31.
 46. Despite his closing references to *The Analects* and the rising sun, which suggest otherwise, this prose-poem is usually taken as Daoist in the sense that Su uses the moon, the river, and wine to rise above and beyond social concerns. But read Su's comeback in a letter to an intimate friend, Li Chang 李常, who had advised Su to do just that: "Why are you like this? I had expected you to be brave in trouble. It is true that we are growing old and are in distress, but down in our bones we are conscious of having done the right thing, and with all the philosophy that we have learned, we should be able to take life and death with a laugh. . . . We are in present difficulties. But if an occasion comes up again when we can do something to benefit the people and show our loyalty to our ruler, we should do it regardless of all the consequences for ourselves and leave the rest to the Creator's will. I wouldn't say this to anybody except yourself. Please burn this letter after reading it. Other people may misunderstand." See Lin, *Genius*, 210, for this letter and for another that reads, "During all his adversities, Du Fu never for a moment forgot about his country. That is why he was the incomparable one among all poets."
 47. Su Shi, while exiled in Shandong Province, compressed this attitude into the single memorable phrase, "Where could I go that I would not be happy?"; cf. Egan, *Ou-yang Hsiu*, 95.
 48. For the historical text illustrated here, see Burton Watson, trans., *Records of the Historian: Chapters from the Shih Chi of Ssu-ma Ch'ien* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), 83–85.
 49. For illustration and discussions of these two paintings, see my *Chinese Painting Style: Media, Methods, and Principles of Form* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1982), figs. 12–15.
 50. Lin, *Genius*, 226.
 51. In this defeat, at the hands of the Western Xia, several hundred thousand Chinese troops were butchered along with all of their officers at Yulin, in Gansu, under the failed leadership of a staunch Wang Anshi follower named Xu Xi 徐禧; like the Red Cliff battle, this took place in a three-sided encounter, Song and its enemies, Xia and Liao, arrayed like Wei, Shu, and Wu. Bischoff, *Interpreting the Fu*, 195–98.
 52. Clark, *Prose-Poetry*, 130–31.
 53. See *Chibi fu shu hua tezhan*, fig. 1, for a photo. Various other sites, claimed as the historical site by their local populace, are arrayed along the Yangzi, at Hanyang 漢陽, Hanchuan 漢川, Jiangxia 江夏, and elsewhere.
 54. For a schematic battle diagram, see Luo Guan-zhong, trans. Moss Roberts, *Three Kingdoms: A Historical Novel* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 373.
 55. Cf. the 1885 map in *Huangzhou fu zhi* (Taipei:

Chengwen chubanshe, 1976), 86, above; Ding Yonghuai et al., *Dongpo chibi* (Wuhan: Hubei renmin chubanshe, 1981), 1, 12–19.

56. Su Shi, *Dongpo zhilin* 東坡志林 (Beijing: Zhonghua shudian, 1981), 75. In these travel notes, Su makes it clear that he had traveled to the Red Cliff quite a number of times, learned its lore, explored its “grotto” (Mr. Xu’s Cave), and gathered up a large collection of walking sticks from its banks and colored rocks from its shore.
57. *Sanguo zhi*, ed. Chen Shou and Pei Songzhi (Beijing: Zhonghua shujū, 1959), “Wu shu” section, ch. 54, 1262–63: “When Liu Bei 劉備 had been defeated by Cao Cao, he wanted to head south across the Yangzi, so he met with Lu Su 魯肅 at Dangyang to plan a common strategy, then entered Xiakou and encamped there, sending Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮 to report to [Sun] Quan 孫權. Quan then dispatched [Zhou] Yu and Cheng Pu, among others, to join forces with [Liu] Bei in opposition to Cao and encounter him at the Red Cliff. By the time Cao’s army amassed, they already had contracted some disease, so when they engaged in battle, they suffered a defeat and he had them camp on the north side of the Yangzi. [Zhou] Yu and the others were on the south bank. Yu’s lieutenant-general Huang Gai 黃蓋 said: ‘Those brigands are many and we are few. It will be hard for us to control them before a long time has passed. But see that Cao’s naval vessels are now linked from stem to stern. They could be burned and dispatched.’ Then he assembled several tens of attack boats and battleships with their prows covered over, packed them with fresh hay soaked in fats and covered with tenting material. He raised a serrated flag above them. Then he sent a letter to Cao, lying to him about wishing to submit, writing that he had prepared a number of boats for him to travel in, each ferrying large boats tied behind, following others in front. Cao’s military officers and civil officials all stretched forward to look at this, pointing and saying that Gai would surrender. Gai then sent forth his boats, setting them on fire as he did. Just then a wind blew fiercely, bringing their flames to the encampment on the shore. In no time at all, the smoke and fires reached to the heavens, and the men and horses that were burned to death or drowned were many. The soldiers fled in defeat, returning for reinforcements to Nanjun. [Liu] Bei, [Zhou] Yu, and the others pursued them together. Cao Cao left Cao Ren 曹仁 and others in defense of Jiangling, then took a direct route from there to return north.”
58. Note that in the “Qiao Zhongchang” scroll, this fidelity to direction is also maintained. Though the boatmen head toward the left, as dictated by the extended narrative format, the crane, too, is shown in flight from right to left, overtaking them from behind, as dictated by the west-to-east flight specified in the text.
59. Lothar Ledderose, “Subject Matter in Early Chinese Painting Criticism,” *Oriental Art*, n.s., 19 (1973): 78–79.
60. This dilemma is discussed by Kiyohiko Munakata, “Some Methodological Considerations: A Review of Susan Bush, *The Chinese Literati on Painting*,” *Artibus Asiae* 38 (1976): 308–18.
61. As suggested in verse by Su’s poetic mentor, Mei Yaochen 梅堯臣, in Susan Bush, *The Chinese Literati on Painting: Su Shih to Tung Ch’i-ch’ang* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971), 24. Bush, 26, says that in a poem written along similar lines, “Su [Shi] would seem to be saying that painting cannot be bound by likeness to nature any more than the composition of poetry can be restricted by a set theme.”
62. This, of course, does not contradict the continuing strong interest in narrative painting at the Southern Song court, in which Ma Hezhi himself played a leading role.

JAPANESE COLLECTORS' SEALS ON CHINESE PAINTINGS DURING THE MUROMACHI PERIOD, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE SEAL OF ZEN'A

By SASAKI KOZO

ART COLLECTORS IN JAPAN, UNLIKE THOSE IN CHINA, did not usually impress their seals on paintings in their collections. There were, however, a few exceptions, notably several members of the Ashikaga 足利 shogunate (1335–1573) who adhered to the Chinese tradition. In particular, these shoguns placed their collectors' seals on their Song and Yuan paintings. These paintings are at present collectively referred to as the Higashiyama 東山 Shogunal Collection and are particularly treasured by tea masters.¹ In the first section of this paper I will discuss various collectors' seals on the paintings in the Higashiyama Collection, pointing out in particular the group of twelve paintings that bear the collector's seal of Zen'a 善阿, whose identity has been the subject of much conjecture. In the second section, I will examine how the problem of Zen'a's identity may be resolved. Finally, I will argue that Zen'a was Chiba Sadatane 千葉貞胤 (1290–1350), a provincial governor of Shimofusa 下總 in the Northern and Southern Dynasties period (1334–91).

The Higashiyama Shogunal Collection

While the third shogun Yoshimitsu 義満 (1358–1408) and the eighth shogun Yoshimasa

義政 (1436–90) were both well-known art collectors, recent research has made it clear that the seventh shogun Yoshinori 義教 (1394–1441) also actively collected paintings.² At present, more than thirty-five individual paintings are identified as having been in Yoshimitsu's collection on the basis of his collector's seal.³ Similarly, eighteen paintings are identified as having been in Yoshinori's collection. Although Yoshinori acquired Yoshimitsu's collection, their respective collectors' seals on the paintings in the two collections do not overlap.

Yoshimitsu is known to have used several collector's seals, with the two most common being type-one *tenzan* 天山 (square intaglio with double frame; fig. 1) and *dōyū* 道有 (square intaglio with double frame; fig. 2). The former seal is found on seventeen hanging scrolls, including *Monkey and Crane* by Muqi 牧谿 (Daitoku-ji, Kyoto) and *Landscape in Autumn and Winter*, attributed to Emperor Huizong 徽宗 (Konchi-in, Kyoto); the latter seal appears on sixteen paintings, such as *The White-Robed Guanyin* by Muqi (Daitoku-ji) and *Evening Glow on a Fishing Village*, attributed to Muqi (Nezu Art Museum, Tokyo), which is one of the four surviving paintings of his "Eight Views of Xiao-Xiang" (Xiao-Xiang *ba-jing tu* 瀟湘八景圖). These two seals are also

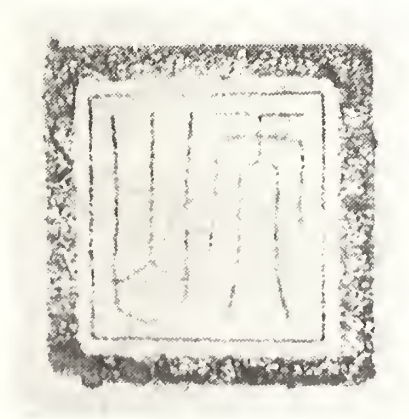


FIG. 1. Type-one *tenzan* seal, found on *Monkey and Crane* by Muqi and *Landscape in Autumn and Winter*, attributed to Emperor Huizong.



FIG. 2. *Dōyū* seal, found on *White-Robed Guanyin* by Muqi and *Evening Glow on a Fishing Village*, attributed to Muqi.

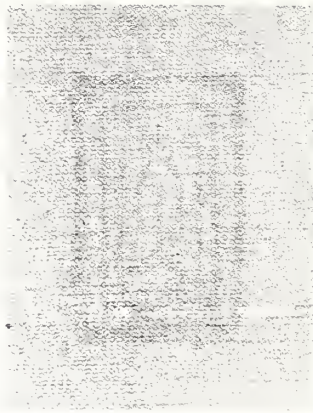


FIG. 3. Type-two *tenzan* seal, found on *Peach and Dove*, attributed to Emperor Huizong.

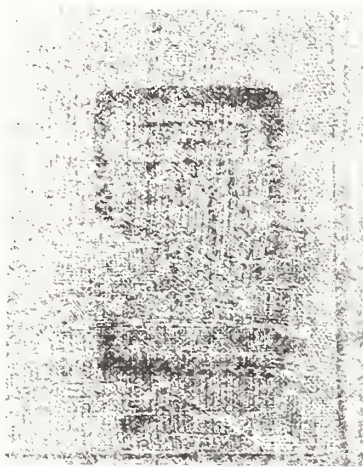


FIG. 5. Type-two *tenzan* seal, found on *Monkeys on Rocks*, attributed to Muqi.



FIG. 4. *Monkeys on Rocks*, attributed to Muqi.

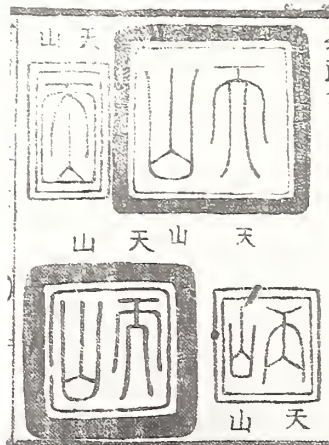


FIG. 6. Group of Yoshimasa's rectangular intaglio seals collected in the *Kun'in hosei*.



FIG. 7. Type-three *tenzan* seal, found on *Heron*, attributed to Xia Gui.



FIG. 8. *Heron*, attributed to Xia Gui.

found on Yoshimitsu's own writings, so there can be no doubt about their owner.

The type-two *tenzan* (rectangular intaglio with double frame; fig. 3) is found only on *Peach and Dove*, attributed to Emperor Huizong (Setsu Collection). In addition, another painting that may bear this seal is *Monkeys on Rocks*,⁴ attributed to Muqi (fig. 4); this work is among those Chinese paintings included in *Hikkō-en* 筆耕園. This *Monkeys on Rocks*, like *Peach and Dove*, is painted on silk that has been remounted, and the size of the painting has been altered. And while the size of the seal on *Monkeys on Rocks* is slightly different from that on *Peach and Dove*, and the inscription is not legible, this seal (fig. 5) is very similar to that on the *Peach and Dove* and seems to belong to the group of Yoshimasa's rectangular intaglio seals collected in the *Kun'in hōsei* 摺印補正 (fig. 6), published in 1802 by Kashiwara-ya. The seal on *Monkeys on Rocks* is elegant, and the style of characters and the way in which these characters are carved share some common features with the type-one *tenzan* seal and *dōyū* seal. Accordingly, I argue that *Monkeys on Rocks* could have reasonably been in Yoshimitsu's collection.

The type-three *tenzan* seal (square intaglio with single frame; fig. 7) is found on *Heron* (fig. 8), attributed to Xia Gui 夏珪, which is also included in the *Hikkō-en*.⁵ This seal has usually been considered the same as the type-one seal because the characters in both cases are *tenzan*.⁶ Yet several important differences may be noted: 1) the type-three has a single frame, as opposed to the double frame for type-one; 2) the style of characters in the type-three seal is simpler and less elegant; and 3) the locations of the type-three seals on their paintings differ from those on other paintings in the Yoshimitsu collection. Therefore, it is difficult to consider the type-three *tenzan* seal as Yoshimitsu's. Perhaps it is a fake carved under the misunderstanding that *tenzan* was the artist's name.

Another seal that can be considered a Yoshimitsu collector's seal has an inscription reading *hokuzan (kitayama) bunbō no in* 北山文房之印⁷ (square intaglio; fig. 9) and is found on *Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting* (*Dongting quiyue* 洞庭秋月), which is one of the three surviving paintings from "Eight Views of Xiao-Xiang," attributed to Yujian 玉澗. Note that while all of the four paintings of Muqi's "Eight Views of Xiao-Xiang" bear the *dōyū* seal, only one of the three attributed to Yujian does. If this "Eight Views of Xiao-Xiang" attributed to Yujian was originally in the scroll format, one seal would have been sufficient for

the whole set of eight paintings. But there was a complete set of eight paintings in the Ashikaga Shogunal Collection at the time of Yoshinori, and these paintings were already in the hanging scroll format,⁸ probably remounted by Yoshimitsu. If this is indeed the case, Yoshimitsu put his *dōyū* seal on all eight Muqi paintings, while putting this *hokuzan (kitayama) bunbō no in* seal on only one of the Yujian attributions.

How might this difference be explained? One possibility is that Yoshimitsu may have varied ways in which he put his collector's seals on paintings according to the painting type or the artist; hence, while he put his seal on each of Muqi's works, he did not do so on the Yujian paintings. Another possibility is that Yoshimitsu may have used his shogunal authority to bring together eight Muqi paintings that had been formerly scattered in separate collections, marking his achievement by placing his seal on each.

If the latter is the case, the strong possibility exists that the *hokuzan bunbō no in* seal may have belonged to somebody else. Based on the inclusion of the word *kitayama* 北山 (hills on the north side of the Kyoto Basin), one might conjecture that this seal was used by a member of the Saionji 西園寺 family, who owned the villa in the Kitayama area before Yoshimitsu.⁹ This hypothesis is difficult to accept, however, because the style and carving of the characters are too sophisticated for the beginning of the Muromachi 室町 period (1330s and 1340s), when the Saionji family owned the Kitayama villa. In other words, the owner of the *hokuzan (kitayama) bunbō no in* seal remains unknown.

Another problem is associated with the



FIG. 9. *Hokuzan (kitayama) bunbō no in* seal, found on *Autumn Moon over Lake Dongting*, from "Eight Views of Xiao-Xiang," attributed to Yujian.

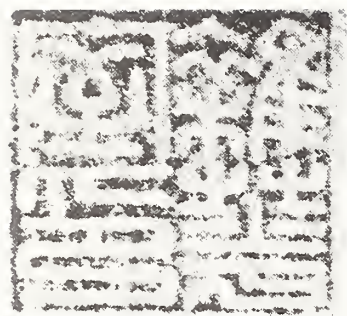


FIG. 10. *Zakka shitsu in* seal, found on *Landscape in Snow* by Liang Kai 梁楷 and *Quail*, attributed to Li Anzhong.

identification of the *zakka shitsu in* 雜華室印 seal (square, relief; fig. 10) that is found on some paintings in the Higashiyama Shogunal Collection, such as *Landscape in Snow* by Liang Kai 梁楷 (Tokyo National Museum) and *Quail*, attributed to Li Anzhong 李安忠 (Nezu Art Museum). This seal has long been considered Yoshimasa's collector's seal,¹⁰ although researchers now tend to believe that the seal was Yoshinori's. If this is the case, it should be noted that this seal is not listed in the *Kun'in hosei*, which instead includes the *taishin tatsujun* 體信達順 seal (square, intaglio, with double frame; fig. 11) as Yoshinori's.

Approaches to Zen'a

Another well-known example of a Muromachi-period collector's seal is the *Zen'a* seal (intaglio, gourd-shaped; fig. 12). To date, no one has claimed that this seal belonged to a member of the Ashikaga shogunate, and, indeed, the quality of paintings that bear impressions of this seal is lower than those with the *tenzan*, *dōyū*, or *zakka shitsu in* seals.¹¹ Although this seal was probably used by a person whose real or artistic name was Zen'a, his identity remains a mystery. One long-standing hypothesis holds that Zen'a was one of Yoshimasa's private retainers, or *dōbōshū* 同朋衆, who participated in the design of the Jishō-ji 慈照寺 garden.¹² Another hypothesis proposes that the seal was used by local artists in Japan and China who specialized in copying Chinese paintings, including the twelve paintings that have the *Zen'a* seal;¹³ still another suggests that Zen'a was the owner of a lotus-leaf-shaped inkstone, which was mentioned in the *Muromachi dono gyōkō okazari ki* 室町殿行幸御飾記.¹⁴ But because Zen'a is actually an abbreviation of Zen-Amidabutsu

(Zen-Amitabha) or Zen-ami 善阿彌, this name would have been that of a priest or devotee of the Jishū 時宗 sect founded by the priest Ippen 一遍. In other words, whoever used the seal of Zen'a was probably associated with the Jishū sect. In this sense, the hypothesis that Zen'a was a private retainer of the shogun seems entirely appropriate.

Nevertheless, it is very questionable whether a gardener and a servant to a shogun, even with the name Zen'a, could collect more than ten Chinese paintings. Furthermore, the hypothesis that Zen'a the gardener was favored by Yoshimasa and given part of Yoshimasa's collection¹⁵ is largely discredited because the owner of the *zakka shitsu in* seal has been found not to be Yoshimasa. The aforementioned hypotheses of Zen'a as a collector or as an artist likewise tell us little about the identity of Zen'a himself.

In order to solve this problem, it is essential to start with the *Zen'a* seal itself, then go on to investigate the paintings that bear the seal. The first consideration is that the gourd shape of the *Zen'a* seal was extremely unusual both during the Song and Yuan periods in China and during the Kamakura 鎌倉 and Muromachi periods in Japan, when the use of collectors' seals was not widespread. Indeed, one of the few personages to use a gourd-shaped seal was Emperor Huizong. Accordingly, Zen'a's use of such a seal would indicate that he respected Emperor Huizong and admired his artistic achievements. It also indicates that Zen'a was deeply knowledgeable about Chinese history. Furthermore, Zen'a had probably

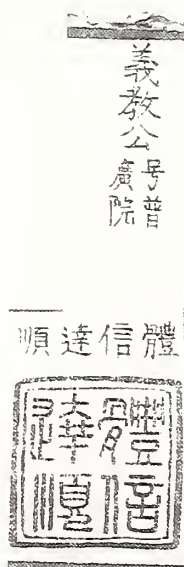


FIG. 11. *Taishin tatsujun* seal, from the *Kun'in hosei*.



FIG. 12. Zen'a seal, found on twelve paintings. Possibly the seal of Chiba Sadatane.

achieved an authoritative position, such as provincial governor or county magistrate. It is very unlikely that he was merely a gardener or a collector.

Another noteworthy aspect of the use of the *Zen'a* seal is that some of the Chinese paintings bearing the seal also have another seal. Two hanging scrolls of *Dragons* by Chen Rong 陳容 bear the *tenzan* seal in addition to the *Zen'a* seal. *Bamboo and Sparrow* and *Two Sparrows*, each attributed to Muqi, bear both *zakka shitsu in* and *Zen'a* seals. Although in China a single painting sometimes may bear several collectors' seals due to its changing hands, in Japan collectors usually did not put their seals on paintings. It is even more uncommon for a painting to have more than one collector's seal. In fact, the four paintings mentioned here are the only examples in Japan that bear two collectors' seals.

Perhaps Japanese collectors did not use collectors' seals because of their respect for artists and fear of harming their paintings. Later, at the beginning of the Tokugawa 徳川 period, the status of artists also rose. Painters were given priestly titles by the imperial court and could operate outside of the rigid social structure imposed by the Tokugawa shogunate; they were also treated as members of the ruling samurai class.

This Japanese attitude toward artists should be distinguished from the Chinese view. To the Chinese emperor who received the mandate of heaven, all people, including artists, were simply his retainers. The emperor's attitude toward artists and their works probably reached down to art collectors, for whom it became common practice to put collectors' seals on their paintings.

In Japan, one art collector who was influenced by this Chinese attitude was Yoshimitsu, though in this he was definitely an exception because, as stated above, such practices never took hold in

Japan. Yoshimitsu, in fact, was granted the title King of Japan by the Chinese emperor, and he seems to have viewed himself as an emperor of sorts. Yoshimitsu was knowledgeable about China, and, following the practice of the Chinese emperor, he placed collector's seals on paintings in his collection. Yoshinori did so too, simply following the practice of his predecessor.

The question remains as to why a single painting in a Japanese collection would have two collectors' seals. First, it is impossible to imagine that an educated Japanese collector would have ignored a collector's seal had it been on a painting. Furthermore, for a single painting to have two such seals indicates some unusual circumstances. If the previous owner was Yoshimitsu, whoever added his own collector's seal would have had to feel himself superior to Yoshimitsu. Otherwise, he would not have been able to do so. Hence, paintings with Yoshimitsu's *tenzan* seal do not also have Yoshinori's *zakka shitsu in* seal.

The *Zen'a* seal, however, is found on paintings that have not only the *tenzan* seal but also the *zakka shitsu in* seal. This indicates that the person who used the *Zen'a* seal had no relationship with the Ashikaga family. In other words, the *Zen'a* seal must have been placed on the painting before Yoshimitsu became the shogun or after the Ashikaga shogunate collapsed. In the latter case, only someone who considered himself superior to the Ashikaga family—someone like Oda Nobunaga 織田信長—could affix his own collector's seal while being fully aware of the *tenzan* and *zakka shitsu in* seals. Nobunaga is unlikely, however, because he was not interested in building this kind of Chinese painting collection. Accordingly, it is more likely that the *Zen'a* seal was already on these Chinese paintings before Yoshimitsu acquired them.

My hypothesis that *Zen'a* acquired these paintings earlier than Yoshimitsu is also supported by the overall tendency of the *Zen'a* collection. This does not mean, of course, that the twelve paintings with the *Zen'a* seal comprised the entire *Zen'a* collection. The original collection was probably much larger. Even so, some distinctive characteristics of the *Zen'a* collection are evident. First, emphasis is placed on the Muqi paintings, as in the case of Yoshimitsu's collection. Second, it lacks colorful flower-and-bird paintings, and in this it can be distinguished from the Yoshinori collection. These two characteristics suggest that the *Zen'a* collection is chronologically closer to the Yoshimitsu collection than to Yoshinori's and

may even be earlier than Yoshimitsu's. If so, Zen'a should have been a person of the Northern and Southern Dynasties, held a position of authority, such as provincial governor or county magistrate, and been an art collector with the Amida (Buddhist) name of Zen'a.

Identification of Zen'a

As mentioned earlier, Zen'a is a name adopted only by those related to the Jishū sect. Although there is little surviving evidence to indicate when the Jishū sect flourished, it became firmly established and very active in its religious activities during the Northern and Southern Dynasties. Many Jishū temples were erected at that time, and with the frequent civil wars, Jishū priests served the military forces on the front lines. The Jishū sect was thriving.

For example, among the twelve Buddhist temples erected before 1400 in the present Shinagawa-ku 品川区, Tokyo, two belonged to the Tendai 天台 sect, three to Zen 禪, three to Nichiren 日蓮, two to Jishū, one to Jōdo-Shinshū 淨土真宗, and one to Jōdo 淨土.¹⁶ Although most of these temples were erected by new sects of the Kamakura period, note that, along with the newly established Nichiren sect, Jishū already had two temples within a hundred years of its founding.

Furthermore, the *Taiheiki* 太平記 lists twenty-five samurai leaders, including Nitta Yoshisada 親田義貞 and Kō no Moronao 高師直, who served as military priests of the Jishū sect during the Northern and Southern Dynasties.¹⁷ Five of this group had the name *ami* 阿弥. In addition, the *Ta'a Shōnin hōgo* 他阿上人法語 (Vernacular sermons of Priest Ta'a), a chronicle of the Jishū sect, mentions Sasaki Dōyo 佐々木道譽 and a few others involved in the sect. In 1338 after Nitta Yoshisada died in the fighting, his son was saved by a Jishū priest and became deeply involved in the sect, taking the name Ryō'a 良阿. All these facts indicate that the Jishū sect played an important role in contemporary society.

The daily life of the samurai leaders involved in the sect was quite lavish. "The Rise and Fall of the Aristocracy and Samurai" (*Taiheiki*, vol. 33) states that while court nobles were very poor, members of the samurai class became one hundred times wealthier. For example, "New Shogun Leaving the Capital" (*Taiheiki*, vol. 37) notes that Sasaki Dōyo gathered people for tea ceremonies and collected art treasures from Japan as well as from

foreign countries. When his mansion in Kyoto was raided by Kusunoki Masayoshi 楠木正儀 in 1361 and he was forced out of Kyoto, Sasaki left behind a hanging scroll of grass script calligraphy by Wang Xizhi 王羲之 along with an anthology of poetry by Han Yu 韓愈. Representatives of the occupation force were served drinks by Sasaki's servant, who was also a Jishū devotee.

Of course, all the samurai of this period were not like Dōyo. But they were more or less well educated and actively engaged in building Buddhist temples as well as collecting paintings and calligraphy. This is particularly true of those who lived in the Kyoto and Kamakura regions. Another distinctive characteristic of the Kamakura samurai was that once they had constructed temples, they often donated their art collections to them. In modern terms, they institutionalized or incorporated their private holdings. Notable collections formed in this way include the Kanazawa Bunko 金沢文庫, created by Hōjō Sanetoki 北條實時 in 1275 in Yokohama; the collection at Butsujitsu-an 佛日庵, a subtemple of Enkaku-ji 圓覺寺 Kamakura, which includes the well-known Chinese painting catalogue dated to 1320; and the Ashikaga Gakkō 足利學校, noted for its manuscript collection. From this we can see that any provincial governor or county magistrate who was actively involved with the Jishū sect would be a likely candidate for Zen'a.

I would like to nominate Chiba Sadatane (1290–1350). He fulfills several conditions for Zen'a discussed in the previous section: he occupied an authoritative position; he lived near Kamakura; he was wealthy and maintained ties with merchants who might have brought him Chinese paintings; and he was a devotee of the Jishū sect.

Sadatane was the governor of the Shimofusa Province (northwestern part of Chiba Prefecture). During his generation, the Chiba family was divided into two; one branch was headed by Sadatane himself, the other by his cousin Tanesada 千葉胤貞 (1288–1336), who was born into the family of the Shimofusa provincial governor but eventually left Shimofusa for Hizen 肥前, present-day Saga Prefecture. The two family branches competed with each other, Sadatane siding with the Northern Court and Tanesada supporting the Southern Court.

Although Sadatane was the governor of Shimofusa, Tanesada, the head of the Chiba family branch, was appointed Hizen provincial governor in Kyushu. Tanesada was a dedicated adherent of the Nichiren sect, and he donated forty-

five hectares of land to the Hokekyō-ji 法華經寺,¹⁸ which was founded in 1294 and is currently located in Ichikawa 市川 City, Chiba Prefecture.

Similarly, Sadatane was a dedicated Zen Buddhist. He transferred Dainichi-ji 大日寺, which was erected by his ancestor, from Kogane no Mabashi 小金の馬橋 to Chiba, invited the priest Koten 古天 who was a disciple of the priest Musō 夢窓, and changed the temple name to Manman-ji 万満寺.¹⁹ Sadatane's retainer and a member of his family branch Ōsuka Norimune 大須賀憲宗 donated agricultural land to Daihō-in 大寶院, which was one of the supporting temples of Shōmyō-ji (in present-day Yokohama).²⁰ This transaction suggests a close relationship between the Chiba family and Shōmyō-ji 稱名寺. All in all, the Chiba family and his clan were dedicated to religion and served as benefactors of Buddhist temples, having close ties with temples in Kanagawa 神奈川 and Kamakura in particular.

The Chiba family also maintained ties with wealthy merchants. The growth of the aforementioned Hokekyō-ji was also supported by the wealth of merchants in Shinagawa (in the present Tokyo), Kanagawa (in present-day Yokohama), and Rokuura 六浦 (in present-day Yokohama), all of which played important roles in the trade network with Kamakura. The construction of Butsujitsu-an in Kamakura and the erection of the image hall at Shōmyō-ji were both made possible by the financial support of the shippers and innkeepers of Shinagawa²¹ and merchants in Rokuura. It is easy to imagine members of the Chiba family interacting with these merchants, who were also actively supporting Buddhist temples.

Moreover, Sadatane was a devotee of the Jishū sect. Although neither the *Taiheiki* nor Jishū documents such as the *Ta'a Shōnin hōgo* mention it, both the *Ōtake ke keizu* 大竹家系圖 (Genealogy of the Ōtake family) and a footnote on Tsunetane 千葉常胤, a distant ancestor of Sadatane, in the *Chiba ōkei zu* 千葉大系圖 (Genealogy of the Chiba family)²² mention that Sadatane converted to Jishū just before age sixty-one. This was a serious problem for the Chiba family. His cousin Tanesada was a patron of the Nichiren temple Hokekyō-ji, while Sadatane himself had supported Zen temples. Suddenly, however, the head of the clan converted to Jishū toward the end of his life!

This may account for the fact that the exact *ami* name of Sadatane is unknown, while the *ami* names of other Jishū devotees who were provincial governors and county magistrates were all known from the *Taiheiki* and other sources. Sadatane's conversion to Jishū was only recorded in his family history and not publicized, probably because the Chiba clan wanted to show respect for the other Buddhist sects by keeping it quiet. Or perhaps other clan members were so shocked by his conversion that they wanted nothing to do with it. In reaction, Sadatane may have used his *ami* name Zen'a to indicate his own presence by, for example, impressing the *Zen'a* seal on paintings in his collection. Possibly, his successor Chiba Ujitane 千葉氏胤 (?–1363) took the extreme action of discarding all items related to the Jishū sect as a reaction against his predecessor.

Notes

1. The name Higashiyama comes from the location of a villa of the eighth shogun, Ashikaga Yoshimasa, who was famous for his art collections. The term *higashiyama* refers to hills on the east side of the Kyoto Basin, and the villa is now famous as Jishō-ji, or Ginkaku-ji 銀閣寺, with its silver pavilion. Higashiyama-dono became a synonym for Yoshimasa, then ultimately for the entire Ashikaga shogunate in later years.
2. Satō Toyozō, "Shōgun-ke 'Onari' ni tsuite," *Kin-shachi sōsho*, vols. 1–3 (Nagoya: Tokugawa Reimei Kai, 1973–75). Also, *Muromachi dono gyōkō okazari ki* (Record of decorations on the occasion of the imperial visit to the Muromachi Palace), which recorded Chinese paintings and crafts displayed in Yoshinori's palace in the tenth month of 1437, when Emperor Go-Hanazono 後花園 visited, reprinted in *Kin-shachi sōsho*, vol. 2.
3. Besides the previously known thirty-five paintings, I have discovered one more that was probably in the Higashiyama Collection. But I do not include in my discussion an example reported by Yoshiaki Shimizu, "A Chinese Album Leaf from the Former Ashikaga Collection in the Freer Gallery of Art," *Archives of Asian Art* 37 (1984): 96–108.
4. Pl. 32 in *Hikkō-en* (compiled during the Tokugawa period), published by Shimbi Shoin (1912), and pl. 9 in the Kodansha reprint (1974).
5. Pl. 5 in *Hikkō-en*, published by Kodansha and as in the Shimbi Shoin version.
6. Etō Shun, "Explanatory Notes," *Hikkō-en*, published by Kodansha, pl. 9.
7. *Hokuzan (kitayama)* is the proper noun used for Yoshimitsu's mountain villa (now known as Kinkaku-ji 金閣寺), located in the foothills of Kinugasa Hill; because the villa is located in the north of Kyoto, Yoshimitsu's mountain villa and even Yoshimitsu himself are referred to by the name Kitayama-dono.
8. *Muromachi dono gyōkō okazari ki*, one handscroll.
9. This villa is now Rokuon-ji 鹿苑寺, or Kinkaku-ji, with its famed golden pavilion.
10. Wakimoto Jūkurō, "Zakka shitsu no kanzō in ki ni tsuite," *Bijutsu kenkyū* 22 (1933): 9–18.
11. Yonezawa Yoshio, "Zen'a in aru Gafuku," *Bijutsushi* 11 (1954): 97–99.
12. Wakimoto Jūkurō, "Niwa-shi Zen'a to Sō, Gen shoga jiku ni noseru 'Zen'a' in ki ni tsuite," *Bijutsu kenkyū* 26 (1934): 18–31.
13. Yonezawa Yoshio, "Zen'a in aru Gafuku."
14. Etō Shun, "'Zakka shitsu in' in ki aru gaseki nit-suite," *Higashiyama gyomotsu* (Tokyo: Nezu Art Museum, 1976), 125–34.
15. See n. 2 for the explanation of the *Muromachi dono gyōkō okazari ki*.
16. Abe Yukihiro, "Chūsei Musashi no kuni no Jishū dōjo," in Abe Yukihiro, *Chūsei kantō no bushidan to shinkō* (Abe Yukihiro Chosakushu Kankokai, 1990).
17. *Taiheiki* is a factual account of the fifty years of civil wars between Godaigo 後醍醐 becoming emperor (1316) and Yoshimitsu becoming shogun upon the death of Yoshiakira 義隆 in 1367 during the reign of Emperor Gokōgon 後光嚴; it dates to the first half of the 1370s.
18. "Nakayama Hokekyō-ji no Ayumi," *Nakayama Hokekyō-ji shi* (Ichikawa: Hokekyō-ji, 1981), 40–54.
19. "Kamakura Ō-zōshi," *Shimofusa-chō shi* (Shimofusa: Shimofusa Township Government, 1990), 669–78.
20. "Kodai, Chūsei hen shiryō-shū," *Shimofusa-cho shi*, 669.
21. Abe Yukihiro, "Chūsei Musashi no kuni no Jishū dōjo."
22. Both are reprinted in "Kodai, Chūsei hen shiryō-shū," 681–701.

IMPERIAL PORTRAITURE IN THE SONG, YUAN, AND MING PERIODS

By WEN C. FONG

AROUND THE YEAR 1500, DURING THE MING DYNASTY, imperial portraiture changed from the earlier convention of showing a naturalistically posed warrior-king (fig. 1) to presenting the emperor in a flatly frontal, hieratic composition, with his body and personal identity totally concealed behind a symbol-laden dragon robe (fig. 2). This change from a naturalistic representation to a schematic one raises many questions about history: Is the flat imperial image of the Ming, devoid of naturalistic interest, emblematic of a China that was becoming increasingly retrogressive at the very moment that the West was rising to world hegemony following the overseas explorations that began with the voyages of Columbus?¹ Does the change reflect Mark Elvin's observation

that China reached the height of its economic, scientific, and technological development during the Song and was caught thereafter in a stagnant "equilibrium trap"?² While it is not possible to attempt direct answers to such questions, we may begin our inquiry by describing the stylistic changes in Chinese imperial portraiture, interpreting their meaning and providing historical contexts for these changes.

Song Portraits

The ritual and didactic aspects of Song imperial art are exemplified by three near-lifesize imperial portraits. These paintings were originally part of



FIG. 1. Anonymous, *Portrait of Song Taizu*, second half of tenth century, hanging scroll, color on silk, 191 × 169.7 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.



FIG. 2. Anonymous, *Portrait of the Ming Hongzhi Emperor*, sixteenth century, hanging scroll, color on silk, 209.7 × 155.2 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

圖總部面

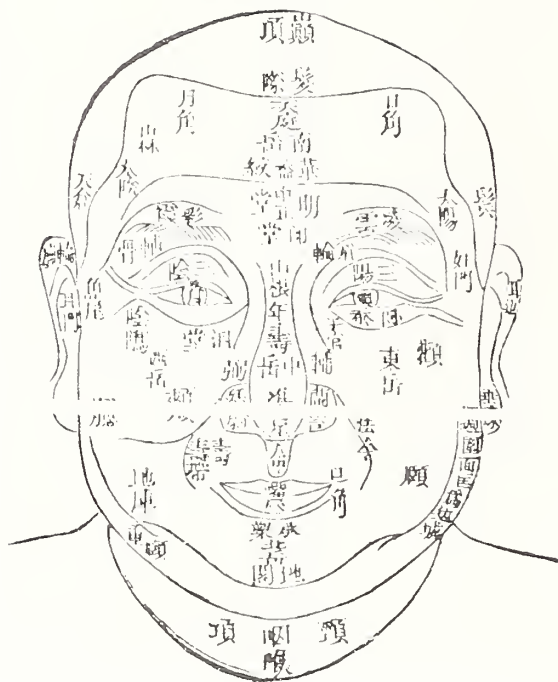


FIG. 3. Physiognomic chart of a human face. From *The Mustard Seed Garden Painter's Manual*, vol. 4.

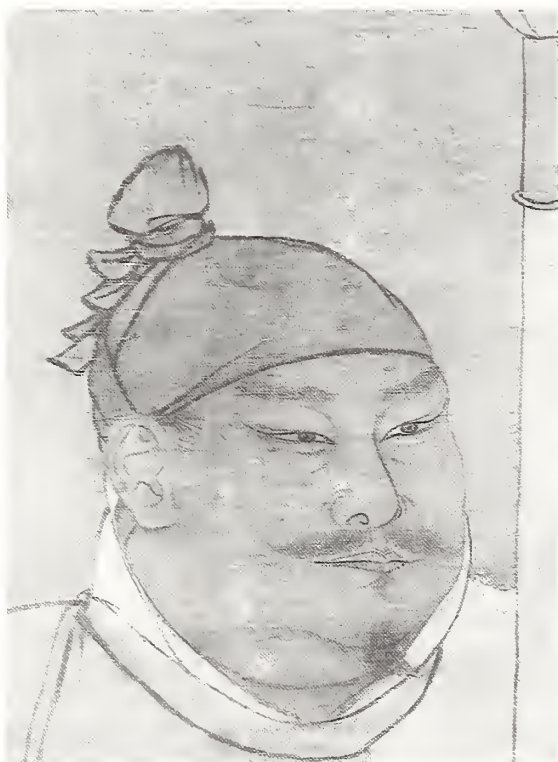


FIG. 4. Anonymous, *Emperor Taizu of the Song Dynasty* (detail), hanging scroll, color on silk, 51 × 38.6 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

a set of twelve portraits of Song rulers and their consorts that was seized from the Song imperial household by the conquering Mongols in 1276.³ The *Portrait of Song Taizu* 太祖 (fig. 1) shows the founder of the Song dynasty seated in three-quarter view on a red-lacquered throne with gilt dragon heads and fittings. Dressed in a white robe with a red waistband, he wears the Song dynasty court hat with long, stiff flaps. The painting is no doubt the work of a leading portrait artist at Taizu's court in the second half of the tenth century.⁴ The art of painting had flourished during the Five Dynasties period, especially at the regional courts of two minor kingdoms in the south and southwest, the Southern Tang (937–75) in Nanjing and the Former and Later Shu (907–65) in Sichuan. After the establishment of the Song, many leading Sichuan and southern painters joined the Song court in Bianjing 汴京, where an official Painting Bureau was established in 984.⁵ Members of the Painting Bureau, which was located in the inner court of the palace compound and administered as part of the inner palace service staff, served as personal attendants to the emperor.

With the growing cult of the imperial ancestor during the Song dynasty, portraits like that of



FIG. 5. Detail of fig. 1.

Taizu were displayed and worshiped in state temples. Serving at once as ancestral effigies and sacred icons, they radiated a kind of supernatural expressionism that influenced all later formal portrait art, including Buddhist images known as *dingxiang* 頂相 (*chinso* in Japanese) and ordinary ancestor portraits.⁶

Of the many specialized skills performed by court artists, perhaps the most difficult and politically sensitive was imperial portraiture. A successful portrait not only had to capture the physical likeness of the emperor; it also had to display the physiognomic characteristics of a godlike presence. Portraiture demanded of the artist not only exceptional representational ability but also a thorough knowledge of the Chinese practice of physiognomy, in which the human face is compared to a cosmic map.⁷ As illustrated in an early-nineteenth-century copybook, *The Mustard Seed Garden Painter's Manual* (fig. 3), a physiognomic chart of a human face designates the top of the head as a mountain peak, the jaw as the crust of the earth, the eyes as the sun and moon, and the nose—framed by forehead, chin, and two cheeks—as the five sacred mountains of the universe.

The physical likeness to the emperor as seen in the *Portrait of Song Taizu* is attested by a smaller portrait head that shows him some years earlier, as a military commander wearing a soldier's kerchief cap (fig. 4). Compared to the earlier portrait, in which the full, masculine features are realistically rendered with ink shading and freely expressive thickening-and-thinning brushwork, the later image (fig. 5) monumentalizes the face by transforming the features into a landscape of peaks and valleys, with granitelike planes carved symmetrically in precisely arched, flowing lines. Extending the image of the face as a landscape, the full-volumed figure sits like a great mountain, the massive torso planted in the base of the bent knees and the whole encircled by drapery lines exuberantly choreographed in swirling rhythms that celebrate the new cultural and civic order.

The portrait of Taizu may be regarded as a corollary in portraiture to such monumental landscapes as Fan Kuan's 范寬 *Travelers amid Streams and Mountains* (fig. 6). In both works an analogy is made to the state; and in both is embodied the Neo-Confucian vision of a hierarchically ordered and moral universe. In one, the great ancestor Taizu sits like the central mountain; in the other, the symbolism is reversed, as the mountain appears like "a great king, seated and facing the sun, with a hundred grandees coming to court."⁸



FIG. 6. Fan Kuan (d. after 1023), *Travelers amid Streams and Mountains*, hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 206.3 × 103.3 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

The *Portrait of Song Renzhong* 仁宗 (fig. 7) represents Taizu's third imperial successor, a wise and compassionate man who ruled from 1022 to 1063. Renzhong is shown dressed in brilliant vermilion. With delicate features and an expression that conveys sensitivity, his demeanor, compared to that of Taizu, is modest and humane. *Empress Cao* 曹太后, *Consort of Renzhong* (fig. 8) is perhaps the most sumptuous of all surviving Song portraits.⁹ Empress Cao was one of several powerful dowagers in Song history. She is shown here wearing a gauze veil under an elaborate crown decorated with nine dragons and studded with pearls. Her azure robe is embellished with phoenixes and accented by dragons cavorting on a border of rich vermilion. Standing on either side is a lady-in-waiting, one holding a spittoon and the other a silk towel. Like Fan Kuan's host mountain with guest peaks (fig. 6), the empress, though seated, towers above the two subordinate figures. The metalwork details, the precise, brilliantly colored textile patterns, and the tiny flowers on the caps of the attendants are painted with a sharp attention to detail that is one of the hallmarks of great Song painting. Also characteristic of Song painting in this state portrait are the touches of humanity, the wan face of the aging empress and the naively open expression of the young attendant at right, her attention momentarily diverted, breaking the rigid formality of the composition.

Emperor Renzhong had no son, and early in the 1060s the court was embroiled in a debate over succession. With the accession to the throne of the new emperor, Yingzong 英宗, in 1064, the dowager empress became regent.¹⁰ When Yingzong died suddenly three years later, his son Shenzong 神宗 (r. 1067–85) succeeded to the throne, and a new reign, of active imperial rule, began.

Yuan Portraits

After the destruction of the Southern Song in the Mongol conquest of 1279, a new imperial portrait tradition developed. Through their connections with the Saracens and the peoples of Central Asia the Mongols introduced cosmopolitan artistic tastes. Under the conquest, the tens of thousands of artisan households that specialized in armory, weaponry, metalwork, and jewelry were placed under the control of the Mongol army and organized into government agencies responsible for manufacturing textiles, religious



FIG. 7. Anonymous, *Portrait of Song Renzhong*, eleventh century, hanging scroll, color on silk, 188.5 × 128.8 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

images, and decorative ornaments and for building Lamaist temples and pagodas.¹¹ The Imperial Painting Academy was discontinued under the Yuan, which meant that portrait artists and those who produced religious objects worked in government bureaus as common artisans, producing sculpture, paintings, and decorations in collaboration with textile workers and temple builders.

Two Yuan imperial bust portraits, *Khubilai Khan as the First Yuan Emperor Shizhu* 世祖 and *Empress Chabi, Consort of Shizhu* (figs. 9, 10), depict the first Yuan emperor and his consort in a frontal orientation, looking directly out at the viewer. The new Yuan imperial portraits, which were reportedly made as "woven images" and enshrined in state Lamaist temples rather than imperial ancestral temples,¹² were created under the influence of Tibetan Lamaist Buddhism, a



FIG. 8. Anonymous, *Empress Cao, Consort of Renzong*, eleventh century, hanging scroll, color on silk, 172.1 × 165.3 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

FIG. 9 (below left). Anonymous, *Portrait of Kubilai Khan as the First Yuan Emperor Shizhu*, thirteenth century, album leaf, ink and color on silk, 59.4 × 47 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

FIG. 10 (below right). Anonymous, *Empress Chabi, Consort of Shizhu*, thirteenth century, album leaf, ink and color on silk, 61.5 × 48 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.





FIG. 11. *Vajrabhairava Mandala*, ca. 1328, silk tapestry, 245.5 × 209 cm.
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1992 (1992.54).



FIG. 12. Portraits of the Yuan Emperor Wenzong and Prince Koshila, detail of *Vajrabhairava Mandala*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1992 (1992.54).



FIG. 13. Empress Bhudhashri and Lady Bhabucha, detail of *Vajrabhairava Mandala*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1992 (1992.54).

religion that with its emphasis on Tantric magic appealed to Mongol interests.¹³ After Khubilai Khan was initiated, in 1253, in the rites of the Tibetan Buddhist deity Mahakala, the Great Black One, Tibetan Buddhism became the official state religion of the Mongol nation and Tibetan influence became pervasive in official Yuan portraiture and decorative arts.

A rare and only recently discovered example of a Tibetan-style Yuan imperial tapestry, the *Vajrabhairava Mandala* (fig. 11), datable to about 1328 and now in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, shows imperial “woven images” as donor portraits in a cosmic mandala, or mystic diagram. At the center of the mandala is the Vajrabhairava, the

buffalo-shaped Diamond (meaning “indestructable”) Terrifier, a manifestation of Manjusri as the Buddha of Wisdom. According to Tibetan tradition, the compassionate Manjusri assumed the terrifying form of Yamantaka (Destroyer of Death) to vanquish Yama (God of Death). This deity now became the protector of the Mongol nation. In the lower left corner are portraits of the Yuan emperor Wenzong 文宗 (Togh Temur; r. 1328–32) and his brother Prince Koshila. In the lower right corner are their wives, Empress Bhudhashri on the right and Lady Bhabucha on the left (figs. 12, 13). Wenzong and his brother and their consorts wear the same Mongol headgear and appear in the same frontal pose as the



FIG. 14. Anonymous, *Portrait of the Hongwu Emperor*, fifteenth century, hanging scroll, color on silk, 220.7 × 150 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

bust portraits of Khubilai Khan and Empress Chabi (figs. 9, 10).

These earlier portraits have recently been linked to the work of the late-thirteenth-century Nepali artist Anige 阿尼哥 (1245–1306), a descendant of the Nepali royal house.¹⁴ In 1260, at the age of seventeen, Anige went to Tibet to lead a team of eighty Nepali artisans in the construction of a golden stupa commissioned by Khubilai Khan. After the completion of the stupa, he was summoned to the Yuan capital, Beijing, where, in 1273, he was made director of the Supervisorate-in-Chief of All Classes of Artisans and placed in charge of the building of temples, stupas, and ancestral shrines in the capital. Following Khubilai's death in 1294, Anige painted posthumous portraits of the emperor and his consort, which served as models for textile portraits that were distributed to and enshrined in

state Lamaist Buddhist temples.¹⁵ The bust portraits would thus appear to be versions of the posthumous portraits of Khubilai Khan and his consort created by Anige. Although the couple's faces and the empress' jewels are shaded in the Western-influenced, Nepali *chiaroscuro* style, the foreign techniques have been integrated with the Chinese, and the drawing of the faces and the drapery follows the traditional linear idiom.

Ming Portraits

The founder of the Ming dynasty, Hongwu 洪武 (also known by his temple name, Taizu; r. 1368–98), was notorious for his despotic rule. The Hongwu emperor's will to dominate and control extended to every detail of artistic



FIG. 15. Anonymous, *Portrait of the Yongle Emperor*, fifteenth century, hanging scroll, color on silk, 220.7 × 150 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

representation. Painters summoned to serve at court were summarily put to death when their performance displeased him. In his official portrait (fig. 14), Hongwu is shown in the Tang-style imperial robe and cap, signifying the Ming restoration of the cultural and institutional precedents of the Tang dynasty. He is enthroned in a manner that combines the naturalistic seated pose of Song imperial portraits (figs. 1, 7) with the more formal frontality of the Yuan manner (fig. 9). Having rejected several earlier attempts, the Hongwu emperor eventually approved the portrait that combined physical likeness with “a countenance of majesty and reverence.”¹⁶ Establishing the official artistic taste of the early Ming court, the painting contrasts sharply with the Jiangnan literati style of the late Yuan.

Immediately after the founding of the Ming dynasty, steps were taken to restore the court

tradition in painting. In the 1370s and 1380s, Nanjing was transformed. Thousands of wealthy households from Suzhou and Hangzhou and other cities in southeastern China were relocated to the capital to populate the city. Some twenty thousand craftsmen’s households were moved from Zhejiang to serve in government projects, providing a rich source of painters and decorators for the court.¹⁷ Trained in the guild system by which the techniques of painting were transmitted from master to disciple and from father to son, the professional court painters learned their craft in workshops, creating images and compositions from stencils and from models of figures, palace furnishings, and textile patterns in styles that derived from the Imperial Painting Academy of the Song dynasty.

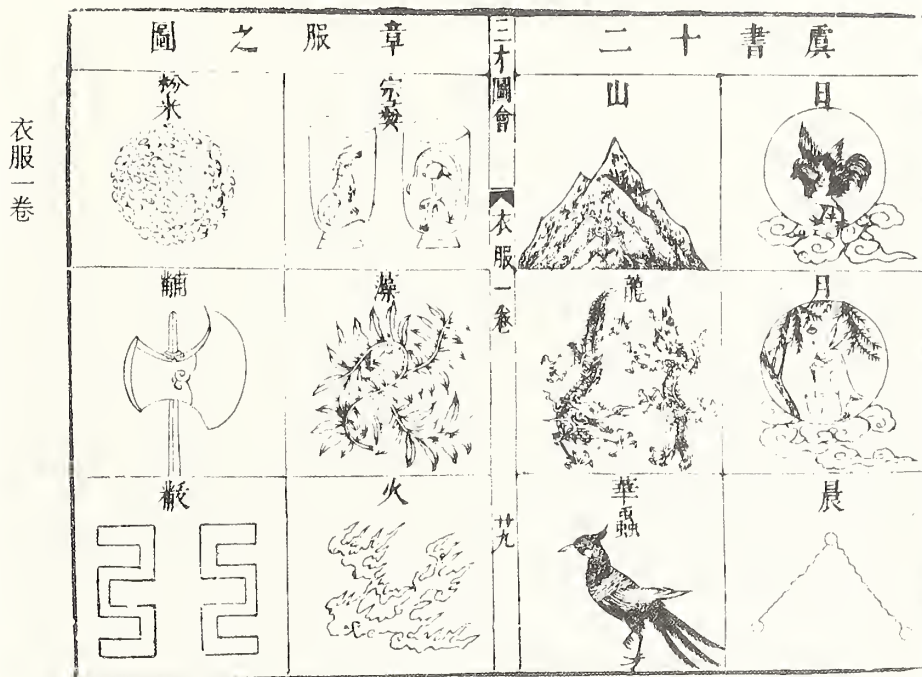
The *Portrait of the Yongle* 永樂 Emperor (fig. 15), which represents the third emperor of the Ming



FIG. 16. Anonymous, *Portrait of the Great Compassionate Dharma King* (detail), 1430s, embroidery, 76 × 65 cm. Committee of Cultural Relics Administration of Tibetan Autonomous Region.

dynasty (r. 1403–24), illustrates the revival of the Song Academy style. The fourth son of Hongwu, the Yongle emperor seized the throne from his nephew, Jianwen 建文, the second Ming emperor, and moved the capital to Beijing in 1421. The emperor is depicted with a curly mustache and plaited beard, as well as a dark, ruddy complexion that reflects his maternal Mongol or Korean ancestry. He grasps his waistband with one hand,

while the other rests on his knee. Compared to that of Song imperial portraits, the brushwork of the face and drapery is more highly stylized. The carpet and dazzling ornamental throne reflect a decorative tradition enriched by Tibetan, Central Asian, and Islamic influences. Consistent with all early Ming imperial portraits, beginning with the portrait of Hongwu, the emperor's earlobe is shaped in a perfect circle, apparently a

FIG. 17. Illustration of the twelve imperial insignia. From *Sancai tuhui*.

characteristic of the "countenance of majesty and reverence."

Like the Yuan emperors before them, Yongle and his successors held a strong interest in Tibetan Buddhism.¹⁸ In 1406 Yongle invited the Tibetan lama Helima, the Fifth Living Buddha, to Nanjing to celebrate a memorial service for his deceased parents, the late Hongwu emperor and the empress Ma 馬太后, whom the ceremony designated as reincarnations of Manjusri and Tara. In 1434 Yongle's son, the Xuande 宣德 emperor (r. 1425–35), invited another lama, Sakya Yeshe, to Beijing, appointing him the Great Compassionate Dharma King. On his return to Tibet, Xuande presented Sakya with two imperial textile portraits, one of tapestry and one embroidered (fig. 16), in which the Great Compassionate Dharma King is shown frontally enthroned as a Tibetan deity.

Tibetan influence continued to be felt at the imperial court through the fifteenth century, and imperial portraits after Xuande became increasingly frontal, culminating in a new, symmetrical composition, in the style of a Tibetan mandala. The *Portrait of the Ming Hongzhi 弘治 Emperor* (fig. 2) presents the tenth Ming emperor (r.

1487–1505), according to Lamaist Buddhist belief, as the Buddha Manjusri incarnate. As a symbol of the state, the emperor is identified only by his face, his body having disappeared behind the image-laden dragon robe, which dominates the composition. Symmetrically arrayed across the robe are the twelve imperial insignia: nine roundels with five-clawed dragons, symbols of the emperor; across the sleeves, four phoenixes, symbols of the empress; and from the shoulders moving downward, a red sun and a white moon, mountains and constellations (hidden behind the raised sleeves), two sacrificial vessels (one decorated with a monkey, the other with a tiger), a pair of water plants, flames, rice, axes, and *fu* 賦 patterns (symbols of right and wrong). A catalogue of the twelve insignia may be found in the *Sancai tuhui* 三才圖會, an illustrated encyclopedia of rites and ceremonies dated 1609 (fig. 17).¹⁹ Behind the throned figure, a three-paneled screen displays three great dragons creating tidal waves of an electric storm; beneath the throne, dragons frolic on a lavish carpet.

The transformation, around the year 1500, of the Ming imperial image from a heroic warrior-king to a schematic representation in which the human dimension of the emperor all but

vanishes behind a surfeit of ritual paraphernalia reflects the increasing absolutism of imperial rule in late Ming China.²⁰ While early Ming emperors directed military campaigns, proclaimed laws, and managed the affairs of state, the Hongzhi emperor, characterized by historians as the most humane of the Ming rulers, personified the ideal absolute monarch precisely because his demeanor

and his action were passionless and impersonal. He has become a ritual vessel; devoid of personality, he is the ultimate embodiment of the absolutist state. This new schematic portrait representation would become the model not only for Qing imperial court portraiture but for all later Ming and Qing private ancestral portraits.

Notes

The present paper derives from work done in preparation for the exhibition "Splendors of Imperial China: Treasures from the National Palace Museum, Taipei," scheduled to tour the United States in 1996–97. I am grateful to the staff of the National Palace Museum, especially Mr. Lin Po-t'ing and Ms. Hu Sai-lan, for help in studying the rare treasures in their museum. Dora Ching of Princeton University, currently working on a Ph.D. dissertation, "Imperial Portraiture of the Ming Dynasty," accompanied me and contributed to the investigation of these imperial portraits in the summers of 1993 and 1994.

1. See Frederick W. Mote, "China in the Age of Columbus," in *Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration*, ed. Jay A. Levenson (Washington D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1991–92), 337.
2. See Mark Elvin, *The Pattern of the Chinese Past* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1973).
3. See Wang Yun 王愔, *Shuhua mulu* 書畫目錄 (1281), in Yang Jialuo, *Shuhua lu* (Catalogue of calligraphy and painting), *Zhongguo xueshu mingzhu* (Reprints of famous works on Chinese learning) (Taipei, 1968–71), *Meishu congshu* (Collected works in fine arts), 4/6:21 and 36.
4. In Guo Ruoxu's 郭若虛 *Experiences in Painting* (ca. 1075), a late-tenth-century court painter named Mou Gu 牟谷, "a specialist in the art of physiognomy," is cited as having been promoted in the Painting Bureau after painting the only successful posthumous frontal view of the deceased emperor Taizong. See Guo Ruoxu, *Tuhua jianwen zhi* 圖畫見聞志, in *Huashi congshu*, chap. 3, pp. 47–48.
5. For the establishment of the Northern Song Painting Bureau, also known as the Painting Academy, see Wai-kam Ho, "Aspects of Chinese Painting from 1100 to 1350," in *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting: The Collections of the Nelson Gallery-Atkins Museum, Kansas City, and The Cleveland Museum of Art* (Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1980), xxv–xxx; and Wen C. Fong, *Beyond Representation: Chinese Painting and Calligraphy, 8th–14th Century* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993), 177–79.
6. For a survey of the development of early Chinese portraiture, see Richard Vinograd, *Boundaries of the Self: Chinese Portraits, 1600–1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 18–26. See also Wai-kam Ho, "Developments of Chinese Portrait Painting as Seen from the Face-Orientation of the Subjects," in *Portraiture*, International Symposium on Art Historical Studies 6 (Kyoto: The Taniguchi Foundation, 1987), 131–36; and Dietrich Seckel, "The Rise of Portraiture in Chinese Art," *Artibus Asiae* 53, nos. 1/2 (1993): 7–26. For a study of *dingxiang*, or *chinso*, portraits, see Helmut Brinker, "Ch'an Portraits in a Landscape," *Archives of Asian Art* 27 (1973–74): 8–29; and T. Griffith Foulk and Robert Sharf, "On the Ritual Use of Ch'an Portraiture in Medieval China," *Cahiers d'Extreme-Asie* 7 (1993–94): 149–219.
7. For the relation between portraiture and physiognomy, see Mette Siggestedt, "Forms of Fate: An Investigation of the Relationship between Formal Portraiture, Especially Ancestral Portraits, and Physiognomy (*xiangshu*) in China," *International Colloquium on Chinese Art History* (Taipei: The National Palace Museum, 1992), 715–43.
8. See Guoxi, *Linchuan gaozhi*, in *Zhongguo hualun leibian*, ed. Yu Jianhua (Hongkong: Zhonghua shuchu, 1973), 642.
9. See Richard Edwards, *Li Ti*, Freer Gallery of Art Occasional Papers 3 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1967).
10. In *The Classic of Filial Piety* by Li Gonglin 李公麟 (ca. 1041–1106), the illustration accompanying the chapter "Remonstrance" (pl. 12), showing a courageous minister arguing with an emperor under the gaze of an empress, may allude to the powerful Empress Cao. In the illustration, the lady-in-waiting standing behind the empress also holds a spittoon. See Fong, *Beyond Representation*, 54–57.
11. The two government service bureaus were the Supervisorate-in-Chief of All Classes of Artisans (Zhuse renjiang zongguan 諸色人匠總管府) and the Imperial Manufactories Commission (Jiangzuo yuan 將作院). For artisan organizations during the Yuan, see Sun Kekuan, "Yuanshi baiguan zhi di gongjiang zuzhi" (The artisan organizations in the government bureaucracy chapter in the Yuan history), in *Dalu zazhi* (Continent Magazine) 16, no. 6 (1950): 271; also Li Qinlin, "Yuandai di gongjiang" (Artisans of the Yuan dynasty), in *Yuanshiqi beifang minzushi yanjiu jikan* (Quarterly of Studies on Northern Nationalities during the Yuan Period) 5 (1981): 37.
12. For various references to the making and presentation of imperial portraits in the *Yuanshi* 元史 (The Yuan dynastic history), see Dongtang, "Chengjisihan huaxiang ba" (Notes on a portrait of Chingghis Khan), in *Wenwu*, no. 10 (1962): 17–18.

13. See Herbert Franke, "Tibetans in Yuan China," in *China under Mongol Rule*, ed. John D. Langlois, Jr. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 296–328.
14. See Anning Jing, "The Portraits of Kubilai Khan and Chabi by Anige (1254–1306), A Nepali Artist at the Yuan Court," *Artibus Asiae* 54 (1994): 40–86.
15. See biography of Anige by Cheng Jufu 程鉅夫 (1249–1318), "Liangguo Minhuigong shendao bei 梁國敏慧公神道碑" (The spirit tablet for Minhui, the duke of Liang), in *Cheng Xuelou wenji* (Collected works of Cheng Jufu) (Taibei: Zhongyang tushuguan, 1970), 1:313–20. For translation, see Anning Jing, "Portraits," appendix 1, pp. 80ff.
16. Quoted in Shih Shou-chien, "Mingdai huihua zhong di diwang pinwei" (The imperial taste in Ming painting), *Guoli Taiwan daxue wenshi zhexue bao* (Bulletin of Literature, History, and Philosophy of the National Taiwan University), no. 40 (Taibei: June 1993): 233. In the National Palace Museum collection, there is a series of portraits showing the "ugly" Hongwu emperor. See Chang Lü, "Tongguo jike lishi renwu de juti wenti mantan xueshu yanjiu" (Some scholarly problems raised by certain historical personages), *Wenwu*, no. 6 (1962): 26–27.
17. See Frederick W. Mote, "The Transformation of Nanking," in *The City in Late Imperial China*, ed. G. William Skinner (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1977), 145.
18. See Patricia Berger, "Preserving the Nation: The Political Uses of Tantric Art in China," in *Latter Days of the Law: Images of Chinese Buddhism, 850–1850*, ed. Marsha Weidner (Lawrence: Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas, 1994), 107–10.
19. *Sancai tuhui*, dated 1609 (rpt. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe), 2:1507.
20. See Ray Huang, 1587, *A Year of No Significance: The Ming Dynasty in Decline* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981).

ORIGINS AND PRESENCES: NOTES ON THE PSYCHOLOGY AND SOCIALITY OF SHITAO'S DREAMS

By RICHARD VINOGRAD

THE DISCOVERY IN RECENT YEARS BY PROFESSOR WANG Shiqing 汪世清 of a literary collection by Li Lin 李麟 (1634–1707), contemporary and friend of the painter-theorist Shitao Yuanji 石濤原濟 (1642–1707), has opened up several new chapters in the already thick dossier of Shitao studies.¹ The key document in Li's *Qiufeng wenji* 虬峰文集 is a rich and circumstantial "Biography of the Great Purified One 大滌子傳," written from the perspective of an intimate of Shitao in his later years, as a retrospective summing-up of his life and career.² The account was purportedly written at Shitao's request, and with his cooperation, and so has a quasi-autobiographical status. There is an added rhetorical implication of a final setting-straight of the record by the artist, for whom the biographical task is complicated by a thorough self-consciousness and nearly protean openness to change.³ Li Lin's record of Shitao is the latest of several surviving biographical or autobiographical texts written during Shitao's lifetime and thus is privileged in its greater comprehensiveness, though not necessarily in accuracy and objectivity.⁴ Belatedness, in biography as in scholarship, holds at least a strategic advantage of position that encourages acceptance; Li Lin's literary collection, doubly belated in its long dormancy and recent reappearance, should have projected an almost automatic aura of importance. In fact, his biographical and other accounts of Shitao have proved a mine of information, contributing to the solution of such long-standing problems as Shitao's birth and death dates and his arenas of activity during his youth.⁵ The specifically late perspective of Li Lin's accounts should not, however, be obscured by their resource value; indeed some of the interest of Li's writing resides precisely in that positionality. Given the importance of the theme of belatedness in early Qing consciousness in general, and in Shitao's life-historical, political, and cultural awareness in particular, the stance of Li Lin's writing takes on a particular significance. It seems especially appropriate to explore this theme within the context of a collection of essays dedicated to Professor Richard Edwards, whose studies of Shitao, produced over the course of more than a

quarter-century, have so illuminatingly responded to new evidence and evolving understandings.

Li Lin's biography of Shitao has already been the subject of some penetrating scholarly interest and is rich enough to open further avenues of exploration that would carry us far beyond the limits of this essay.⁶ The focus of the present study is another, briefer note in Li's collection, entitled "Record of a Dream Journey of the Great Purified One 大滌子夢游記," the latter Shitao's studio name during his last decade of activity in Yangzhou.⁷ The anecdote records a dream of Shitao, in the year corresponding to 1701 C.E., that touches on the relationship between the artist and his biographer, as well as on some nearly structural preoccupations of the artist during that period. The "Record," in which Li Lin writes in a reportorial voice, referring to himself by his own literary name Qiufeng and to Shitao by his late studio name Dadizu, "The Great Purified One," may be rendered as follows:

辛巳九月既望，大滌子夢游一山。青壁陡絕，澗水環之，尋徑而入，林木蔥翠，如雨初過。然忽聞琴聲，泠泠乍高乍低，韻動泉壑，心甚悅之。前進數武，見一髻童子立于谷口，若有所待。大滌子問曰，"仙家耶，隱君子耶？"童子答曰，"李虬峰先生草堂也"。方欲再問，而童子忽不見矣。復前進數武，茂林蔥石間，草堂出焉。門啟不閉，坐石榻上面，橫一琴無絃，手拊之類虬峰。其首俯而不能盡睹其貌，呼之應焉。大滌子喜步而入。虬峰下階揖大滌子，上堂坐，談笑移晷而別。虬峰送出門，而大滌子循舊徑行，所見悉如初。心疑虬峰草堂在郭之外，數相過，從初無山，而茲何以然也。且行且訝，忽寤矣。侵晨圖之于扇，題一絕句其上，贈予焉。噫，異矣哉。予生之初，有一道人，霜鬢垂膺，突入中堂。群婢逐之，忽不知所在。越翌日昧爽，一婢持燭入見道人蹲几下，驚呼。道人忽又不知所在。而予生矣。山中草堂，無乃道人舊居，而大滌子或亦道人山中舊侶耶。雖然予亦嘗有夢矣。夢入一小園，園有堂，堂設石榻，臥一儒衣冠人其上。一童子侍其側，語予曰，"此先生前身也"。則予固儒者也。即大滌子所見之琴無絃，亦淵明之琴也。"德不百年，滄我詩書。逝然不顧，被褐幽居。"吾非淵明述史語乎。詩曰"高山昂止，景行行止"。予雖不敢以隱君子自居，竊志淵明之志矣。而仙非吾所學也。

On the sixteenth day of the ninth lunar month of the *xinsi* year [corresponding to 17 October 1701, C.E.], the Great Purified One dreamed he journeyed to a mountain. The green walls rose up steep and precipitously, stream water encircling them; following a path he entered. Groves of trees were late-spring green, as if a rain had just passed. But suddenly he heard the sound of a *qin*-zither being played—with a sound like *lingling*, now high, now low—the resonance moved the streams and valleys, and his heart was delighted by it. He entered forward a few paces and saw a top-knotted lad standing at the mouth of the valley, as if he were awaiting someone. The Great Purified One asked him: “Is this the home of a transcendent, or a recluse?” The lad answered: “It’s the Thatched Hall of Li Qiufeng.” Just as he was about to question him again, the lad was suddenly nowhere to be seen. Again he entered forward a few paces, amidst the thick groves and piled stones, and a thatched hall emerged. The gate was open and wouldn’t close; seated on a stone couch with a stringless zither across his knees, his hand tenderly touching it, was one who seemed like Qiufeng. His head was lowered and so Dadizu couldn’t completely see his face, but when he called him, he responded. The Great Purified One happily walked in and entered. Qiufeng descended the steps to bow in greeting to the Great Purified One, who ascended the hall and sat, chatting and laughing while the shadows moved, and then departed. Qiufeng saw him off to the gate, and the Great Purified One went following his former path, seeing everything just as it had been before. In his mind he suspected that Qiufeng’s Thatched Hall was beyond the suburbs, and he had passed by there several times, and from the start there was no mountain there, so how could it be thus? Moving around, surprised, suddenly he awoke. At early morning he depicted it on an album leaf, inscribed a regulated verse on it, and presented it to me. Ah! How strange! When I was about to be born, there was a Daoist, with frosty-haired temples dropping to his chest, who suddenly entered the middle hall. A host of maidservants pursued him but suddenly didn’t know where he was. The following morning at dawn, one maidservant bringing a lamp entered and saw the Daoist crouching beneath a table; surprised, she called out. The Daoist again suddenly disappeared. And I was born. The thatched hall in the mountains—wasn’t that the old residence of the Daoist? And the Great Purified One—wasn’t he also the old companion of the Daoist in the mountains? However, I once also had a dream. I dreamt I entered a small garden, where there was a hall, furnished with a stone couch, where reclined a man dressed and capped as a Confucian scholar. A lad waited on him by his side, who spoke to me, saying: “This is your former existence.” Thus, I was originally a Confucian; and the stringless zither that the Great Purified One saw was [Tao] Yuanming’s zither.⁸

“When the virtue is not a hundred years,
It defiles our *Songs* and *Documents*.”

They went away and did not look back;
In rough clothes they lived in seclusion.”⁹

Am I not using the language of [Tao] Yuanming’s historical account? The *Classic of Poetry* says: “The high hill is looked up to; The great road is easy to be traveled on.”¹⁰ Although I dare not take the reclusive gentleman as my personal dwelling, I have the ambition to match [Tao] Yuanming’s purpose. And transcendence is not what I study.

The interest of Li Lin’s account is increased by the survival, at least until this century, of a painting attributed to Shitao that fits Li’s record in most particulars (figs. 1 and 1a). The painting is photographically documented in the reproduction album *Shenzhou daguan* 神州大觀, published early in this century, though its present location, or even survival, is uncertain.¹¹ The reproduction suggests a short horizontal scroll in rectangular format, or a long album leaf as indicated by the mention in Li Lin’s account, and Li’s “record” is inscribed verbatim on the painting, followed by the signature “Qiufeng Lin recorded [this],” and Li’s seal. Preceding Li’s inscription is the regulated verse quatrain by Shitao mentioned, but not transcribed, in Li’s account:

眼中山色耳邊韻，
已入夢回昨夜情。
更覺先生行樂處，
無絃琴上和無聲。

Eyes filled with mountain colors, ears surrounded by harmonies;
Having already entered in a dream, return to last night’s feelings.
Still more aware of that gentleman’s place of enjoyment;
Upon the stringless zither, harmonizing soundlessly.

辛巳九月夢訪虬峰年長兄先生草堂處繪圖請博笑。清湘弟大滌子濟

In the ninth month of the *xinsi* year I dreamt I visited elder brother Qiufeng’s Thatched Hall place and painted a picture, requesting an erudite laugh. [Signed] Younger brother Qingxiang, the Great Purified One, Ji.¹²

The painting depicts two figures—a man with a staff followed by a youth—making their way at bottom center from a streamside stretch of low hills and trees toward a mountain enclosure, surrounded by massive piled boulders. Within are a cluster of buildings; through the second-story open window of one of them a figure can be seen

looking out. The painted figures might be straightforwardly identified with the characters of Shitao's dream: the wandering dream persona of Shitao, accompanied by the laconic lad, while Qiufeng's dream-incarnation awaits amidst his mountain halls. The style of the painting is consistent with others of Shitao's works of the period, involving rough, somewhat scratchy brushwork and loosely structured forms. The composition is divided simply into two sections: a low stretch of banks and hills ascending from the left, a stronghold of massive rocks and peaks rising sharply at the right.

The painting is fairly unremarkable in itself, but the circumstances of its creation are complex and interesting, and it has connections with others of Shitao's late works and preoccupations. We should look first at Li's account of Shitao's dream journey. On the surface, it suggests little more than the kind of supernatural curiosa that were popular in the published story collections of the late Ming and Qing. Li Lin's interpretation of Shitao's dream, however, accomplishes a couple of other purposes. It suggests a profound linkage between the two men, a spiritual affinity that reached back to a previous incarnation, of the

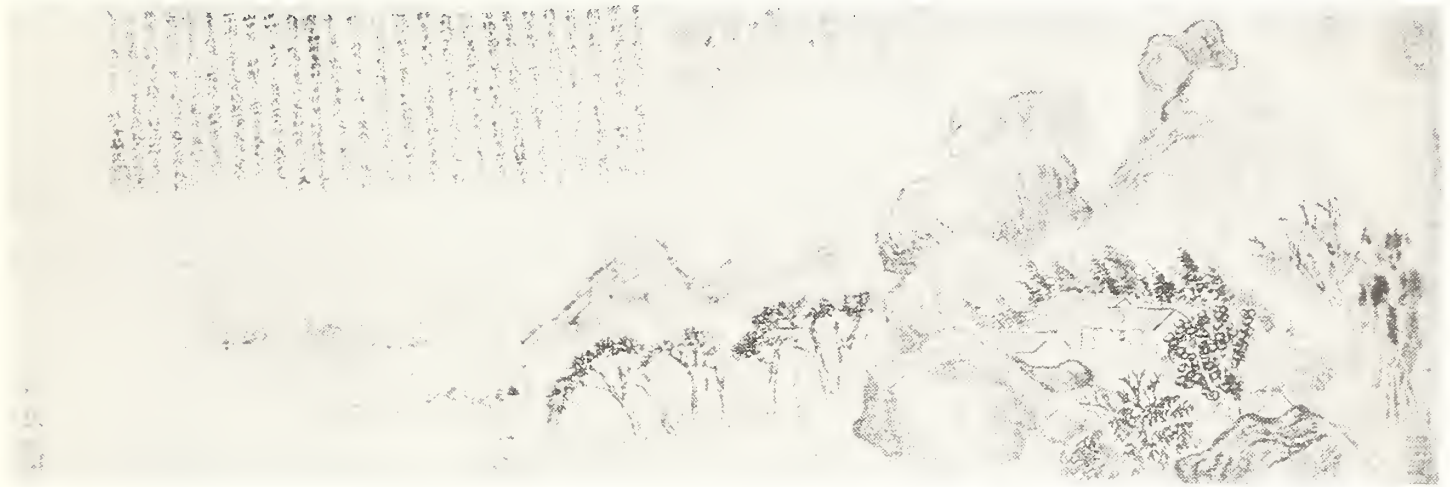


FIG. 1. Shitao, *Dream Journey to the Qiufeng Thatched Hall*, inscription dated 1701. After *Shenzhou daguan*, no. 5.

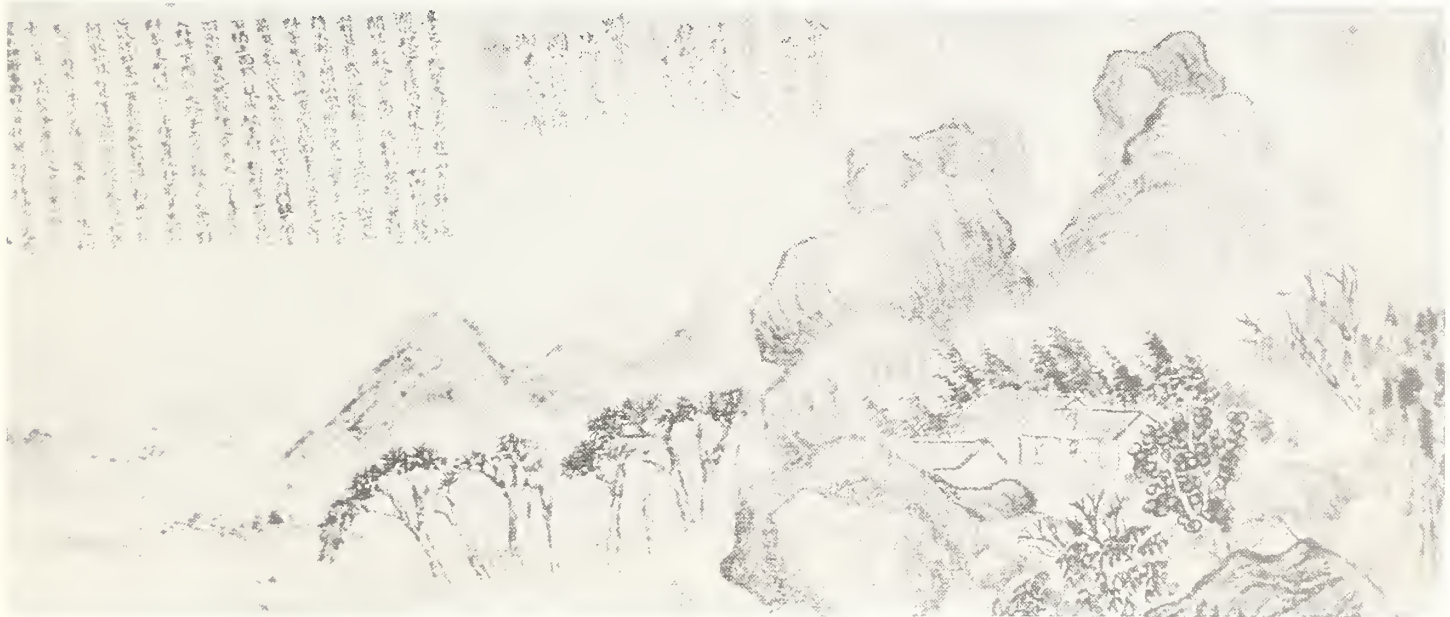


FIG. 1a. Detail of fig. 1.

sort that should validate a profound understanding of his subject in Li Lin's biographical account of Shitao. At the same time, Li reserves a certain independence from the implications of Shitao's dream, and of his own linked dream-remembrance, by citing a counter-dream that affirms a Confucian core identity to vie with the Daoist connections in the episode first recounted. What Li Lin offers is a full-fledged dream interpretation, though not in psychoanalytic terms, and his interpretation appears in a dynamic and complex environment, comprised of at least these elements: 1) Shitao's dream; 2) Shitao's recollection, or telling of it, to Li Lin; 3) Li Lin's birth story; 4) Li Lin's interpretation of Shitao's dream; 5) Li Lin's Confucian-incarnation dream; 6) Li Lin's commentary on his Confucian dream; 7) Shitao's poetic quatrain; and 8) Shitao's painting accompanying/illustrating the episode. Lying not very far beneath this already crowded surface is the negotiation of the relationship between Li Lin and Shitao. It is difficult to say just who had the last word amidst this circulation of dreams, poem, texts, and image, but we might test the implications of Shitao's originary dream and painting as an alternative to Li Lin's extended interpretive act.

The record of Shitao's dream visit suggests some structural affinities with Tao Yuanming's famous account of a fisherman's journey to the land of the Peach Blossom Source (or Spring).¹³ That story has a pronounced dreamlike character, though not explicitly identified as such, in which the fisherman wanders through an unfamiliar region and finds entrance through a cave to a land untouched by the passage of history.¹⁴ After emerging, he is unable to find his way back again. The parallels with Shitao's dream are striking: Shitao finds himself in an unfamiliar realm, a mountain fastness encircled by a stream, which he enters by a pathway. After meeting the mysterious Qiufeng, he departs and realizes the realm he visited had been unfamiliar and unidentifiable.

The affinities with the tale of the Peach Blossom Source are perhaps even stronger in the visual formulation. Shitao seems to have been much involved with the story during just this period of 1701–2. The large album of landscapes illustrating travel poems by another of Shitao's poet-friends, Huang Yanlu 黃研旅 (Huang You 黃又, or Huang Yansi 黃燕思, born 1661), dated by the artist's inscription to that time, includes two leaves with references to the Peach Blossom Spring.¹⁵ One is a monochrome leaf in rectangular format, divided into two sections compositionally: a low stretch of pine-clad hills at the left and close-

set precipitous peaks rising steeply to the viewer's right, with a pavilion perched precariously on a ledge in their midst (fig. 2). A sailing skiff is shown moored by a stream bank at lower left. The composition is structurally very close to that in Shitao's illustration of his dream journey (fig. 1), though more compressed horizontally because of the format. The poem by Huang Yanlu illustrated in the leaf mentions the road entering the Peach Source and ends with a reflection on having fallen into the red dust of earthly illusions for forty years. The poem, we learn in Shitao's accompanying note, was written on Huang's birthday in 1700 C.E., an appropriate time for retrospection. On that occasion, Huang traveled "from the Peach Source Grotto to climb Mt. Binglu's extreme summit, where the two mountains were as if split open, with the Peach Source Grotto in their midst 由桃源洞登耕欄頂。兩山如劈中為桃源洞." The second leaf in the album that touches on the Peach Blossom Source theme is in color and portrays a more dynamic scene of hunched-up peaks surrounding a village and ridgeside pastures (fig. 3). An ox-riding herdboys supervises other oxen and goats as they graze the green slopes; at streamside fishing nets are suspended in the water. Shitao's terse closing identifies the poem as one written while Huang Yanlu was on the road to Longyou 龍游; Huang's poem describes the bucolic setting that the Shitao leaf illustrates and closes with an indirect reference to the Peach Blossom Source legend: "In such a time of peace, the road to Peach Blossom Source shouldn't be closed and ought to permit the fisherman to pass through holding his oar 時平不閉桃源路·應許漁郎打槳過."

The composition of this leaf is less close to Shitao's *Dream Journey* composition, though the grainy, loose brushwork and jutting boulders at the peak tops are similar in each. The two leaves from the album illustrating Huang Yanlu's poems are closely related to another, undated version of the Peach Blossom Spring story in handscroll format in the Freer Gallery of Art (fig. 4). The two album leaves could almost have been extracted from, or, conversely, contributed to, the Freer handscroll composition. The Freer scroll shows, reading left to right, a boat moored by a blossom-filled streamside, the entrance to the Peach Blossom land through some high cliffs, and then the fisherman with his oar standing in conversation with the isolated villagers, amidst a bucolic scene of plowing on the green ridges above. The colors and brushwork of the Freer scroll are very like the colored leaf in the album for Huang

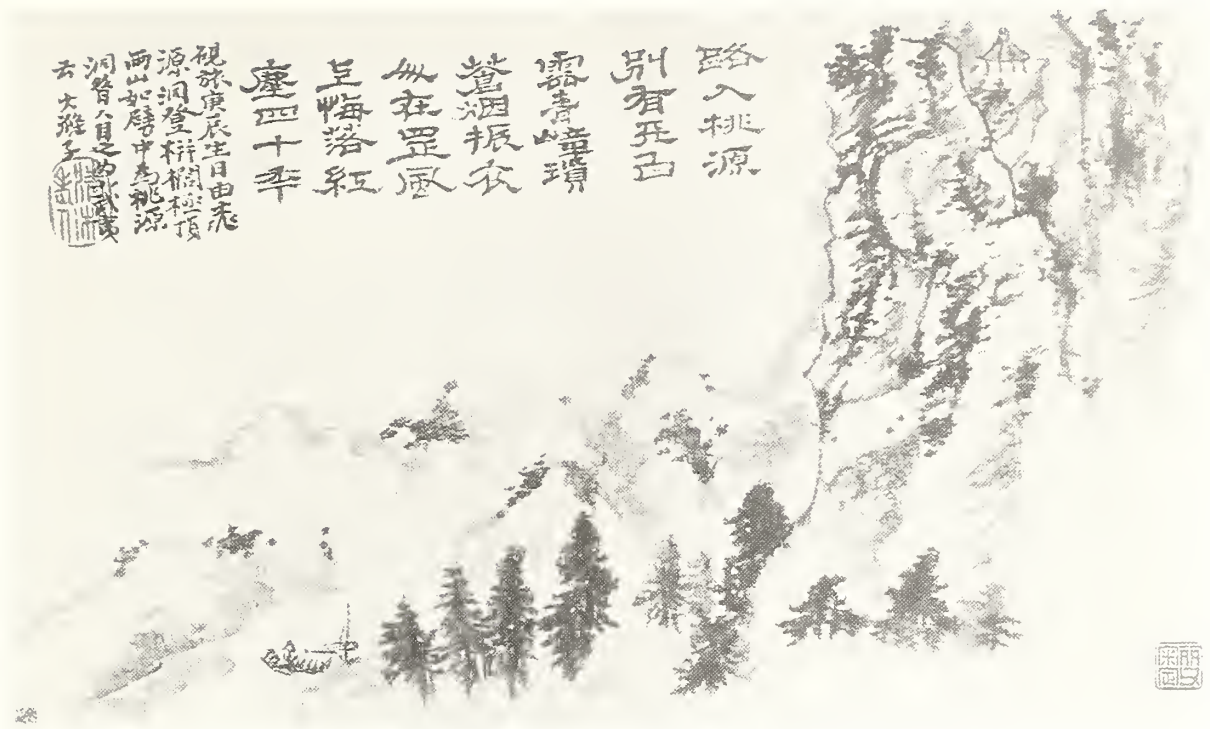


FIG. 2. Shitao, *Landscapes Depicting Poems of Huang Yanlu—Climbing Mt. Binglu Summit from the Peach Source Grotto*, album leaf, ink on paper, 20.5 × 34 cm. Album dated in accordance with 1701–2. Collection of Chih-lo Art Promotion, Ltd., Hong Kong.

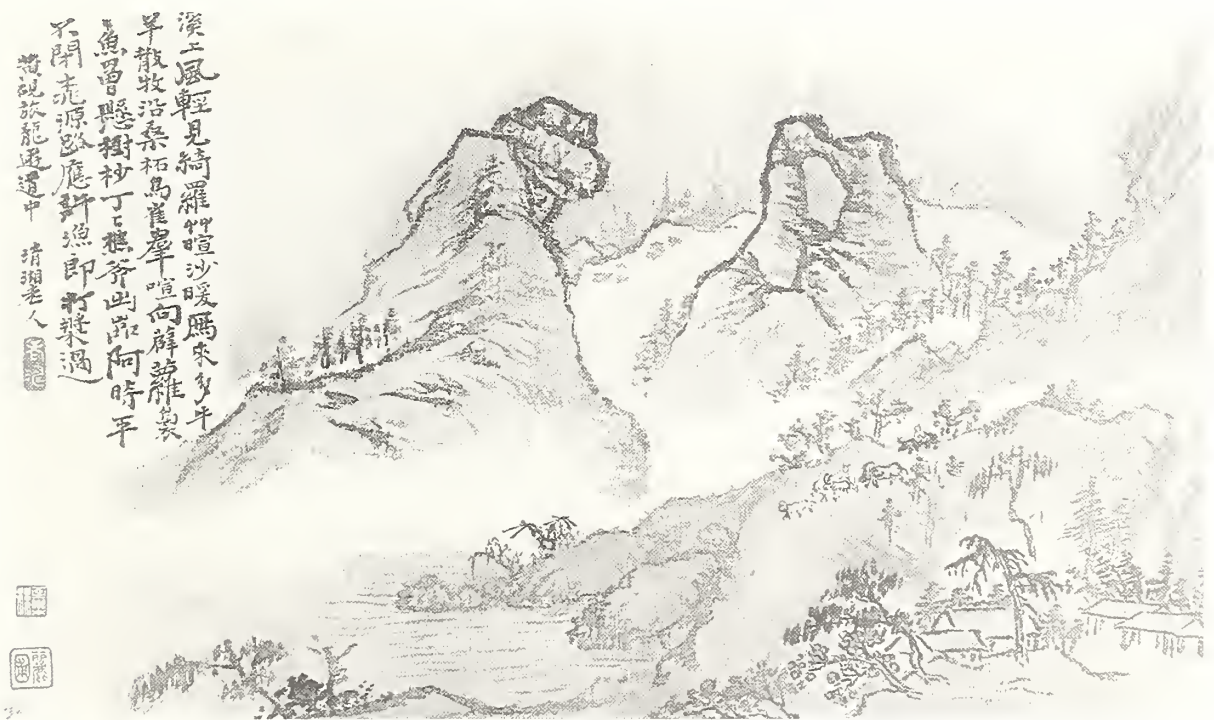


FIG. 3. Shitao, *Landscapes Depicting Poems of Huang Yanlu—On the Road to Longyou*, album leaf, ink and color on paper, 20.5 × 34 cm. Album dated in accordance with 1701–2. Collection of Chih-lo Lou Art Promotion, Ltd., Hong Kong.

Yanlu, and most observers have placed the date of the Freer scroll close to the same time—around 1701–2.¹⁶ The general structure of the Freer handscroll composition is again reflective of the *Dream Journey* painting (fig. 1), with action flowing from the left toward the right and a bipartite division into low entry and enclosed sanctum.

The appearance in Shitao's oeuvre of so many structurally and thematically related images around 1701–2 suggests a certain preoccupation, and perhaps even a psychic urgency, to his activities. Part of that may have derived from the passage of his sixtieth birthday, the completion of a personal calendrical era cycle, and the attendant kinds of personal summation and retrospection that is likely to have engendered in so self-conscious a personality. A series of poems written by Shitao around the new year period of what would be his sixtieth year circulates around just this complex of themes: retrospective thoughts of his infancy and important passages of his life, concern with familial origins, a likening of his status to an embryonic state, a melancholy view of present, diminished circumstances, and an image of the past as a dream:

庚辰除夜抱病·觸之忽惻惻。。。
想父母既生此軀·今周花甲。。。
此中忽驚忽哦·自悼悲·雖成七字。。。。

Tonight, the last night of the year *gengchen*, sitting in illness, I suddenly feel sad. . . . I think of my parents giving birth to this body of mine, sixty years old this year. . . . In the midst of these thoughts I suddenly start, suddenly cry out! With private grief for my sad destiny I write these seven character poems.

白頭懵懂話難前。花周之年謝上天。
家國不知何處是·僧投寺裡活神仙。
如癡如醉非時薦·似馬似牛畫刻全。。。。

I am an old man waking from a dream; it's hard to speak.

But in my sixtieth year I offer thanks to Heaven.
I didn't know where my family and nation were,
Was entrusted to a temple as a monk, then lived as a real-life immortal.

Seeming to be mad or drunk, I have been passed over by my times;

Like a workhorse or an ox, I just turn out paintings.

全始全終渾臂立。半聾半啞坐包胎。

Everywhere confusion seems to reign.

Half deaf, half dumb, I sit here like an embryo.¹⁷

The theme of retrospection, in any event, is pervasive around this time of Shitao's career as a painter, in images of Huangshan and Nanjing and in the rehabilitation of old styles to match his



FIG. 4 continued.

themes.¹⁸ Beyond the nostalgic ruminations of late middle age, the preoccupying themes in Shitao's images and dreams from around his sixtieth year suggest something more specific: a search for the originary and primal, for the shrouded countenances of wise elders, and journeys back into, or out of, time, all hinting at profound psychological needs. There are other late-life symptoms of these concerns with sources and origins: Shitao's resumed use of his Ming family name to sign late paintings and the constellation of ideas having to do with the primordial, the unitary, and the original circulating in Shitao's late art-theoretical writings. There is a certain amount of direct evidence for Shitao's inner life in accounts of his dreams, his temperament, and his periods of personal or psychological crisis, found in his own writings or in those of his contemporary biographers. Most of this material, like Li Lin's account of Shitao's dream of him, is filtered through editorial and cultural processes of formulating textual accounts and through dynamic social processes of relationship negotiation. Rather than closing off (or closed-off) psychological insights, this material suggests a more complex continuity of conflict resolution and negotiation that extends from the psychobiographical arena to social interactions and on into cultural formations.

Li Lin's long biographical account of Shitao sheds some direct light on Shitao's psychological makeup and dream activities during his late years, and on the intrusion of the cultural, in the form of painting, into this arena:

又為予言，平日多奇夢。嘗夢過一橋，遇洗菜女子。引入大院，觀畫，其奇變不可紀。又夢登雨花台，手掬六日吞之。而書畫每因之變，若神授然。

[Shitao] also told me that he commonly had many strange dreams. He once dreamt that passing a bridge he encountered a girl washing green vegetables, who drew him in to a large courtyard, to behold paintings with rare transformations that could not be chronicled. He also dreamt that he ascended the Rain Flower Terrace; where he scooped up [the rain flowers] with both hands and for six days swallowed them. And in consequence of this his calligraphy and painting both were transformed, as if they were imparted by spirits.¹⁹

The dreams Shitao recounted to Li Lin presumably were recent ones from the late life years of his acquaintance with Li and are of particular interest because their content is involved with painting. They are instances of Shitao's psychic life flowing seamlessly into the arena of cultural formations, though we might equally say that they



FIG. 4. Shitao [Tao-chi], *Landscape: "The Peach Blossom Spring" after the Story by Tao Qian*, section of a handscroll, ink and color on paper, 25.0 × 157.8 cm. Courtesy of the Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. (57.4).

document the penetration of Shitao's inner life by his preoccupation with painting. The recorded dreams were bound up with the transformation of erotic or visceral experience into painting seen as touched by the miraculous. This might be said to be one of the great themes of Shitao's painting of the years around 1700, preoccupied with reminiscence, recapture, and vicariousness: painting as a compensatory act, touched by the same aura of wonder and estrangement but carrying the same implications of partiality, diminishment, and futility as dreams. Nowhere is this complex more central than in the album for Huang Yanlu from 1701–2 that included the Peach Blossom Source-related leaves discussed above. The album is vicarious at the core: a recasting of Huang's travel experiences, filtered once through Huang's travel poems and again through imaginative illustration in the hands of Shitao. Some of the places Shitao depicted there he had never visited in person; others, like Mt. Lu, had been the site of long-distant residence and activity in Shitao's youth, now recalled and to be visualized more than once in Shitao's late years.²⁰ A couple of leaves in the album illustrating Huang Yanlu's poems make explicit connections to dream experience: the leaf depicting the "Flying Cloud Summit 飛雲峰" of the Luofu 羅浮 Mountains transcribes Huang's poem that mentions "Dream thoughts of ascending there for twenty years 夢想登臨二十年," while the leaf illustrating the "Road to Hengyang" [i.e., the road from Yongfu 勇福 to Hengyang 衡陽] bears a note by Shitao that he had dream-traveled there some fifty years previously. In fact, Li Lin's biography mentions Shitao's actual travels from Wuchang 武昌 to Jingmen 荊門 as a youth, when he passed by Lake Dongting 洞庭 and Changsha 長沙 to reach Hengyang, before returning.²¹ Given the vicissitudes of Shitao's early years in southern China as an aristocratic Ming refugee from the turbulence and danger of forces competing for power, sites such as Mt. Lu and Hengyang where he had lived or traveled as a child might well have seemed dreamlike to the aging artist. Even the more recently visited Huangshan, brought to memory in 1699 by the appearance of a friend who had recently traveled there, was compared to the experience of a dream: "Even now, its spirit-apparitions appear amidst my dreams 至今靈幻夢中生."²²

The Rain Flower Terrace, identified as the site of one of Shitao's dreams recounted to Li Lin, was the subject of a leaf in an album thematically and

stylistically related to the album after Huang Yanlu's poems. The "Eight Views of the South" album in the British Museum is also composed of travel pictures, though for the most part the sites depicted seem to have been recently visited by the artist.²³ That is not the case for the Rain Flower Terrace leaf, whose explanatory note by Shitao reads:

When I made my home at Qinhuai 秦淮 [Nanjing], late in the day when people were few I often climbed this terrace. When I had hummed a poem, I would then write it down.²⁴

The internal chronology of the reference places the undated British Museum album sometime after Shitao's years of residence in Nanjing in the 1680s, and the seals used and style of the paintings are consistent with a date around 1700. Whether the album leaf preceded or followed Shitao's dream about the site is unclear, but the pose of the tiny figure gazing over the rooftops suggests a deep retrospection. The allusion to Shitao's years in Qinhuai is also of interest, because another album of "Reminiscences of Qinhuai," painted some years earlier, suggests connections once again with Huang Yanlu.²⁵

The retrospective stance assumed in so many of Shitao's late paintings and poems is also that of Li Lin's biography, with its frequent use of first-hand anecdotes told to Li by the aging Shitao. There are several other passages in Li's account, beyond the references to dreams, that seem especially revealing from a characterological and psychological point of view. During Shitao's early adolescence, at the time of his travel from Wuchang to Jingmen, Li describes him as:

懷奇負氣，遇不平事，輒為排解。得錢即散去，無所蓄。

Possessed of rare inner talent, stubbornly opinionated; when he encountered inequitable matters, he would abruptly solve them. If he obtained money he would squander it away, without saving any.²⁶

Following this period Shitao spent a long and productive stretch of his early adulthood in the region of Xuancheng, Anhui. He associated with the poetry and painting society of the local gentry and embarked seriously on a career as a painter, producing a number of major works and series of paintings. After some fifteen years of residence there, at the Guangxiao temple at Mt. Jingting, Shitao suddenly abandoned much of the fabric of his life, in a biographical episode that conveys an air of psychological crisis:

在敬亭住，十有五載。將行先數日，洞開其寢室，授書廚鑰於素相往來者，盡生平所畜書畫古玩器，任其取去。孤身至秦淮。養疾長干寺。山上危坐一龕。龕南響，自題曰壁立一枝。金陵之人日造焉。皆閉目拒之。惟隱者張南村至，則出龕與之談。間並驢走鍾山，稽首於孝陵松樹下。

He lived at Jingting for fifteen years. Several days before he was going to leave, he opened wide his bedroom and conferred his bookcase key on those who commonly came and went there often, and each and every piece of calligraphy, painting, and antique object that he had collected for his whole life, he entrusted them to take away. Solitarily he went to Qinhuai [Nanjing], where he sought a cure for his illness at the Long Stem Temple. Atop the mountain he sat ceremoniously in a small Buddhist shrine. The shrine faced south, and he personally inscribed on it "A Single Branch on a Mountain Wall." When the people of Jinling [Nanjing] visited him there daily, he would entirely close his eyes and reject them, and only when the recluse Zhang Nancun arrived would he emerge from the shrine and chat with him. Intermittently they would together go on muleback to Zhongshan to kowtow below the pine trees of the Ming Imperial tombs.²⁷

This account of Shitao's departure suggests a profound upheaval, accompanied by a dispersal of possessions that could well be interpreted as symbolic or preparatory for self-destruction. At Nanjing, Shitao immured himself in a solitude that was both ceremoniously pretentious—facing south, like an emperor, and ensconced in a mountain shrine, like a holy being—and indicative of a profound disquiet that could appropriately be characterized, as it was in Li Lin's account, as a disease. But Shitao's crisis may well have been as much political as personal. The time of his withdrawal to Nanjing is suggestive; 1680 was just after the Manchu administration of the *boxue hongci* 博學鴻詞 examinations in 1679, used as a recruitment device to attract some of the more recalcitrant Chinese scholars into government service.²⁸ The same examination, it has been suggested, may have been involved in precipitating the psychological crisis at just this same time of Zhu Da 朱耷, or Bada Shanren 八大山人, another great painter who like Shitao was related to the Ming imperial family.²⁹ Li Lin's account hints at other political or loyalist dimensions of Shitao's move: his transfer was to Nanjing, the old Ming capital; he refused commerce with any but the recluse Zhang Nancun; and the two went together to pay respects to the Ming imperial ancestral tombs nearby. Even the

studio name that Shitao adopted suggests an isolated branch of the Ming family tree. To state the case in this dichotomous way, however, is probably misleading; for Bada Shanren and Shitao, the political *was* personal in a special and compelling sense.

From the stubborn, haughty, and spendthrift days of early adolescence to a period of grieving isolation in early middle age suggests one kind of profound psychological transformation in Shitao's life. Li Lin's biography also includes a summation by Shitao, of particular interest because it parallels Li Lin's problematizing of an identification with Daoist and Confucian roles:

又為予言，初得記翦，勇猛精進，願立甚弘。後見諸同輩多好名，鮮實，恥與之儔，遂自託于不佛不老間。

He [Shitao] also told me: "When I first took monastic vows, I resolutely and fearlessly progressed skillfully, with very expansive spiritual will power. Later I saw that all my contemporaries loved fame and lacked sincerity, and I was ashamed to associate with them; consequently I consigned myself to a state neither Buddhist nor Daoist."³⁰

Shitao here recounts another in a long series of disillusionments. His life was marked by a succession of profound transitions, accompanied sometimes by psychological change, often by disillusionment, usually by geographical moves, and almost always by pictorial and literary records. Among these can be counted his youthful phase as willful and spendthrift monk; his period of eremitic loyalism in Nanjing; his ambitions for his sojourn in Beijing, soon given up; and his renunciation of Buddhist affiliations and pursuit of a painter's career in Yangzhou, marked by his identification with the Dadi Studio in 1697. The paintings, dreams, and themes of reminiscence clustered around the time of his sixtieth birthday, discussed above, signal another important passage, and Shitao's theoretical treatise and resumption of his Ming imperial family name at the very end of his life are signals of another kind of transition, marked by a deep concern with personal and creative origins.³¹

These transitions were embedded in the construction of a kind of personal mythology and accompanied by psychological symptoms like the dreams recounted above, but they were also shaped by historical events. To foreground the psychological context of Shitao's artistic

production need not imply a disregard for those larger and more public dimensions. Just as the political sphere was profoundly personal for Shitao, so the psychological blended directly with social relationships and cultural production. Shitao's dream of Li Lin is a case in point: it led directly to negotiation of issues of identity and what might be called biographical authority between Li Lin and Shitao. Reciprocal reverberations involved Li Lin's status as Shitao's biographer, as well as the interplay between Li Lin's argument concerning a Confucian versus Daoist identity for himself and Shitao's own parallel conflict between Buddhist and Daoist affiliations and identifications cited above. Shitao's dream also engendered textual and poetic commentary by both Li Lin and Shitao, reminding us of the ease and frequency with which dream experience entered social and cultural discourse in this milieu. Dreams are common topics for poems in literary collections of the period like Li Lin's, and in that capacity they become the nexus for further social responses and cultural formations.

Nor is the identification of personal psychological experience as a key theme in Shitao's art necessarily at odds with the illuminating recent focus on questions of Shitao's patronage relationships.³² Shitao painted for admirers and patrons like Li Lin and Huang Yanlu partly to repay obligations or to fulfill outright commissions, but the

implications of those paintings for Shitao could range from the distanced and vicarious to themes with deeply personal associations and resonances. The process by which dream experience was transposed into poetic and pictorial form was paralleled, though at greater psychological distance, in the process by which poems such as Huang Yanlu's travel verse were evoked and illustrated in Shitao's painting. The dynamic at work is part aesthetic, part social, and often deeply personal.

Dreams may be situated in a web of interior reminiscence, but they reflect present concerns as much as memories. The engagement of Shitao and Li Lin with issues of deep—even to the point of metempsychosis—personal origins and identities was a matter of continuing interest for Shitao at the end of his life, reflected in the resumption of his Ming family name and the persistence of the theme of return to origins and sources in his painting and art theory. Questions of origin, identity, and affiliation were pressing for a Ming imperial scion such as Shitao and not much less so for other loyalists. It is clear from Li Lin's account and from Shitao's biography that these issues were riddled with conflict and contestation. Thus, dream-work, and the cultural production that followed it, could be deeply and directly engaged with issues of personal and social conflict.

Notes

1. See Wang Shiqing, "Qiu feng wenji zhong youguan Shitao de shiwen," *Wen wu*, no. 12 (1979): 43–48.
2. I have used the photographic facsimile of the biographical text reproduced in Shindo Takehiro, "Sekitō shōkō—Kyōhō bunshū no hakken wo megutte," in *Chūgoku kaigashi ronshū*, ed. Suzuki Kei Sensei Kanreki-kinenkai (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunka, 1981), 351, and the annotated transcriptions of the text in the same article (341–62), and in Nakamura Shigeo, *Sekitō—hito to geijutsu* (Tokyo: Tokyo bijutsu, 1985), 4–7.
3. Nakamura, *Sekitō*, 4.
4. For a partial translation of Chen Ding's 陳鼎 biography of Shitao, "Xiazunzhe zhuan 瞎尊者傳," see Osvald Sirén, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters and Principles*, 7 vols. (London: Lund Humphries, 1956–58), 5:159–60. For a pre-1692 dating of Chen Ding's text, see Ju-hsi Chou, *The Hua-yu-lu and Tao-chi's Theory of Painting*, Arizona State University Center for Asian Studies Occasional Paper no. 9 (Tempe, 1977), 48, n. 84. For Shitao's long autobiographical poem *Shengping hang* 生平行 or "Song of My Life" of around 1687, see Nakamura, *Sekitō*, 94–95; also Zheng Zhuolu, *Shitao yanjiu* (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1961), 23–25, and the translation and discussion in Wen Fong, *Returning Home: Tao-chi's Album of Landscapes and Flowers* (New York: George Braziller, 1976), 16–22.
5. See, for example, Wang Shiqing, "Zai lun Shitao shengzu de kaozheng," *The Journal of the Institute of Chinese Studies of the Chinese University of Hong Kong* 19 (1988): 353–62.
6. See the essays by Wang Shiqing and Takehiro Shindo cited in nn. 1 and 2 above.
7. Transcribed in Takehiro Shindo, "Sekitō shōkō," 357–58.
8. See Zhang Qiyun et al., eds., *Chung-wen ta-tz'u-tien* (Taipei: Zhongguo wenhua yanjiusuo, 1962–68), 1776, for the reference to the stringless zither: "Yuan-ming didn't understand musical harmonics, but he had saved a stringless zither; and each time the wine arrived, he would stroke it in order to lodge his intentions."
9. These four lines are a quotation from an eight-line poem by Tao Yuanming, "The Two Confucians of Lu," from a nine-poem series called "Written after Reading History." See A. R. Davis, *T'ao Yüan-ming* (A.D. 365–427): *His Works and Their Meaning*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1:216–17, for the translation cited here; the Chinese text of Tao's poem, transcribed in 2:149, includes one character not found in Li Lin's quotation. The poem alludes to an episode from the *Shiji* 史記, in which two Confucian scholars from the state of Lu refused a summons from the court of the early Han emperor Gao 高 to devise a court ceremonial because of their perception of a lack of virtue at court.
10. See James Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 4, pt. 2 (London and Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1865–95; rpt. 1939), 2:393, for this translation from the *Shijing* 詩經.
11. The painting is reproduced in *Shenzhou daguan*, no. 5 (Shanghai, 1912–22). I am indebted to Takehiro Shindo's "Sekitō shōkō," 362, n. 42, for identifying the location of this work; Professor Shindo in turn credits Professor Wang Fang-yu for the reference.
12. Transcribed in Shindo, "Sekitō shōkō," 362, n.42.
13. See the rendering in James Robert Hightower, *The Poetry of T'ao Ch'ien* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1970), 254–58.
14. The association of the Peach Blossom Spring story with dream experience is made explicit in a number of paintings. For a well-documented example, see Hwi-joon Ahn, "An Kyon and *A Dream Journey to the Peach Blossom Land*," *Oriental Art*, n.s., 26, no. 1 (Spring 1980): 60–71, where the painting subject was occasioned by a specific princely dream. See also the commentary to Davis's translation, in *T'ao Yüan-ming*, 1:198–201, where a tradition identifying the residents of the Peach Blossom Source as immortals is discussed.
15. See the reproductions in *Poetic Expressions of Huang Yen-lü* (Hong Kong: Cafa Company Limited, n.d.); also *Paintings and Calligraphy by Ming I-min from the Chih-lo Lou Collection* (Art Gallery, Institute of Chinese Studies, Chinese University of Hong Kong, September 1975), cat. nos. 21.11 and 21.16. For a full discussion of Shitao's long-term relationship with Huang Yenlu, see Kohara Hironobu, "Sekitō [Kō Kenryo Doryōzu kan]," *Bunkazai gakuho* 8 (Nara University, March 1990): 1–30; it should be noted that Kohara suggests that the Shitao album illustrating Huang Yanlu's travel poems in the Zhilelou Collection, Hong Kong, is a copy rather than an original work. For extended documentation and discussion of this work (originally two albums, now intermingled and dispersed), see

- Jonathan Scott Hay, "Shitao's Late Work (1697–1707): A Thematic Map" (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1989), 369–406.
16. See Nakamura, *Sekitō*, 282.
 17. The poems are translated and discussed in Hay, "Shitao's Late Work," 173–76.
 18. See Richard Vinograd, "Reminiscences of Ch'in-huai: Tao-chi and the Nanking School," *Archives of Asian Art* 31 (1977–78): 9–11; also Marilyn and Shen Fu, *Studies in Connoisseurship* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1974), 302.
 19. Nakamura, *Sekitō*, 7. My sincere thanks to Liu Chunhua 劉春華 at the Inter-University Program in Taipei for her guidance in reviewing this and other passages concerning Shitao.
 20. For a list of the sites of Huang Yanlu's travels, see Kohara, "Sekitō," 14. For the problem of Shitao at Mt. Lu, see Wu T'ung, "Tao-chi, a Chronology," in *The Painting of Tao-chi*, ed. Richard Edwards (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Museum of Art, 1967), 54–55. For paintings of Mt. Lu from late in Shitao's career, see Edwards, ed., *Painting of Tao-chi*, cat. no. XXII; also a leaf from the 1701–2 album after poems by Huang Yanlu, reproduced in *Paintings and Calligraphy by Ming I-min*, p. 35, cat. no. 21.14.
 21. See Nakamura, *Sekitō*, 5 for this passage, and 14 for a discussion of this leaf as a reminiscence of Shitao's early activities in this region.
 22. For Shitao's 1699 handscroll of Huangshan, and the artist's long accompanying inscription, see Tokyo National Museum, ed., *Min Shin no kaiga* (Tokyo, 1964), pl. 83 and pp. 32–33; also Wu T'ung, "Tao-chi, a Chronology," 56, 59; also an extended discussion in Hay, "Shitao's Late Work," 346–53.
 23. See Edwards, ed., *Painting of Tao-chi*, cat. no. XVII, pp. 80–81, 133–36 for the "Eight Views" album. The album is undated but appears to belong to the period around 1701 on stylistic grounds.
 24. Translation after Edwards, *Painting of Tao-chi*, 81.
 25. See Vinograd, "Reminiscences of Ch'in-huai," 8–9.
 26. See Nakamura, *Sekitō*, 5.
 27. See Nakamura, *Sekitō*, 6, for the Chinese text; also Jonathan Hay's translation of this passage, in "Shitao's Late Work," 73, n. 46.
 28. For the examinations, see Jonathan D. Spence, *Ts'ao Yin and the K'ang-hsi Emperor, Bondservant and Master* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1966), 50–51.
 29. See Wang Fangyu, Richard M. Barnhart, and Judith G. Smith, ed., *Master of the Lotus Garden: The Life and Art of Bada Shanren (1626–1705)* (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1990), 14.
 30. See Nakamura, *Sekitō*, 7; cf. Hay, "Shitao's Late Work," 33.
 31. For the decidedly melancholy and retrospective tone of Shitao's writings on the eve of his sixtieth birthday, as well as his concealment and late use of his family name, see Hay, "Shitao's Late Work," 173–76; 204–7.
 32. See, for example, Zheng Wei, ed., *Shitao* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1990), 110–14; 119, for surviving examples of Shitao's letters to patrons; also, by the same author, "Lun Shitao shenghuo xingjing sixiang dibian ji yishu chengjiu," *Wen wu*, no. 12 (1962): 6–7, 43–49. See also Hay, "Shitao's Late Work," for an especially rich tracing and documentation of Shitao's personal and patronage relationships during his late years in Yangzhou.

PAINTING, DECOLONIZATION, AND CULTURAL POLITICS IN POSTWAR TAIWAN

By JASON C. KUO

THE STUDY OF POLITICS CAN BE DEFINED AS THE STUDY of power relations, "cultural politics" as the role politics plays in the acquisition, retention, and expression of power in the cultural arena, including the visual arts. To understand cultural politics in Taiwan during the postwar period, particularly from 1945 to the 1960s, it is necessary to understand the cultural policies in Taiwan during that period. The purpose of this essay is to clarify the relation between cultural policies and art in postwar Taiwan. Because, as Timothy W. Luke has recently demonstrated, "art exhibitions are elaborate and expensive works of political theater" and "they have their own special unique rhetorical styles, social teachings, and cultural agendas,"¹ my discussion will focus on the controversy over the orthodoxy of Chinese painting in the context of the official art exhibition in Taiwan that began in the early 1950s.²

Generally speaking, the style of painting in Taiwan during the past forty years can be divided roughly into five categories: 1) Japanese-influenced brush painting, represented by Ch'en Chin 陳進 (born 1907) and Kuo Hsüeh-hu 郭雪湖 (born 1907), who were born in Taiwan;³ 2) Japanese-influenced Western-style oil painting, represented by artists such as Li Mei-shu 李梅樹 (1902–83) and Yang San-lang 楊三郎 (born 1907), who were born in Taiwan;⁴ 3) traditional Chinese painting by artists who were born and had worked in mainland China before coming to Taiwan, as represented by P'u Ju 溥儒 (1896–1963), Chang Dai-chien [Ta-ch'ien] 張大千 (1899–1983), and Huang Chün-pi 黃君璧 (1899–1991);⁵ 4) the "modernist" movement, represented by Liu Kuo-sung 劉國松 (born 1932 in Shantung Province) and Chuang Che 莊喆 (born 1934 in Peking);⁶ 5) the postwar generation, represented by Yü P'eng 于彭, Lo Ch'ing 羅青, Ch'iu Ya-ts'ai 邱亞才, Cheng Tsai-tung 鄭在東, Ch'en Lai-hsing 陳來興, Hsü Yü-jen 許雨仁, Kuo Chüan-ch'iu 郭娟秋, and Yang Mao-lin 楊茂林, who were all born, mostly in Taiwan, after World War II. This essay will, however, focus on the interaction between the first and third groups.

Each category has its own kind of patrons. Japanese-educated Chinese born in Taiwan and

their children supported the first and second groups. Chinese born on the mainland and their children tended to support the third group. The fourth group, predominantly mainlanders who fled to Taiwan after 1945 along with a few artists born in Taiwan, was supported mainly by expatriate Americans living in Taiwan in the late 1950s and early 1960s. The fifth group, the postwar generation, included about the same number of mainlanders born in Taiwan as Taiwanese whose parents had been born in Taiwan themselves. As I have argued elsewhere, the emergence of a Taiwanese sentiment among the fifth group of painters in the 1970s and 1980s signifies one of the most important cultural changes in postwar Taiwan. On the other hand, as Wang Hsiu-hsiung 王秀雄 recently pointed out, these Japanese-trained artists, particularly those in our second group who work in Western-style oil painting, became quite powerful in Taiwan's art establishment during the postwar period; their "authoritarianism" limited artistic development in Taiwan no less than the conservatism of the third group, the traditional Chinese painters who fled to Taiwan from mainland China after 1945.⁷

The controversy about the orthodoxy of Chinese painting must be seen in the context of Taiwan's colonial past and its social, cultural, and political development in the period immediately after 1945. In the social and cultural arenas, as Chu-tsing Li 李鑄晉 points out,

On one hand, Taiwan had been under the suzerainty of Japanese culture. When Japan relinquished control of Taiwan, Taiwan [in the 1950s and 1960s] found itself culturally adrift. Many of Taiwan's senior literati and artists of the colonial era lost their leadership status when faced with this cultural dilemma.⁸

As John Clark notes, by the 1930s the Japanese-educated painters were able to produce paintings that, in one way or another, embodied a "quite definite Taiwanese sentiment."⁹ As a matter of fact, the Japanese-educated painters in the first and second groups must be considered an elite who competed with their Japanese counterparts in the government-sponsored exhibitions in Japan and Taiwan; some of them even

taught in art schools in Japan and Shanghai. In general, because of their extensive Japanese experience, their art "was modern in the limited, but critical, sense that it did not have to be obsessed by how it might continue the heritage of a discredited and restrictive past," as was that of their counterparts on the mainland.¹⁰ Furthermore, as Chu-ting Li argues,

Mainland culture, on the other hand, arrived in Taiwan without recognized leaders. Most of the famous poets, novelists, playwrights, painters, sculptors, musicians, movie directors, screenwriters, and actors of Shanghai and Beijing [Peking], stayed in mainland China. Only a tiny percent went to Taiwan. So the literary and art worlds of Taiwan existed in a vacuum in the fifties.¹¹

This controversy must also be seen in the broader context of political reality in Taiwan in the post-1945 period immediately after the restoration of Taiwan as well as the post-1949 period after the Kuomintang regime's move to Taiwan. As Edwin A. Winckler has recently observed,

In the late 1940s, the Nationalists cleared the way for their cultural policies. The immediate Taiwanese reaction to the end of wartime repression [under the Japanese occupation] was a post-colonial holiday, resuming cultural activities suspended in 1937. The Nationalist attitude toward this potentially lively cultural scene was stated by governor Ch'en Yi 陳儀 [of Kuomintang]: the Taiwanese had been "slaves" of the Japanese, and would therefore have to complete resinification [resinicization] before exercising full political-cultural rights.¹²

The seeds for cultural confrontation between Taiwanese artists who were educated by and worked under the Japanese and artists from the mainland had already been sown long before the controversy over the orthodoxy of Chinese painting began in 1951.

After 1949, as Winckler observes, the Kuomintang leadership

proclaimed that it had lost the mainland through failure of morale. So ideological reform of the state itself, in order to retake the mainland, was the main state cultural program. Immediate mainland military priorities left little for long-term investment on Taiwan in physical science, social science or humanities.¹³

Furthermore,

the state's main objective was resinicizing the Taiwanese, particularly teaching them standard Mandarin and Nationalist doctrine, by making primary education

universal. For their part, Taiwanese intellectuals faced crushing burdens—not only language change and political repression, but also occupational displacement and professional marginality, as mainlanders claimed cultural posts and dominated cultural life.¹⁴

The push by the Nationalist government to force Taiwanese to learn Mandarin Chinese provides one of the best foils against which to view the debate on the orthodoxy of Chinese painting. Early on, in 1937, the Japanese authorities initiated the Japanese Language Movement, which prohibited printing and publishing in Chinese. Then, in 1945, just after Taiwan's retrocession, the Nationalist government established the National Language Commission under the Ministry of Education to promote Mandarin Chinese. The first office was established in 1946, and within two years there were branches in every county in Taiwan. Japanese was prohibited in public in 1946, and unfortunately a whole generation of Japanese-educated writers was silenced, although those Taiwanese educated by the Japanese continued to speak and read in Japanese. In schools, students caught speaking Taiwanese would be given a "dog tag" or ribbon, which they then had to pass on to the next student who was caught speaking the mother tongue. Such a language policy may be justified in the name of national interest, but it was one of the major sources for Taiwanese anger and frustration with the Nationalist government.¹⁵ Furthermore, as Huang Ts'ai-lang recently remarked, the cultural policies of Taiwan in the 1950s were characterized by the efforts of the ruling party to consolidate the island's strength through political control of economic, social, and artistic activities.¹⁶ For example, in his New Year address in 1950, Chiang Kai-shek emphasized that it was important to inculcate "a sense of propriety and righteousness, and to restore the integrity of the nation." The Korean War (1950–53) not only brought the U.S. Seventh Fleet to patrol the Taiwan Strait but also increased the sense of crisis on Taiwan. In his 1956 New Year address, Chiang Kai-shek announced that one of the main objectives of his government was to eradicate the ideological influences of the Chinese Communists.¹⁷

Although the Taiwanese benefited greatly from Japanese rule and, when the Japanese departed in 1945, became better educated and better off than most of their Chinese counterparts on the mainland, they were in most cases discriminated against and oppressed by the Japanese. Their high hope for a better life under Chinese

rule was crushed by the tragic clash between Taiwanese and mainlanders on 28 February 1947 in which hundreds, perhaps thousands, of members of the Taiwanese elite died. The “Incident of February 28” led to a long period of mutual suspicion between Taiwanese and mainlanders that is still being untangled today.¹⁸ Whether intentionally or not, the Kuomintang government consequently suffocated and virtually eliminated the Taiwanese intellectual and social elite overnight. As a result, most Taiwanese either became apolitical or paid lip service to current cultural policies dictated by the government. For example, the founders of the powerful T’ai-yang Arts Association (T’ai-yang mei-shu hsieh-hui 台陽美術協會) explained at its founding in 1934 that its purpose was nonpolitical. Indeed, its nonpolitical stand contrasted sharply with the nationalistic and anti-Japanese attitude of the contemporaneous literary organization, the Taiwan Literary and Artistic League (Taiwan wen-i lien-men 台灣文藝聯盟). By 1948, one year after the February 28 incident, however, the T’ai-yang Arts Association had publicly adopted a strongly nationalistic and anti-Japanese position.¹⁹ This radical change of attitude reflects the need of the Japanese-trained Taiwanese artists to survive in that repressive political atmosphere.

Debate on the Orthodoxy of Chinese Painting

One of the most important examples of cultural politics in the first decades after the war was the debate on the orthodoxy of Chinese painting in conjunction with government-sponsored exhibitions.²⁰ In 1946, the Nationalist government established the first Taiwan Provincial Exhibition of Art (Sheng-chan 省展), which was largely based on the Taiwan Fine Arts Exhibition (Taiten 台展) held from 1927 to 1936 and the

Taiwan Government Exhibition of Fine Arts (Futen 府展) held from 1938 to 1943, both sponsored by the Government-General (Sōtokufu 總督府) of Taiwan during the Japanese occupation. In both the Taiten and the Futen, the ideal painting under the category of *Tōyōga* 東洋畫 (a Japanese term meaning “Oriental painting” or “Eastern painting,” identical to the nationalistic term *Nihonga* 日本畫 used in Japan) was executed in fine detail and a variety of colors, as well as based on exact observation of nature. Taiwanese painters were encouraged to paint subjects related to the scenery and daily life of Taiwan.²¹

For obvious nationalistic reasons, the first Sheng-chan changed the category of *Tōyōga* to *Kuo-hua* 國畫 (“national painting” or “Chinese painting [as opposed to Western-style painting]”).²² Taiwanese painters, however, continued to submit paintings done in the manner of *Tōyōga*, and many of the jurors were Taiwanese painters trained in *Tōyōga*, the only style they knew apart from Western-style painting.

A brief look at the backgrounds and styles of the Taiwanese jurors who monopolized the first and second Sheng-chan will provide some insight into the origins of the orthodoxy controversy. All five were trained primarily in *Tōyōga/Nihonga*.²³

1. Ch'en Ching-hui 陳敬輝 (1901–68) studied at the Kyoto Arts and Crafts School and the Kyoto City Painting School. His style was influenced by Tsuchida Bakusen 土田麥僊.
2. Lin Yü-shan 林玉山 (born 1907) studied *Tōyōga* at the Kawabata Painting School and was strongly influenced by Kawabata Gyokushō 川端玉章 (1842–1913), Yūki Somei 結城素明 (1875–1950), and Hirafuku Hyakusui 平福百穂 (1877–1933); he later studied with Dōmoto Inshō 堂本印象 (1892–1975) in Kyoto. An early work dated 1935, *Two Quails* (fig. 1), was painted in Kyoto and recalls the style of the Imperial Academy of the late Northern Sung.²⁴



FIG. 1. Lin Yü-shan, *Two Quails*, 1935, colors on silk, 41 × 71 cm. Collection of the artist.

3. Ch'en Chin (born 1907) studied at the Tokyo Women's Art School from 1926 to 1929; her teachers included Yūki Somei, Endō Kyōzō 遠藤教三, Matsubayashi Keigetsu 松林桂月, and Itō Shinsui 伊東深水. Her paintings, exhibited in Teiten 帝展 (1934, 1935), Bunten 文展 (1936), and Shin Bunten 新文展 (1941–43), display "a precocious psychological insight in her studies of women with a facility for the design properties of figure outline long favored in Japanese genre painting."²⁵ A good example is *Ensemble*, dated 1934 (fig. 2), selected for exhibition in the fifteenth Teiten.²⁶

4. Kuo Hsüeh-hu (born 1909) studied with Gōhara Kotō 郷原古統, a *Nihonga* painter who taught in Taiwan, as well as Ts'ai Hsüeh-ch'i 蔡雪溪, a Taiwanese painter who worked in the traditional, albeit provincial, Chinese literati style of ink painting. His early style was characterized by atmospheric lighting and decorative placement

of landscape elements, as in *Around Mt. Yüan* 圓山, dated 1928 (fig. 3). He was among only three Taiwanese painters whose works were exhibited in the first Taiten in 1927, the other two being Ch'en Chin and Lin Yü-shan, mentioned above.

5. Lin Chih-chu 林之助 (born in 1917) studied *Tōyōga* at the Imperial Art School and later with Kodama Kibō 兒玉希望 (1898–1971); he won a top prize at the Futen in 1941. After Taiwan's retrocession, he followed the style of Fukuda Heihachirō 福田平八郎 (1892–1978) and Higashiyama Kai 東山魁夷 (born 1908).

The general style of the paintings in the Sheng-chan was, not surprisingly, Japanese-derived. For example, Hsü Shen-chou 許深州 (born 1918), whose paintings won awards in the first, second, and third Sheng-chan, was trained by Lü T'ieh-chou 呂鐵洲 (1898–1942), who in turn studied at Kyoto City Painting School and whose teachers included Fukuda Heihachirō and Kobayashi Kanji 小林觀爾 (1892–1974). Figure 4 is a detail of Lü T'ieh-chou's *Bamboo and Sparrows*. The decorative quality is clearly seen in Hsü Shen-chou's painting, *Three Ladies Looking at Monkeys*, which won a prize at the first Sheng-chan.²⁷

Soon, however, many traditional painters from the mainland, such as Huang Chün-pi (from Kwangtung), Ma Shou-hua 馬壽華 (from Anhui), and P'u Ju (from Peking), became jurors for the *Kuo-hua* competition in the annual Sheng-chan. Huang Chün-pi (fig. 5) and P'u Ju (fig. 6) had been established artists before coming to Taiwan, whereas Ma Shou-hua (fig. 7) occupied a high-ranking position in the Nationalist government. Trained in the orthodox literati tradition, they copied ancient masters and often based their



FIG. 2. Ch'en Chin, *Ensemble*, 1934, colors on silk, 200 × 177 cm. Reproduced from *Art Development in Taiwan, 1661–1971* (see n. 28 for full citation), n.p.



FIG. 3. Kuo Hsüeh-hu, *Around Mt. Yüan*, 1928. Reproduced from *Art Development in Taiwan, 1661–1971*, n.p.

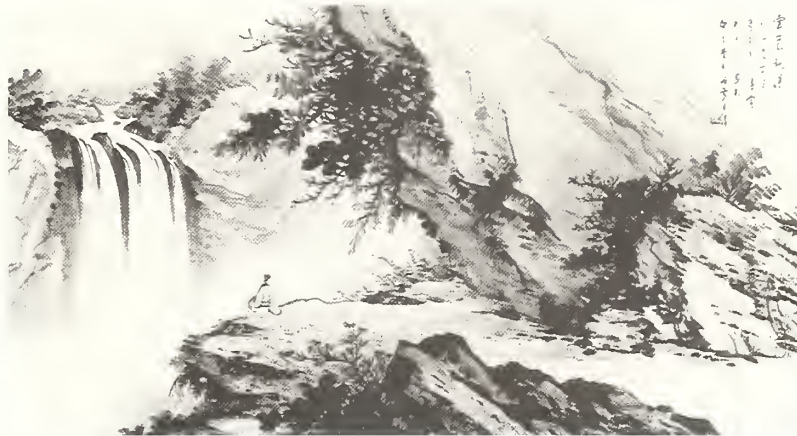


FIG. 5. Huang Chün-pi, *Watching the Waterfall*, 1968, ink and colors on paper, 26 1/2 × 49 in. Tsien-hsiang-chai Collection.

FIG. 4. Lü T'ieh-chou, *Bamboo and Sparrows* (detail), undated. Reproduced from *Art Development in Taiwan, 1661–1971*, n.p.

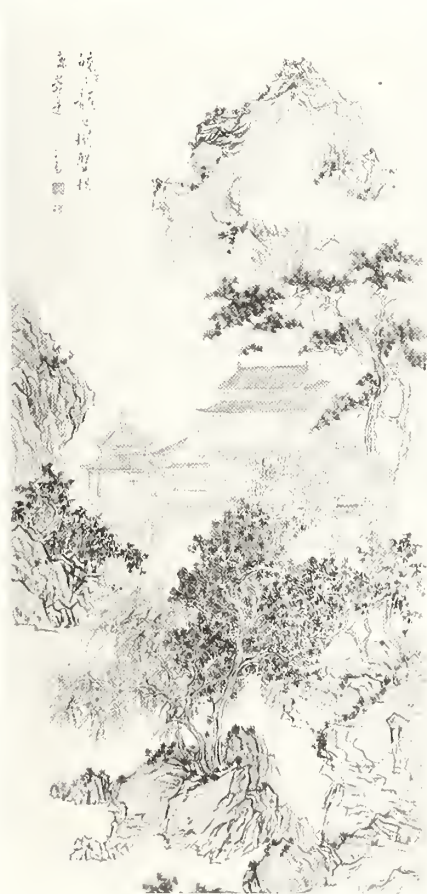


FIG. 6. P'u Ju, *Mountain Palace*, undated, ink and colors on paper, 51 × 24 in. Tsien-hsiang-chai Collection.



FIG. 7. Ma Shou-hua, *Ink Bamboo*, 1963, ink on paper. Reproduced from *Art Development in Taiwan, 1661–1971*, n.p.

style on the practice of calligraphy. They rarely depicted their day-to-day experience. Perhaps as refugees they were not interested in the landscapes of Taiwan. Their participation in the Sheng-chan was to have a strong impact on cultural politics in Taiwan. For example, in a 1949 newspaper report, P'u Ju cautiously and sympathetically criticized the works of Taiwanese painters in the fourth Sheng-chan, reportedly commenting that "most works in Chinese style [in this exhibition] have adopted Western brush technique. Though this departs from the authentic ways of Chinese painting, it might show *élan vital* and offer further possibilities."²⁸ The next year, in 1950, he was again appointed as a juror for the Sheng-chan. This time, however, P'u Ju expressed his disapproval of the paintings submitted by Taiwanese artists in the widely circulated newspaper *Hsin-sheng-pao* 新生報:

The right method of Chinese painting *Kuo-hua* is calligraphy; and the orthodox style of Chinese painting is developed from that of the T'ang and Sung dynasties. One must learn calligraphy first before attempting to do painting. Only then can one hope to know the secrets of T'ang and Sung painting. During the Southern Sung dynasty, Japan and Korea sent their students to China to learn from the Painting Academy; when they returned to their country, they all followed the style of the "Northern School." [In Japan], they mixed it with their own customs and developed the Japanese School of Painting. Their learned people still follow Chinese ways. Those who have not changed their ways simply are following their teachers; those who have changed are simply affected by their own customs. We cannot say who is right and who is wrong and who is better than others. Today, reproduction methods have become more and more refined, and the calligraphy and paintings of ancient artists are now readily available for study. Enlightened people can choose what is good to follow every day in order to improve themselves and to enhance the arts.²⁹

In 1951, at a well-publicized panel discussion on cultural life in Taiwan, a large number of painters from the mainland asserted that *Tōyōga* and its Taiwanese version were Japanese and that Taiwanese painters should learn the "orthodox Chinese painting" practiced in mainland China. For instance, Liu Shih 劉獅 (born in Shanghai), one of the mainland painters, said,

at present there are many artists who mistake Japanese painting for *Kuo-hua*; some call themselves "Chinese painters" even when their paintings are Japanese. They are indeed to be pitied and laughed at.

He went on to describe these Taiwanese artists as worshipers of "others' ancestors." The Taiwanese writer Chang Wo-chün 張我軍, who had lived in mainland China for a few years, tried to defend Taiwanese artists by pointing out that "pure" Chinese painting (*Kuo-hua*) had long disappeared from Taiwan. Huang Chün-pi, who chaired the Department of Fine Arts of the Taiwan Normal University for over twenty years, agreed that, although Taiwanese artists were eager to learn, there had been no "genuine" Chinese painting (*Kuo-hua*) in Taiwan and that it would be helpful to mount a large exhibition. Liu Shih further derided Japanese painting, saying that it was good only at decoration. In contrast, according to Liu Shih, only in *Kuo-hua*, not in Japanese painting, can one find "spirit-resonance (*ch'ì-yün sheng-tung* 氣韻生動)."³⁰

In November 1954, even the modernist Liu Kuo-sung, who was to attack the conservative and traditional Chinese painters in his attempt to establish himself as a leader of the new Chinese painting, denounced *Tōyōga* as non-Chinese, nontraditional, and inappropriate for inclusion in the Sheng-chan competition.³¹ Apart from any artistic motives, one wonders whether Liu Kuo-sung also spoke nationalistically, for Liu's father, a battalion commander in the Nationalist army, fought the Japanese during the War of Resistance and died in battle in Wuhan in 1938, when Liu himself was only six. Immediately after the war, Liu attended the National Revolutionary Military Orphan School in Nanking before fleeing to Taiwan in 1949.³²

Taiwanese painters soon launched their counterattack. At a panel discussion in December 1954, prominent Taiwanese figures in culture and art maintained that *Tōyōga* as practiced by Taiwanese painters should not be equated with Japanese painting because of its emphasis on Taiwanese themes. Lin Yü-shan argued that paintings produced in Taiwan had a strong regional flavor based on the specific Taiwan life experience. Apparently out of frustration at the attack by mainland artists, Lin Yü-shan asserted, "since Taiwanese are Chinese, paintings produced by Taiwanese artists must also be Chinese!"

Furthermore, these Taiwanese artists maintained, *Tōyōga* as practiced by Taiwanese painters was concerned with "realism," which was largely absent from contemporary *Kuo-hua*; therefore *Kuo-hua* should be considered reactionary and less progressive. Taiwanese painting, they argued, should not be regarded as Japanese because its

strong tropical lighting and regional flavors had led even the Japanese to call it "painting made in Taiwan (*Wanseiga* 灣製畫)." Indeed, most mainland painters in Taiwan preferred to paint their memory of their lost homeland (fig. 5), copy ancient paintings (fig. 6), or depict imagined or idealized utopias (fig. 7), seemingly oblivious to life in Taiwan. Their nostalgic ethos can also be found in poems by such mainland poets as Yü Kwang-chung 余光中 (born in 1928 in Fukien).³³

Finally, as Taiwanese artists maintained with some justification, *Tōyōga* originated in ancient Chinese painting and therefore should be considered part of Chinese tradition.³⁴ The situation, however, is far more complex than mere regionalism on the part of Taiwanese artists. The *Tōyōga* style in the works of most Taiwanese artists can best be regarded as a resinicized version of the dominant Japanese *Nihonga*, which was based on both Chinese and Western prototypes.³⁵ As John Clark points out,

The *Nihonga* artists of late Meiji developed Chinese folklore, literary, and admonitory subjects as their own. . . . stylistically these subjects were of a kind of heroic and idealized figure, and from the outset focussed on a pictoriality which was non-Chinese. The figure paintings of Yokoyama Taikan 横山大観 (1868–1958) and Hishida Shunso 菱田春草 (1874–1911) in particular are unimaginable without their having seen Western academic history paintings. Technically seen, even if the spatial composition of overlapping flat planes on the picture plane is based in Japanese and Chinese paintings, such figures have a quite visual presence, being depicted by means of the gradations and surface areas of colors which in un-Chinese manner do not depend on outlines and linear drawing, and hardly use any ink. . . . In other words, these artists had attempted to win the authority to create a new art which was *Tōyō* 東洋, or "Oriental," for the *Nihon bijutsuin* 日本美術院 [Japanese Fine Arts Academy].³⁶

Perhaps in their desire to abolish any traces of Japanese influence in Taiwan, artists and cultural bureaucrats, who had just fled from mainland China and who were supported explicitly or implicitly by the Nationalist government, forgot or simply ignored the fact that Japanese influence was one of the most important factors in the "modernization" and "Westernization" of modern China in general and modern Chinese painting in particular. The first teachers of Western art in China were Japanese, and many aspiring Chinese painters went to Japan to study.³⁷ For example, the founders of the Ling-nan 嶺南 School of Painting, Kao Chien-fu 高劍父 (1879–

1951), Kao Ch'i-feng 高奇峰 (1889–1935), and Ch'en Shu-chen 陳樹人 (1883–1949), all studied in Japan and were influenced by their experience of the same Japanese art that was the main source for Taiwanese painters working in the manner of *Tōyōga*.³⁸ Huang Chün-pi, one of the critics of Taiwanese artists, was himself very much influenced by the Ling-nan School. Even the government's favorite artist Chang Dai-chien, as Shen C. Y. Fu has recently demonstrated, occasionally adopted Japanese style in his paintings.³⁹

Furthermore, from time to time Chinese artists throughout history have been receptive to Japanese influences. For instance, during the late Northern Sung dynasty, the Japanese decorative style of painting became quite fashionable and was instrumental in shaping style at the Imperial Painting Academy. As Howard Rogers has recently argued,

One possible factor in the sudden appearance of a far more formalistic and abstract approach to painting is contact between Chinese artists and late Heian period Japanese painting. This is *not*, I hasten to say, to suggest that Chinese artists simply copied Japanese paintings but rather that flattened compositions, the formalized arrangements of shapes, and the expressive uses of color found in contemporaneous Japanese painting could have suggested to Chinese painters the artistic means by which their own aesthetic goals could be attained.⁴⁰

Furthermore, contradicting the view expressed by Huang Chün-pi that there had been no "genuine" Chinese painting in Taiwan before the Nationalists fled there, the Council for Cultural Planning and Development (Wen-hua chien-she wei-yüan-hui 文化建設委員會), the highest-level official cultural bureaucracy of the Nationalist government, recently exhibited and published a history of Chinese calligraphy and painting on Taiwan in the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties.⁴¹ As Wang Yao-t'ing 王耀庭 has recently observed, during the period of occupation when the Japanese government was most interested in integrating Taiwanese artists into its art world through official exhibitions and Japanese resident teachers of both *Nihonga* and *Nihon Seiyōga* 日本西洋畫 (Japanese Western-style painting), Taiwanese artists continued to create traditional Chinese paintings, although in a somewhat provincial style.⁴² In a similar manner, educated Taiwanese continued to compose poems in classical Chinese during and after the Japanese occupation.⁴³ It is ironic that the Nationalist cultural bureaucrats sought to reintroduce into Taiwan the same

thing—"traditional" Chinese painting—that the Japanese colonial cultural policy tried to discourage and eliminate through education and the establishment of the government-sponsored exhibitions in both Tokyo and Taiwan. The only difference is that the arena for the former was Sheng-chan and for the latter Taiten. In both cases, the government-sponsored art exhibition was the focus for cultural politics not only because it was a highly visible public event and institution but also because whoever won the top prizes in the exhibition was almost guaranteed a comfortable, even profitable professional artistic career.

Thus, the inconsistency and superficiality in the mainlanders' attacks on *Tōyōga* were largely based on a partial and distorted view of art-historical facts. On the other hand, the defense of Japanese-influenced *Tōyōga* by Taiwanese artists during this controversy demonstrated their frustration and helplessness.

Concluding Remarks

The controversy over the orthodoxy of Chinese painting continued into the late 1950s. From 1959 to 1973, the proportion of *Tōyōga* paintings in the Sheng-chan declined to less than 25 percent; the majority were in the manner of *Kuo-hua*. Clearly, the "traditional Chinese painting" favored by the government succeeded in pushing aside the "Japanese-derived" painting. The decline can be reasonably attributed to the increased number of "traditional Chinese" painters and the decrease in Japanese-trained *Tōyōga* painters appointed as jurors for the Sheng-chan. For example, the ratio of "traditional Chinese" painters to *Tōyōga* painters in the jury was one to six in 1948. By 1959, the ratio had changed drastically to six to seven.⁴⁴ In 1960, two separate categories were established for the section on non-Western painting in the Sheng-chan. Category I referred to traditional painting, which must be submitted in the format of the traditional Chinese hanging scroll. Submissions to Category II, which was meant for paintings done in the Japanese style, were to be framed and supported by a wooden board on the back. From 1974 to 1979, no painting in the manner of *Tōyōga* was accepted for the Sheng-chan. It was only in 1983 that *Chiao-ts'ai-hua* 膠彩畫 (Gouache-color painting) was established as a formal category replacing Category II in the Sheng-chan; *Chiao-ts'ai-hua*, which referred to the major pigment used in executing the painting, was considered a less offensive and sensitive

term than the Japanese terms *Nihonga* or *Tōyōga*. A controversy that lasted for almost thirty years in postwar Taiwan had finally come to an end.⁴⁵

Furthermore, in sharp contrast to the debate on *Tōyōga*, Western-style painting (*Seiyōga* 西洋畫) produced by Japanese-trained Taiwanese artists did not encounter any hostility from the Nationalist cultural establishment, even though *Seiyōga* in Taiwan was no less a product of Japanese colonialist cultural policy than *Tōyōga*. One reason for this acceptance was the Nationalist government's need to maintain a pro-Western posture in the cold war years of the 1950s, during which Taiwan received American economic aid as well as military protection from invasion by mainland Communists. Another was that relatively few of the many prominent Western-trained mainland painters came to Taiwan with the Nationalist government, as Chu-ting Li mentions.⁴⁶ For much of the 1950s, jurors of the Western-style painting section of the Sheng-chan were predominantly Japanese-trained Taiwanese artists.⁴⁷ On the other hand, many of the traditional Chinese painters from mainland China had long been associated with the political and cultural bureaucracy that moved to Taiwan after 1949 and were able to establish themselves quite easily as jurors for the *Kuo-hua* section of the Sheng-chan, which, as the most important official exhibition venue, was the main arena for the controversy on the orthodoxy of Chinese painting.

As Lucian W. Pye observes,

When the Kuomintang (KMT) forces arrived in Taiwan in 1946 . . . they treated the Taiwanese as a lesser breed, virtually crushing any sign of political awareness. The abominable behavior of the Mainland armies, which assumed that all Taiwanese were Japanese "collaborators," exemplified the imperialistic attitude of Confucianists toward "outsiders."⁴⁸

As Lai Tse-han 賴澤涵, Ramon H. Myers, and Wei Wou also point out in their recent study of the 28 February 1947 incident, the defeated Nationalist government that came to Taiwan, outnumbered by the Taiwanese (two million versus sixteen million), was forced to impose authority from the top down. Moreover, "far from looking up to the Taiwanese as Japanese-trained experts on modernization, they tended to regard them as unfortunate compatriots too long deprived of the benefits of Chinese civilization, and indeed morally infected by their exposure to Japanese culture."⁴⁹ In a radio speech broadcast on 31 December 1946 and published on New Year's Day 1947, a few months before the infamous 28

February 1947 incident, the Nationalist governor Ch'en Yi made it very clear that the government would embark on a "psychological reconstruction" on Taiwan. He continued,

In short, major attention this current year has been centered on the takeover of Taiwan from Japanese occupation, on reorganization, and on the maintenance of normalcy along existing patterns. For next year, we must go one step further by emphasizing creative plans to make greater improvement.

Among his means for the "psychological reconstruction" on Taiwan were the Mandarin language and Chinese literature training. He said,

All public functionaries carrying out their administrative duties must have a complete command of the official Chinese language, and an oral and written exam will represent the necessary prerequisite for a full understanding of the law, and hence, the proper execution of their duties.⁵⁰

Even after the bloody incident, the reports of government investigators kept referring to the

"Japanization" of Taiwanese as one cause of the incident.⁵¹ The emphasis on "official Chinese" language and history as part of the process of resinicization of the Taiwanese is strikingly similar to the Japanese government's attempt, particularly during the war from 1937 to 1945, to turn Taiwanese into true Japanese "imperial subjects (*kōmin* 皇民)" by "Japanizing" language and educational policy.⁵²

It was thus necessary for the Nationalist government to eliminate as many reminders as possible of the Japanese occupation, *Tōyōga* included, in an effort to complete its decolonization of Taiwan. For example, at the same time that they moved into the Palace of the Government-General built by the Japanese in downtown Taipei and renamed it the Presidential Palace (Tsung-t'ung-fu 總統府), the Nationalist government abolished the Shinto shrine near the top of Mt. Yüan on the outskirts of Taipei and soon after built the palacelike Grand Hotel in 1961 (fig. 8), overlooking the still-extant Tudor Revival house designed by a British architect and built by a wealthy Taiwanese tea merchant in the 1910s during the Japanese occupation (fig. 9).⁵³ The imposition of a monument upon a previously occupied space is understandable in view of the potential role of the monument in producing social memory and political legitimacy.⁵⁴ Seen in this context, the debate on the orthodoxy of Chinese painting in the 1950s and 1960s is but one of many concrete examples of decolonization and cultural politics in postwar Taiwan.⁵⁵

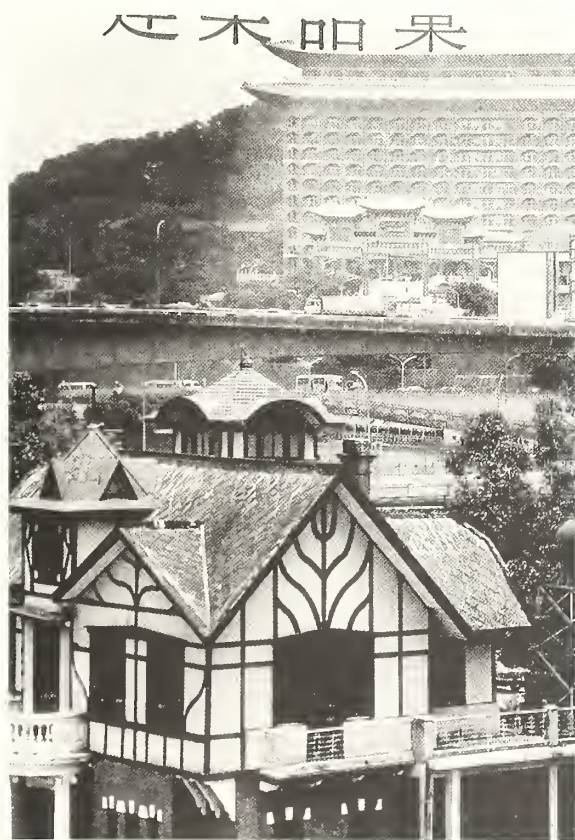


FIG. 8. Background: Grand Hotel (1961); foreground: house in Tudor Revival style (1910s). Taipei. Reproduced from *Ya-ch'i yüeh-k'an*, no. 5 (May 1990), 85.



FIG. 9. House in Tudor Revival style (1910s). Taipei. Reproduced from *Ya-ch'i yüeh-k'an*, no. 5 (May 1990), 70.

Notes

1. Timothy W. Luke, *Shows of Force: Power, Politics, and Ideology in Art Exhibitions* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1992), ix.
2. As further examples of cultural politics in Taiwan, I discuss elsewhere the confrontation between the conservatives and the modernists during the 1960s and the rise of the postwar generation of artists in the context of increasing "Taiwanization" of political power in the 1970s and 1980s; see Jason C. Kuo, "Chinese Painting on Taiwan since 1949," in *Modernity in Asian Art*, ed. John Clark, The University of Sydney East Asian Series 7 (Broadway, Australia: Wild Peony Pty. Ltd., forthcoming) and "Painters of the Post-war Generation in Taiwan," in *Culture Change in Postwar Taiwan*, ed. Stevan Harrell and Chun-chieh Huang (Boulder: Westview Press, forthcoming).
3. For a general study of this group, see Lin Po-t'ing, "Taiwan Tung-yang-hua te fa-chan yü Tai-Fu-chan," in *Tang-tai Taiwan hui-hua wen-hsüan, 1945-1990*, ed. Kuo Chi-sheng [Jason C. Kuo] (Taipei: Hsiung-shih t'u-shu, 1991), 56-94, and "Taiwan chiaots'ai-hua te fa-chan," in *Taiwan ti-ch'ü hsien-tai mei-shu te fa-chan*, ed. Lin Chi-feng (Taipei: Taipei Fine Arts Museum, 1990), 84-90.
4. For this group, see *The Retrospective Exhibition of Early Western Art in Taiwan* (Taipei: Taipei Fine Arts Museum, 1990) and Wang Hsiu-hsiung, "The Influences of Conservative and Authoritarian Practices of the First Generation Taiwanese Western-style Painters in Post-war Taiwan," in Taipei Fine Arts Museum, *China: Modernity and Art* (Taipei: Taipei Fine Arts Museum, 1991), 135-76. See also Yen Chüan-ying, "The Art Movement in the 1930s in Taiwan," paper for the conference on "Modernism and Post-modernism in Asian Art," Australian National University, Canberra, March 1991; Martha Su Fu, "Chinese Painting in Taiwan," in *Twentieth Century Chinese Painting*, ed. Mayching Kao (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1988), 196-209.
5. For this group, see Shen C. Y. Fu et al., *Contemporary Calligraphy and Painting from the Republic of China* (Washington, D.C.: Consortium for International Cooperation in Higher Education, 1980), pt. 1; for Chang Dai-chien, see Shen C. Y. Fu, with major contributions and translated by Jan Stuart, *Challenging the Past: The Paintings of Chang Dai-chien* (Washington, D.C.: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, 1991). Although Chang Dai-chien did not return to live in Taiwan permanently until 1976, he visited there frequently after 1949, exhibited frequently at the National Museum of History, and enjoyed the patronage of important high-ranking government officials. In 1982, he was awarded a Presidential Medal.
6. Taipei Fine Arts Museum, *Paintings by Liu Kuo-sung* (Taipei: Taipei Fine Arts Museum, 1990); Taipei Fine Arts Museum, *Solo Exhibition of Chuang Che* (Taipei: Taipei Fine Arts Museum, 1992).
7. Wang, "Influences of Conservative and Authoritarian Practices."
8. Chu-ting Li, "The Confluence of Chinese and Western Art: The Artistic Growth of the Painter Liu Kuo-sung," in Taipei Fine Arts Museum, *Paintings by Liu Kuo-sung*, 20.
9. John Clark, "Taiwanese Painting under the Japanese Occupation," *Journal of Oriental Studies* 25, no. 1 (1987): 63-105.
10. Clark, "Taiwanese Painting under the Japanese Occupation," 90.
11. Li, "Liu Kuo-sung," 20.
12. Edwin A. Winckler, "Cultural Policy on Postwar Taiwan," paper for the conference on "Cultural Change in Postwar Taiwan," Seattle, 9-14 April 1990, 15.
13. Winckler, "Cultural Policy," 15.
14. Winckler, "Cultural Policy," 15.
15. John Balcom, "Homegrown Poetry," *Free China Review* 42, no. 9 (September 1992): 66-73.
16. Huang Ts'ai-lang, "Taiwan Cultural Policy and Its Background in the 50's" (in Chinese with English summary), paper for the symposium on "Artistic Trends in the R. O. C.," Taipei Fine Arts Museum, November 1991.
17. Huang, "Taiwan Cultural Policy."
18. See Lai Tse-han, Ramon H. Myers, and Wei Wou, *A Tragic Beginning: The Taiwan Uprising of February 28, 1947* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991). Ch'en Ch'eng-p'o 陳澄波 (1895-1947), who was one of the most prominent Taiwanese artists and whose oil painting had been selected for exhibition in the prestigious Teiten (Imperial Art Academy Exhibition) in 1927 in Japan, was shot to death by the Nationalist troops for unknown reasons. It was not until 1992, the forty-fifth anniversary of the infamous incident, that the government

- officially allowed commemorative activities to be held and memorials erected to remember the victims; see *The Free China Journal* 10, no. 16 (2 March 1993): 1.
19. Lin Hsing-yüeh, *Taiwan mei-shu feng-yun ssu-shih-nien* (Taipei: Tzu-li wan-pao, 1987), 41–43.
 20. Hsiao Ch'iong-jui, *Taiwan mei-shu-shih yen-chiu lun-chi* (Taichung: Po-ya, 1991).
 21. Wang Hsiu-hsiung, "The Development of the Official Art Exhibition in Taiwan during the Japanese Occupation: A Study Also on Style, Mass Media and Art Criticism" (in Chinese with English summary), paper for the symposium on "Artistic Trends in the R. O. C.," Taipei Fine Arts Museum, November 1991.
 22. For *Tōyōga* (*Tung-yang-hua* in Chinese), see Lin Pot'ing, "Taiwan Tung-yang-hua te hsin-ch'i yü Tai-Fu-chan," in *Tang-tai Taiwan hui-hua wen-hsüan*, ed. Kuo, 56–94.
 23. For details on these artists, see Clark, "Taiwanese Painting under the Japanese Occupation," 90–105.
 24. Reproduced in Wang Yao-t'ing, *Lin Yü-shan* (Taipei: I-shu-chia, 1992), 63.
 25. Clark, "Taiwanese Painting under the Japanese Occupation," 91.
 26. Reproduced in Shih Shou-ch'ien, *Ch'en Chin* (Taipei: I-shu-chia, 1992), 42.
 27. Reproduced in *Yen-huang i-shu*, no. 37 (September 1992), 32.
 28. Quoted in *Art Development in Taiwan (1661–1971): A Retrospective Exhibition in Four Parts* (Taipei: Council for Cultural Planning & Development, Executive Yüan, Republic of China, 1985), no pagination.
 29. *Hsin-sheng-pao*, 24 November 1950, sec. 10. In conversation with his students in the Fine Arts Department of the Taiwan Normal University, then the only full-fledged and most prestigious art department in a university, P'u Ju was even more severely critical of the *Nihonga*-derived paintings submitted to the Sheng-chan; this criticism was recounted by the "modernist" painter Liu Kuo-sung, *Lin-mo hsieh-sheng ch'uang-tsao* (Taipei: Wen-hsin, 1966), 102. As noted below, Liu Kuo-sung himself also had nothing good to say about the works of Taiwanese painters.
 30. The transcription of the panel discussion was published in *Hsin-i-shu* 1, no. 3 (1951); see also Lin Hsing-yüeh, *Taiwan mei-shu feng-yun ssu-shih-nien*, 54–58.
 31. *Lien-ho-pao* [*United Daily*], 23 November 1954, sec. 6.
 32. Chu-ting Li, "Confluence of Chinese and Western Art," 21.
 33. See Wang Yao-t'ing, "Huai-hsiang ta-lu yü Taiwan shan-shui," in *Tang-tai Taiwan hui-hua wen-hsüan*, ed. Kuo, 351–89.
 34. *Taiwan wen-wu* 3, no. 4 (March 1955): 2; see also Lin Hsing-yüeh, *Taiwan mei-shu feng-yun ssu-shih-nien*, 58–61.
 35. For *Nihonga*, see Michiaki Kawakita, *Modern Currents in Japanese Art*, translated and adapted by Charles S. Terry, vol. 24 of the *Heibonsha Survey of Japanese Art* (New York: Weatherhill, 1974), 64, 73, 83–85, 87–89, 124, 136–48. See also Robert Schaap, ed., *Meiji: Japanese Art in Transition* (The Hague: Haggs Gemeentemuseum, 1987) and Penelope Mason, *History of Japanese Art* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1993), 371–75.
 36. John Clark, "The Image of China in Japanese Painting from Late Meiji to Defeat in War," paper presented at the British Association of Japanese Studies, Cambridge, 1987.
 37. Mayching Kao, "The Beginning of the Western-style Painting Movement in Relationship to Reforms in Education in Early Twentieth-Century China," *New Asia Academic Bulletin* 4 (1983): 373–97.
 38. See Ralph Croizier, *Art and Revolution in Modern China: The Lingnan (Cantonese) School of Painting, 1906–1951* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).
 39. Shen C. Y. Fu, "A Brief Discussion of Japanese Influence to Chinese Painting in Modern Era," in *China: Modernity and Art*, 29–59.
 40. Howard Rogers, "Chinese Painting: A View from Japan," unpublished paper.
 41. Ch'en Ch'i-lu, ed., *Paintings and Calligraphic Works in Taiwan during the Ming-Ch'ing Period* (Taipei: Council for Cultural Planning and Development, Executive Yüan, R. O. C., 1985).
 42. Wang Yao-t'ing, "Jih-ch'ü shih-tai Taiwan te ch'uan-t'ung shu-hua," in *Taiwan ti-ch'ü hsien-tai mei-shu te fa-chan*, ed. Lin Chi-feng (Taipei: Taipei Fine Arts Museum, 1990), 37–82.

43. For example, see Taiwan-sheng wen-hsien wei-yüan-hui, comp., *Taiwan-sheng t'ung-chih*, 48 vols., 2nd ed. (Taipei: Chung-wen t'u-shu, 1980), vol. 42, pt. 2, 88–111.
44. Huang Tung-fu, *Taiwan ch'üan-sheng mei-chan kuo-hua pu-men chih yen-chiu* (Kaohsiung: Fu-wen, 1988), 166–67.
45. Huang Tung-fu, *Taiwan ch'üan-sheng mei-chan*, 101–8; Hsiao Ch'iung-jui, *Taiwan mei-shu-shih*, 45–68.
46. Li, "Liu Kuo-sung."
47. Wang, "Influences of Conservative and Authoritarian Practices."
48. Lucian W. Pye with Mary W. Pye, *Asian Power and Politics: The Cultural Dimensions of Authority* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985), 228–29.
49. Lai, Myers, and Wei, *Tragic Beginning*, 49.
50. "Governor-General Ch'en Yi's Radio Speech on 31 December 1946," *Taiwan hsün-sheng-pao*, 1 January 1947, sec. 4.
51. See the recently released secret government document in Li Ao, comp., *Erh-erh-pa yen-chiu* (Taipei: Li Ao Ch'u-pan-she, 1991), 10–11.
52. See Ch'en Hsiao-ch'ung, "1937–1945 nien Taiwan huang-min-hua yün-tung shu-lun," in *Taiwan yen-chiu shih-nien*, ed. Ch'en K'ung-li (Amoy: Amoy University Press, 1990), 362–79. Also see Patricia E. Tsurumi, *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan, 1895–1945* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977).
53. Ting Jung-sheng, "Pei-Taiwan k'ai-fa chien-shih," *Ya-ch'i yüeh-k'an*, no. 5 (May 1990), 50–105.
54. Roger I. Simon, "Forms of Insurgency in the Production of Popular Memories: The Columbus Quincentenary and the Pedagogy of Counter-Commemoration," *Cultural Studies* 7, no. 1 (January 1993): 73–88. One is reminded of the massive architectural project in Peking that began in 1949 and resulted, by 1959, in imposing the Monument to the People's Heroes, the Historical Museum, the Great Hall of the People, on the former "Imperial Way"; see Ellen Johnston Laing, *The Winking Owl: Art in the People's Republic of China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 91–92.
55. For a discussion of a parallel situation in which *Kuo-hua* became the focus of politics in mainland China in the late 1950s, see Julia F. Andrews, "Traditional Painting in New China: *Guohua* and the Anti-Rightist Campaign," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 49, no. 3 (August 1990): 555–85.

PART 2

STUDIES OF
INDIVIDUAL PAINTINGS

FISHING IN AN AUTUMN RIVER,
A HANDSCROLL IN THE FREER GALLERY OF ART
(BACK TO THE PROBLEM OF LI TANG?)

By RICHARD BARNHART

IT IS WELL KNOWN THAT ONE OF THE MOST SERIOUS difficulties in the way of advancing a deeper understanding of Song landscape painting is the extent to which later paintings have been misattributed to the Song masters. Hundreds of Yuan, Ming, and even Qing paintings are still catalogued today as Song, and we have only begun to sort them all out.¹

Less common certainly, but also disfiguring and symptomatic of a general failure of connoisseurship, is the opposite confusion, the attribution of Song paintings to later periods. A Song painting in the Freer Gallery of Art long catalogued by the museum as Ming in date is an example of this kind of error.

The painting (fig. 1), a handscroll measuring 32.4 by 85.9 cm, is done mainly in dense, sooty ink applied with a squeezed-brush (*cabi* 擦筆) technique on a silk surface. Intensifying the colors of ink are a rich blue used in the distant mountains and a dark green in the pines. Tiny, brilliant touches of orange, red, and opaque white also appear here and there amidst the foliage and in the figures. The composition is dominated by dense rock structures anchored by a powerful mass of rocky cliffs in the right foreground that opens out toward a misty, glowing river vista to

the left. An impression of twilight is created by the dense shadows and heavy mist, as well as by the pale blue hills and golden glow of the silk. Out on the river a fisherman trails his net in the water as a boatman steadies the craft; another fisherman sits alone on the shore under a cluster of pines (fig. 2). From a border gate deep in the rocky cliffs to the right a path emerges (fig. 3). Drawing nearer, it crosses behind foreground rocks, then continues back toward the left into the center of the picture, following the twists and turns of a pale stream. The path emerges again farther toward the left, winding up into the shallow hills, where it disappears in the mists of a tiny settlement. Several layers of pale mountains shrouded by distance extend along the horizon, creating a deep and protective setting for this image of seclusion and solitude.

Fishing in an Autumn River (as it might originally have been called) is not signed and bears no seals earlier than the Ming period (except perhaps for the traces of one old seal now barely visible).² The three colophons attached to the scroll all date from the sixteenth century. At that time, this was an anonymous old painting of uncertain date and style, and the colophon writers indulged in the characteristic Ming literati



FIG. 1. Anonymous, *Fishing in an Autumn River*, handscroll, ink and color on silk, 32.4 × 85.9 cm. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art, no. 11.199.



FIG. 2. Detail of fig. 1.

practice of composing rhyming poems in response to the evocative imagery of the painting. Lu Wan 陸完 (1458–1526), who was at one time minister of war under the Zhengde 正德 emperor (1491–1521; reigned 1505–21), wrote the first poem (fig. 4). His seal of ownership is also stamped in the lower left corner of the painting, above a seal of the Yang 楊 family (unidentified). Lu's poem contains these lines:

When I first unrolled the picture I exclaimed, "Li of Heyang [Li Tang]!"

But on closer examination I realized it was Fan Kuan.

Lu Wan is not well known as a connoisseur, but this assessment of the attribution and date of the painting is informed and apt. In the almost ceremonial manner in which such colophons are written, Lu Wan is suggesting that the style and date of the painting are very close to Li Tang 李唐, and that is certainly the essential stylistic identity of the painting. The polite reference to Fan Kuan 范寬 connects the style to its ultimate source in Fan Kuan's dense rock forms and heavily shadowed mountains.

Looking today for more specific connections, we will note particularly close parallels between the Freer *Fishing in an Autumn River* and the signed works of two Song painters, both of them associated with Li Tang. One, *Travelers Approaching*



FIG. 3. Detail of fig. 1.

a Temple (fig. 5), bears the signature of the little-known Jia Shigu 賈師古 in the lower left corner.³ The three seals along the right border are impressive documents in themselves. At the top is the Yuan government seal *Dusheng shuhua zhi yin* 都省書畫之印, below it the Ming government's half-seal datable to the period 1374–82, and in the lower right corner half of another Ming government seal reading *Libu pingyan shuhua guanfang* 禮部評驗書畫關防.⁴ This little album leaf is therefore one of the best documented of all Song paintings. The painting itself has been analyzed and described in detail by Richard Edwards.⁵

Most striking in both pictures is the minute attention given to the densely textured, darkly

[illegible]

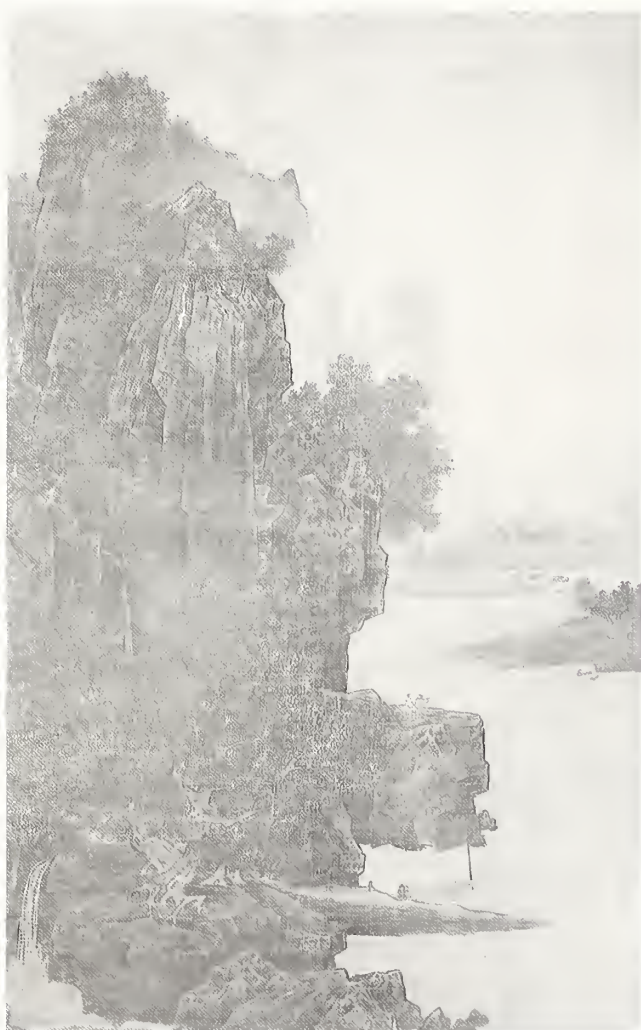


FIG. 6. Xiao Zhao, *Shanyao louguan tu* (*Lofty Temple on the Mountainside*), hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 179.3 × 112.7 cm. Taipei, National Palace Museum.

include the very similar clusters of dense pines, the parallel role given to a winding white pathway through the shadowed rock structures, the motif of a pass gate locked into a corner (upper right in the Freer handscroll, upper left in the National Palace Museum album leaf), the sharp-edged yet spacious manner in which pale blue shadows of distant mountains are built onto the mid-distance geology, extending the interior space into and down through the composition. The Freer scroll is an autumn scene, while the season of the National Palace Museum album leaf is summer; nonetheless, the convention used for dense leafless trees in the one instance resembles the convention used for dense growths of grass and other surface vegetation in the other. Even the temple structures seen in the two works

seem to me similar in both form and placement within the landscape.

While Jia Shigu's life is not well recorded, his relative position in art history is quite clear because of the lineage to which he is assigned. Born in Bian 汴 (modern Kaifeng, the Northern Song capital), he was a follower of Li Gonglin 李公麟 in figure painting, served in the Southern Song Academy of Painting, and was a teacher of Liang Kai 梁楷. In the tradition of the academy he was a versatile master of many subjects, including landscapes and Buddhist and Daoist figures. He must have been somewhat younger than Li Tang and served in the Painting Academy during the Shaoxing period (1131–62).

The second work intimately related to the Freer handscroll is Xiao Zhao's 蕭照 *Shanyao louguan tu* 山腰樓觀圖 (*Lofty Temple on the Mountainside*), perhaps the only signed landscape by Li Tang's most interesting and accomplished student (fig. 6). Xiao, with Li Tang, was given the kind of legendary biographical treatment that suggests he occupied some symbolically powerful role in the developing mythology of Li Tang and the continuity of the Song imperial house. A native of Huze in Shanxi Province, Xiao joined a rebel band during the chaotic period following the Jin invasion. The Taihang mountains, where they operated, was a center of military resistance to the Jin Tartars. According to the popular account, his band captured Li Tang, and Xiao, upon learning who their prisoner was, then accompanied the master to the south to rejoin the Song government. There he became Li's leading disciple in the reestablished Painting Academy. Eventually, Xiao became as close to Emperor Gaozong 宋高宗 as Li Tang had been and is best known for his paintings illustrating the *Auspicious Omens for Dynastic Revival*, a text written to celebrate Gaozong's successful preservation and revival of the Song ruling house following the period of Jin conquest.⁶

Shanyao louguan, like the anonymous Freer handscroll and Jia Shigu's album leaf, is an image of nearly perfect harmony between rocky, densely surfaced form on the one hand and a beautifully nuanced transformation of that materiality into space, mist, and light on the other. Xiao Zhao, judging from everything we know of him, must have been Li Tang's first and most significant disciple in the Southern Song period. The similarities between his art and that of Jia Shigu suggest that they were virtual contemporaries and that Jia therefore was also active beginning

sometime soon after the resumption of institutional continuity following the disruption at the time of the Jin invasion. Recent research in Japan and China suggests that this could not have happened before the 1140s, at the earliest.⁷

Illuminating the Art of Li Tang

Li Tang's oeuvre has been the subject of a great deal of scholarly attention over the years, especially in the United States and Japan, but fundamental questions remain. What is certain is that if discussion of the topic were to begin today—instead of forty years ago—it would evolve very differently from the sequence of studies that actually began with the discovery of a signature of Li Tang on one of the Koto-in pictures around 1950 by the late Professor Shujiro Shimada.⁸ This important discovery brought significant new Song paintings to our attention—in fact, raising the very question of what a Song painting is—and launched a consideration of Li Tang's oeuvre that continues today. Shimada's discovery was followed by Osvald Sirén's effort to establish a chronology for Li Tang in the mid-fifties⁹ and Richard Edwards's broadly synthesizing study of 1958.¹⁰ The controversy over the National Palace Museum's *Wanhe songfeng tu* 萬壑松風圖, dated 1124 at the time of its exhibition here in 1961, and the many subsequent studies that have explored Li Tang's biography and chronology, his stylistic range, and other matters bearing on Song painting, the Academy, and Li Tang himself all grew from Shimada's initial discovery.¹¹

Nowadays all of those ancient studies are mainly interesting from an antiquarian point of view, as failed efforts doomed from the outset because of inadequate knowledge and primitive understanding. When Shimada studied the Koto-in paintings around 1950, he had no access to any material outside of Japan, except through old and inadequate illustrations. Even in Japan scholarly examination of most collections, big and small, had barely begun. The great collections of China and Taiwan were scarcely known to art historians anywhere in the world. This situation continued through the fifties. Only beginning in 1959 or so did the National Palace Museum's collection begin to become known. China itself continued to be cut off from most of the world—and from most of us—through the sixties into the seventies, and it was thus only after the late 1970s that scholars of Chinese painting in Taiwan,



FIG. 7. Li Tang, *Wanhe songfeng tu* (Wind in the Pines of Ten Thousand Valleys), dated 1124, hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 188.7 × 139.8 cm. Taipei, National Palace Museum.

China, Japan, and the West all had access to the major collections of the world in which evidence for the art of Li Tang might be found.

From this very different perspective, I believe, we would now center a study of Li Tang's oeuvre quite simply on the National Palace Museum's *Wanhe songfeng tu* of 1124 (fig. 7) and the Palace Museum's *Caiwei tu* 採薇圖 (Boyi 伯夷 and Shuqi 叔齊 picking herbs), the only plausibly signed and documented works. We would then add to them a third original work, the Beijing handscroll *Riverside Temple in Long Summer* (*Changxia jiangsi tu* 長夏江寺圖), with its impressive inscription and attribution by Song Emperor Gaozong. From that secure basis we might tentatively extend the circle out to an adjoining area in which such works as the Metropolitan Museum's *Jin Wengong Recovering His State* (*Jin Wengong fuguo tu* 晉文公復國圖) and a few other works would be found.¹²

This tight group represents the entire stylistic

range of Li Tang chronologically, since it includes the only dated Northern Song work and the undated but approximately datable handscrolls of the post-invasion period of reconstruction.¹³ In my opinion, moreover, the core of landscape paintings that today identify the essential nature of Li Tang's art consists of just a handful of paintings. Especially important are *Wanhe songfeng tu* of 1124, *Riverside Temple in Long Summer*, Xiao Zhao's *Shanyao louguan tu*, and Jia Shigu's *Travelers Approaching a Temple*.

In addition to the dense, dark solidity of their rock and mountain forms, these four paintings have in common one striking characteristic, which we might describe as the illusion of pockets of light and space held within rocks and cliffs. The effect is most striking at the top of Xiao Zhao's rocky mountain, where the peak takes a sharp turn back to the right, creating a pocket filled with light that slowly dissolves into the twilight distance. In the Jia Shigu it appears just ahead of the two travelers, where the base of an outcropping dissolves into light and space that intensifies toward the horizon. Richard Edwards's description of this stunning effect is perfect:

There is an exact articulation which opens up the density of rich, unkempt grass, rugged rocks and thick leaves and allows us to penetrate into its very heart. A dark half-hidden cave in the rocky center of the mountain promontory is a mysterious and compelling focus. The dim path angles beneath it, turning it into a kind of natural bridge. The path disappears but, we are sure, emerges in the light road beyond. It again penetrates into something—this time a far barrier gate and must finally, at least in the mind, take us to the far distant peak, framed cave-like by roof, cliff-side and tree.¹⁴

Wanhe songfeng tu includes this uncanny vision in a number of places but most beautifully to the far left, halfway up, where a small grove of pine trees stands before a glowing pocket of mist that lights a hidden gully into which a thin line of water falls and disappears. Similar small hidden troves of light and mist highlight *Riverside Temple in Long Summer* and are visible despite the blackening of color and loss of detail in that badly damaged masterpiece.

The Freer *Fishing in an Autumn River* I am here associating with Li Tang, Xiao Zhao, and Jia Shigu offers the most extensive exploration of the phenomenon. In it we see the gradual dissolution of the entire geological structure of the earth into deepening expanses of light-filled mist extending into the distance until they have

become the evening sky. The painter sets before us a suite of etudes on the transfiguration of stone into water, water into air.

This feature of a small group of very similar landscape paintings may offer, after all, the best evidence for the meaning of the concise description of the essence of the art of Li Tang and Xiao Zhao contained in the mysterious Li Chengsou's 李澄叟 *Hua shanshui jue* 畫山水訣 (preface dated 1221), as Richard Edwards has in fact suggested.¹⁵ The passage in question is terse and abbreviated, written as Li Tang used ax-cut strokes; it has taxed and perplexed many of us for years in the ways it may or may not be located in extant works. It may be translated thus:

Of Master Li we may say that his ink falls with vigor and firmness, cutting out openings with terse directness. This is what is called having emptiness within fullness. As for Master Xiao's painting, he found scenery within the mists, clouds, vapors, and fog. This is what is meant by having fullness within emptiness.¹⁶

Despite my own previous attempts to understand it differently, I think now that the passage attempts to describe a single phenomenon using the rhetorical form of a duality rooted in the given pair, Li and Xiao. The first part of the passage simply refers to the light-and-mist-filled spaces locked into the interior of dense rock and cliff formations that we have been discussing, the second part to the joining of those interior spaces to the broader illusion of empty space that the initial motif can be extended out into. The full phenomenon is seen most vividly in the Xiao Zhao, in the way his S-shaped central mountain peak opens its interior to the containment of space and light and then extends out into nearly complete emptiness in seamless continuity. But it is also perfectly exemplified in the Freer handscroll, a horizontal landscape that in the handscroll forms precisely what Xiao Zhao does in his hanging scroll and Jia Shigu in his album leaf.

Registry Markings

One of the unusual documentary features of the Freer *Fishing in an Autumn River* is a partial notation, the left half of a column of five characters, written along the upper right border near the traces of an old seal. Only the last four of the total of five characters can be deciphered now.

They read ?*zi shiwu hao* ? 字拾伍號, or “number fifteen under the character ?” (fig. 3). The right half of the column would have been kept in the catalogue ledger in which the record of the collection was maintained. This is a version of the *hetong* 合同 contractual system in which one half of the contract is kept by each party, the contract existing only when the two halves are brought together. The numbering system used is evidently that of the *Thousand Character Essay*, in which each of the thousand characters of the essay (memorized like an alphabet by educated people) was used in numerical order to identify chests, shelving arrangements, or other storage units, each of which might contain a considerable number of items. This was the system used in the Southern Song imperial treasury, as we know from a description by Zhou Mi 周密, who was actually able to examine a few such storage chests and left a description of their contents.¹⁷

The group of extant paintings on which traces of this registry system can be seen is very select. Those known to me are all handscrolls (the numbers given below are the registry numbers written on each scroll under an illegible numeral-character):

1. Gu Kaizhi 顧愷之, *Admonitions of the Instructress*, British Museum: “no 70.”
2. Wang Wei 王維, *Fu Sheng Transmitting the*

Classic Texts, Osaka City Museum (Abe Collection): “no. 1” (see fig. 8).

3. Yuan Hao 阮浩, *Female Immortals in the Jade Fields*, Palace Museum, Beijing: “no. 19.”
4. Zhao Chang 趙昌, *Butterflies and Flowers*, Palace Museum, Beijing: “no. 10.”
5. Emperor Huizong 徽宗, *Rowing Home on a Snowy River*, Palace Museum, Beijing: “no. 6.”
6. Xie Yuan 謝元, *Peach Blossoms*, present collection unknown: “no. 67.”
7. *Fan Kuan* (the scroll under discussion), Freer Gallery of Art: “no. 15.”¹⁸

Often, when recorded in later catalogues, the first character of these inscriptions is read as *zhuan* 卷, the character for “scroll,” but that character does not occur in the *Thousand Character Essay* and is not likely to be a correct reading. The first character is difficult to read in every known case, however, and the compilers of the Manchu imperial catalogues sometimes read it as *zhuan*, sometimes leave it blank, and sometimes read it as *fa* 卷, “to set forth,”¹⁹ which is also not in the *Thousand Character Essay*. Only one scholar, Bian Yongyu, reads the character as *yang* 養, meaning “to nourish,” a character that does appear in the *Essay*,²⁰ and indeed in every case listed above *yang* could conceivably be the correct reading of the first character. The trouble is that the first character is never completely and unequivocally



FIG. 8. Wang Wei, *Fu Sheng Transmitting the Classic Texts*, detail of handscroll, ink and color on silk, 25.4 × 44.7 cm. Osaka Municipal Museum (Abe Collection).

clear, so for the present the reading must remain uncertain.

Nonetheless, it is striking that just these seven handscrolls, all dating to the Song dynasty and earlier, bear traces of this registry marking. Nothing of a later date appears to carry the same form of documentation. Obviously, this is an exclusive and important group of paintings, no matter when or by whom the registration was done. Time may of course add to our knowledge, but for now I would like to suggest theoretically that this system of cataloguing may have been related to the Southern Song imperial collection. If Xie Yuan was a Southern Song court painter, as seems to be the case, and if the Freer landscape under discussion was painted by either Xiao Zhao or Jia Shigu, as I am suggesting, then both pictures would have been painted for the imperial court. The Gu Kaizhi, Wang Wei, and Zhao Chang scrolls all bear Southern Song government seals. While the provenance of the Yuan Hao and Huizong paintings during the Southern Song period is not known, both were in the late Northern Song government collection. All of these paintings, in other words, either were or *could* have been in the Southern Song government collection. Conversely, not all of them bear the documentation of any other collection, to the best of my knowledge, such as that of Xiang Yuanbian 項元汴—who might otherwise be a prime candidate for ownership of the group.

The calligraphy of the actual registry inscriptions appears to be uniform in all seven inscriptions. The style is a form of the courtly *lishu* 隸書, or clerical script, that was in common use in the Yuan and early Ming periods. From this alone we might guess that the inscriptions were written either in the late thirteenth century by those who were taking over and registering the former Southern Song imperial treasures or in the late fourteenth century when the Ming took possession of the Yuan treasury.²¹ There seems to be no logical order in the numbers themselves, since the earliest painting, the Gu Kaizhi, is numbered seventy and the nearest to it chronologically, the Wang Wei, is number one. This suggests that the system was not created logically or systematically to catalogue a collection but is more likely to reflect a random counting like that taken during an inventory.

One interesting distinction within the group

of seven inscriptions is that six of them are written not on the painting proper but on the adjoining *geshui* 隔水 border. Only the Freer handscroll bears the notation written directly on the silk surface of the painting. In this connection we may also note that the singular Xie Yuan handscroll bears two different cataloguing notations, both apparently based upon the *Thousand Character Essay*. The first, written on the *geshui* mounting, is at the beginning of the scroll and follows the pattern described above. The second, written in full (not in the half-column *hetong* form seen in the others) in the lower left corner of the painting directly on the silk surface, reads *Wenzi qihao* 文字柒號 (“number seven under the character *wen*”). *Wen* is another character from the *Thousand Character Essay*. This second registry notation is written directly over what is believed to be an early Ming government seal reading *Libu pingyan shuhua guanfang*, “Official seal of painting and calligraphy examined by the Ministry of Rites.” The left half of this seal is also seen on the Jia Shigu in Taibei, as noted above (fig. 5, bottom right corner). Other parts, or all of it, are found on a select group of Song paintings by or attributed to Ma Lin 馬麟, Li Di 李迪, Xiao Zhao, and Cui Que 崔慤.²²

What the present examination establishes is not when any of these systems of government inventories or cataloguing was done, of course, but only that the handful of works showing any evidence of this practice constitutes a rather remarkable group, one that must owe its identity to some rare chance by which a single crate or unit of government treasures managed to survive and retain its physical catalogue documentation up to the present time.

That the Freer Gallery's *Fishing in an Autumn River* belongs to this rare group of Song and pre-Song paintings might therefore be said to argue strongly in favor of its association with the Song painters Li Tang, Xiao Zhao, and Jia Shigu. But the strongest argument on behalf of this attribution is to be found rather within the painting itself, in its elegant light and its darkening shadows, in its creation of a powerful geology constructed from rock and water, and in its dissolving of that substance and density into mist, air, sky, and light. Few painters after the thirteenth century took an interest in this old alchemy.

Notes

1. James Cahill, *An Index of Early Chinese Painters and Paintings: Tang and Sung* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1980), is the most complete published documentation of the problem. See also Richard Barnhart, with essays by Mary Ann Rogers and Richard Stanley-Baker, *Painters of the Great Ming: The Imperial Court and the Zhe School* (Dallas: Dallas Museum of Art, 1993), esp. 5–20, “The Archaeology of Early Ming Painting.”
2. There are traces of a seal near the beginning of the scroll adjoining an old inscription. It is described in the museum files as “A faded part of a round seal . . . of two dragons of the Emperor Hui-tsung.” This seal remains unidentified. The file folder (11.199) contains basic documentation, including translations of the colophons. My special thanks to Jan Stuart and Jim Smith for their help in studying this and other paintings in the Freer collection.
3. The Jia Shigu painting came to our attention in 1961 with the National Palace Museum’s great exhibition; see *Chinese Art Treasures* (Washington, D.C.: Skira, 1961–62), no. 31. The little information available about him is found in Xia Wenyan 夏文彦, *Tuhui baojian* 圖繪寶鑑 (preface 1365; Huashi congshu ed.), *juan* 4, p. 103.
4. See Fu Shen, *Yuandai huangshi shuhua shoucang shilue* (Taipei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan, 1980), 93–95.
5. Richard Edwards, “The Yen Family and the Influence of Li T’ang,” *Ars Orientalis* 10 (1975): 79–92, esp. 82–85.
6. For fascinating material pertaining to Xiao Zhao’s life and art see Chen Gaohua, *Song Liao Jin huajia shiliao* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1984), 696–701. See also Julia K. Murray, “Ts’ao Hsün and Two Southern Sung History Scrolls,” *Ars Orientalis* 15 (1985): 1–29.
7. Suzuki Kei, “Ri To no nanto, fukuin to sono yoshi-ki hensen ni tsuite no itsu shiron” (A preliminary essay on Li Tang’s move to the south and return to the Painting Academy and the changes in his style), pts. 1, 2, *Kokka* 1047, 1053 (December 1981, September 1982): 5–20, 13–23. See also Qi Bing, “Li Tang shengzunian kao” (An investigation of Li Tang’s birth and death dates), *Meishu yanjiu*, no. 4 (1985): 75–78. I have benefited from an unpublished paper by John Finlay, “The Documentary Evidence for Li Tang,” written for a graduate seminar in the History of Art Department at Yale University, spring 1993.
8. S. Shimada, “Koto-in sozo no sansuiga ni tsuite” (Concerning [two] landscape paintings in the collection of the Koto-in), *Bijutsu Kenkyu*, no. 165 (1951): 136–49. Before this discovery the Koto-in paintings were vaguely attributed to Wu Daozi 吳道子 and had not been associated with Li Tang.
9. Osvald Sirén, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters and Principles* (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1956), 3:92–98.
10. Richard Edwards, “The Landscape Art of Li T’ang,” *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America* 12 (1958): 48–60.
11. There was once in circulation a transcript of the discussion held at the time of the National Palace Museum’s great exhibition of 1961—a copy of which was sent to me when I was a graduate student by James Cahill—in which the leading scholars of the day argued the question of Li Tang (and many others) at an informal gathering in New York. I have not seen my own copy of that transcript for many years, but it is still probably being passed along hand to hand among the younger generations. For more recent discussions of Li Tang, with bibliography, see Wen C. Fong, *Images of the Mind* (Princeton: The Art Museum, Princeton University, 1984), 50–55; and Fong’s *Beyond Representation* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum; New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), 187–209.
12. The three central works listed here are conveniently reproduced in *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, Painting, vol. 4 (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1988), pls. 1–3. *Jin Wengong Recovering His State* is beautifully reproduced in Fong, *Beyond Representation*, pl. 26a–h.
13. I am well aware that in taking this position I am departing from some aspects of my own work (“Li T’ang and the Koto-in Landscapes,” *The Burlington Magazine* 114 [May 1972]: 305–14) regarding the authorship of several works, including not only the Koto-in pictures but the National Palace Museum’s *Mountains by the River*. The latter are wonderful Song paintings, inextricably bound to Li Tang, but can no longer be forced into a chronology, oeuvre, or stylistic range that is fundamentally now known, thanks to all of the scholarship that has been produced in the last twenty-five years. Li Tang’s oeuvre deserves a new examination, but this is not the place to conduct it in detail.

14. Edwards, "The Yen Family," 85.
15. Edwards, "The Yen Family," 84–85.
16. Li Chengsou, *Hua shanshui jue*, in *Zhongguo hualun leibian*, ed. Yu Jianhua (Hong Kong: Zhonghua Book Co., 1973), 1:622.
17. R. H. van Gulik, *Chinese Pictorial Art as Viewed by the Connoisseur* (Rome: Is. M.E.O., 1958), 200–215.
18. It is quite difficult to locate these inscriptions in available reproductions, since they are often written on the border mounting and cut off in reproduction. One exception (aside from the present scroll) is the Xie Yuan, which is reproduced in full in *Fine Chinese Paintings from the Dingyuanzhao Collection* (Taipei: Sotheby's, 10 April 1994), no. 86. The inscription on the Gu Kaizhi *Admonitions* is visible on the British Museum's reproduction scroll printed by Benrido (Kyoto, 1966) and is also reproduced and discussed by Kohara Hironobu in his study of the scroll in *Kokka* 908–9. The inscription on the Osaka Wang Wei, reproduced here as fig. 8, is written just opposite a title inscription written by Song Emperor Gaozong. The Yuan Hao scroll is reproduced in *Zhongguo lidai huihua: Gugong bowuyuan canghuaji*, vol. 1 (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1978), 80–83, and the inscription is visible on p. 80. The Zhao Chang is reproduced in *Zhongguo lidai huihua*, vol. 2 (1981), 12–15. The inscription is not visible but is discussed in the text section, p. 3. The inscription on the Huizong, also not visible in the reproduction (*Zhongguo lidai huihua*, vol. 2 [1981], 84–91), is discussed on pp. 12–14.
19. See the catalogue references cited above in n. 18 to *Zhongguo lidai huihua*, vols. 1 and 2.
20. Bian Yongyu 卞永譽, *Shigutang shuhua huikao* 式古堂書畫彙考 (1958 Taipei rpt. of the 1921 rpt. of the original Kangxi ed. of 1682), 3:405, under Yuan Hao.
21. The first process is partially documented by Wang Yun 王惲 in his *Shuhua mulu* 書畫目錄 of 1276 and discussed by Fu Shen in his *Yuandai huangshi shuhua shoucang shilue* (Taipei: Guoli Gugong bowuyuan, 1980), 3–10. The early Ming registration is documented by the so-called Ming half-seal, discussed in detail by Chiang I-han, "Yuan neifu zhi shuhua shoucang" (The Yuan Government's collection of calligraphy and painting), *The National Palace Museum Quarterly* 14, no. 3 (Spring 1980): 1–36.
22. For reproductions see Fu Shen, *Yuandai huangshi shuhua shoucang shilue*, pls. 81–83, 86.

NEW WAYS FROM OLD WAYS: THE TESTIMONY OF A CHINESE PAINTING

By JAMES O. CASWELL

COLLABORATIVE PAINTINGS OFTEN REPRESENT SITUATIONS unlike those that are said to convey the singular insight of one lofty artist. I would like to suggest that a collaborative painting, especially in later times, may be as serious as a single-artist work; it is in general a testimonial to social and intellectual togetherness but carries an important and more particular message as well. In the case of a Yuan dynasty (1279–1368) painting in which four artists participated, I believe collaboration can be seen as defining an historical and moral framework, which in turn defined the artists' perception of themselves, one another, and their shared situation. This collaborative achievement, however, required the artists not only to recognize the value of history and its cast of characters but also to formulate a new position within it, for they had nowhere else to look. In other words, these artists of a literary bent were not just self-centered recluses but were fully aware of their community

as they had both constructed it and now lived within it.

A hanging scroll in the National Palace Museum (Taiwan) of an *Old Tree, Bamboo, and Rock* serves as the single focus of this study (fig. 1).¹ Four artists contributed to the painting. The bamboo was done by Gu An 顧安 (ca. 1295–ca. 1370 or before). The old tree was rendered by Zhang Shen 張紳 (act. late fourteenth century), who also added an undated inscription at the left. The grassy calligraphy at the top left is by Yang Weizhen 楊維禎 (1296–1370). Finally, in 1373 one of the “Four Great Masters of the Yuan Dynasty,” Ni Zan 倪瓚 (1301–74), added a sketchy rock (and probably a few more sprays of bamboo) at the lower right, together with a poem in his characteristic hand at the top right. These later additions are on a separate sheet of paper that was trimmed and fitted to the right edge of the original painting. The original sheet of paper



FIG. 1. Gu An, Zhang Shen, Yang Weizhen, and Ni Zan, *Old Tree, Bamboo, Rock, and Calligraphy*, hanging scroll, ink on paper, 93.5 × 52.3 cm. Taipei, National Palace Museum (YV 172).

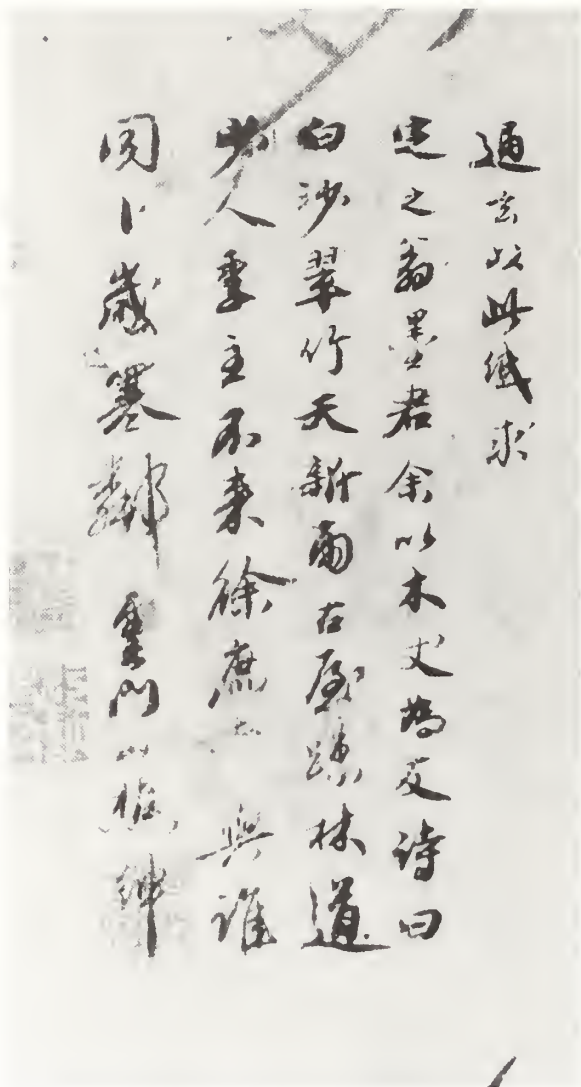


FIG. 2. Detail of fig. 1. Inscription of Zhang Shen.

(i.e., approximately the left two-thirds) was folded before it was painted. Traces of two creases evenly divide it vertically into thirds, with another fold through the center. While on one level this painting may be taken as an example of artists "trying to outdo each other in amateurish ungainliness,"² I believe this ungainliness had a deliberate purpose and that the painting may be understood as a poignant dialogue of individual spirits, alive and dead, spanning the ages that comforted them in a hostile world.

A close examination of the inscriptions on the painting should illuminate its process and content as well as the intent of its artists.³ My discussion will proceed from the probable to the more speculative. While it is problematic to probe the perceptions of people so distant in time and

context, I believe it is possible to reconstruct the aim if not the totality of their thinking.

The painting can be placed in social, historical, moral, and intellectual contexts.⁴ The social context has been well explored. Under the Yuan dynasty of the Mongols (as well as the early Ming), the intellectual elite were, whether by choice or circumstance, set adrift from their normal institutional posts. These "left-over subjects" (*yimin* 遺民) are said to have pursued unorthodox occupations as astrologers, physicians, and diviners, often leading reclusive lives and associating only with their own kind. Yet I contend that the present collaborative painting offers an insight into how such individuals fabricated an alternative society with its own codes of collective thought, ethics, and behavior. If the official structure of contemporary society no longer served, a new one would.

The first part of Zhang Shen's inscription explains the circumstances that inspired the painting (fig. 2):⁵

Tongxuan provided this paper and begged the venerable Dingzhi to ink in the "gentleman" [i.e., the bamboo], and I adopted the aged tree as my friend [for painting].

Dingzhi 定之 is the *zi* 字 of Gu An. Tongxuan 通玄 is otherwise unknown—though, as noted below, he may be none other than Ni Zan. It is thus to be imagined that Zhang Shen promoted this exercise of literati gentlemen using the paper initially supplied by Tongxuan; Gu An inks in the bamboo at Zhang Shen's urging, and Zhang follows with an aged tree and his inscription. His inscription continues with a poem, which will be translated and discussed below. This is followed by Zhang Shen's *hao* 號, *Yunmen shan qiao* 雲門山樵 (The woodcutter of Cloud-Gate Mountain) and his one-character given name, Shen.⁶

Next Yang Weizhen added the vigorous inscription at the top left, probably very soon after the other two artists finished their work (fig. 3):

Yu'na, the old fisherman, has not been seen for a long time.

He painted the bamboo while drunk as though limning their spirit.

The gold knife cut off the tail of the blue dragon, And it was sent to the diviner of Chengdu.

Playfully written by Tie.⁷

Yu'na 迂訥 is a sobriquet of Gu An, which is also used by Ni Zan in his inscription (see below), and

Tie 鐵 is an abbreviation for one of Yang Weizhen's alternative names, Tiejai 鐵崖. Yang Weizhen thus suggests—though, given some grammatical imprecision, it is not entirely clear—that first Gu An painted the bamboo. It can be inferred that Zhang Shen then did the old tree and presumably added his undated inscription as well. Probably a short time later this was overlaid with the calligraphy of Yang Weizhen, whose brush (the “gold knife”) cut off the end of Zhang’s aged tree (the “blue dragon”).⁸ All this

work must have occurred no later than mid-1370, when Yang Weizhen died (Gu An probably had died earlier, as suggested in Yang’s inscription). More will be posited about “the diviner of Chengdu 城都” below.

About three years after the original gathering of Zhang Shen and Gu An and the addition of Yang Weizhen’s writing, Ni Zan acquired the picture, adding his inscription and dating it to 1373 (fig. 4). His long inscription completed the painting and what I believe was a prolonged dialogue:



FIG. 3. Detail of fig. 1.
Inscription of Yang Weizhen.

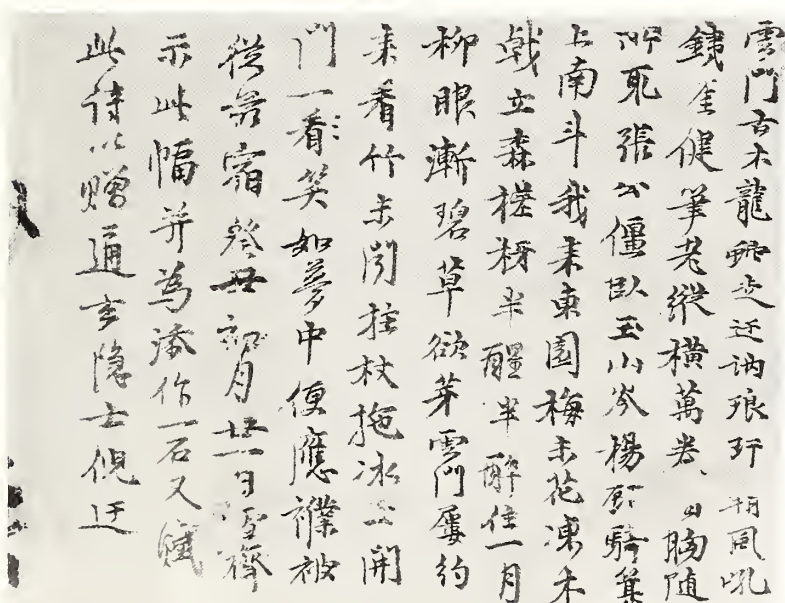


FIG. 4. Detail of fig. 1.
Inscription of Ni Zan.

The old tree of Yunmen 雲門 [Zhang Shen] moves in a serpentine way. Yu'na's [Gu An's] striking bamboo⁹ screams in the northern wind. Tieyai's [Yang Weizhen's] robust brush is firm in all directions, with myriad scrolls [once] churning in his breast waiting to emerge. Duke Zhang [now] lies dead on the peak of Jade Mountain,¹⁰ and Yang and Gu have ascended to the Little Dipper in the Qi 箕 constellation. I came to the Eastern Garden before the prunus had flowered, with icy trees [like] halberds standing dense and sharp. Half-sober, half-drunk—I stayed a month. [Now] the willow buds are gradually greening, and the grass is about to sprout. Yunmen [Zhang Shen] often promised to come and see the bamboos, but I have not heard him dragging his hiking staff over the slippery ice.¹¹ I opened the door to look as in a dream but then must cover myself with a blanket as [I] reside here. In the *guichou* 癸丑 year [1373], the twenty-first day of the fourth month, Xuezhai showed [me] this scroll, and I added a stone to it. Furthermore, I wrote this poem on it in order to present it [to someone]. Tongxuan *yinshi* ("The recluse who penetrates mysteries"), Ni Yu.

Ni Zan's inscription is largely a poetic description of the work of his predecessors and an account of his visit to a friend's residence, where he added his contribution to the painting. Thus, he describes the twisted tree of Zhang Shen, Gu An's durable bamboo, and Yang Weizhen's energetic calligraphic powers. He reports that both Gu An and Yang Weizhen were deceased by the time of his inscription. Other names cited are more problematic, including his signature.

None of the punctuated transcriptions would allow me to identify Tongxuan as Ni Zan,¹² but there is some evidence for doing so. A painting in the Shanghai Museum dated 1364 has exactly the same characters—*yizeng* 以贈, which I have translated "in order to present it"—concluding its inscription, immediately followed by another of Ni Zan's many sobriquets and his name ("Donghai 東海, Ni Zan").¹³ The character *zeng* 贈 connotes presenting something as a gift. Ni Zan concludes another inscription on a painting dated 1366 in a way that is similar to what is found on the present painting. There it is more plainly stated or qualified in a two-character phrase reading *zengbie* 贈別, "presented as a gift"; but it also does not name a recipient.¹⁴ "Tongxuan *yinshi* 通玄隱士" also appears in two modern catalogues, and it is well known that Ni Zan used many different sobriquets throughout his life.¹⁵

There is an appealing logic to this identification. One can imagine that it was in fact Ni Zan (a.k.a. Tongxuan) who provided the paper, as

mentioned by Zhang Shen. He could not be there to join in the enterprise yet remembered the event, and his fellow artists, and finally returned to complete the project. His inscription also conveys the sense that he had originally planned to participate in the group endeavor. The signature Ni Yu 倪迂 (Ni "the Distant"), though used elsewhere, seems particularly appropriate in this context as well. The result is that the final painting represents a sequential dialogue.

If my identification of Tongxuan with Ni Zan is correct, there is the further problem of the person to whom the painting was presented, who is not named. I can think of only two possible recipients. One is "the diviner of Chengdu" mentioned by Zhang Shen, to whom the painting was initially sent. The possible identity of this individual is discussed later. The most logical candidate is the person whom Ni Zan mentions in his inscription as having shown him the scroll. In this case the sense would be that, after he completed the painting, he simply returned it to its present owner. Both are otherwise mentioned in the painting's inscriptions, so perhaps Ni Zan thought it redundant to repeat either name.

I have translated the end of Ni's inscription "Xuezhai showed [me] this scroll." Xuezhai 雪齋 literally means "Snow Studio," apparently a place rather than a person's name.¹⁶ But several artists have used Xuezhai as a *hao*, including one at the time of Ni Zan. She is Cao Miaoqing 曹妙清.¹⁷ Little is known of her except that she was born in Hangzhou 杭州 and active in Suzhou 蘇州 as an accomplished musician, poet, calligrapher, and painter at the end of the Yuan and into the Ming period. Among her close associates in calligraphy was Yang Weizhen.¹⁸ In other words, she was doubtless among that class of refined courtesan-artists whose company the literati often enjoyed.¹⁹ Presumably, Ni Zan would have been one of her acquaintances and, as such, could have visited her at her residence, known as the "Eastern Garden," seen the painting, inscribed it, and returned it to her.

Ni Zan's inscription also mentions a certain "Duke [gong 公] Zhang," who, like Gu An and Yang Weizhen, was dead. This duke cannot refer to Zhang Shen, as he lived for some time after the death of Ni Zan in 1374.²⁰ No further clue illuminates this reference, but there are two contemporary possibilities. One, mentioned in Wu Qizhen's 吳其貞 account of paintings he saw in the seventeenth century, is a painting of "an old tree, bamboo, and rock" by a certain Zhang Ze

張澤 dated to the year 1356.²¹ Wu goes on to say that Zhang Ze was traditionally said to have been the teacher of Ni Zan. But to my knowledge Zhang Ze is otherwise completely unknown.²² Nonetheless, this identification may be appropriate because of the identical subject matter of the paintings by Zhang and by Ni Zan and his friends and because of the presumed early tutelage. Another possibility is Zhang Yu 張雨 (1277–1348), who played a significant role in the early development and support of Ni Zan's artistic talents.²³ This, however, seems less likely, as Zhang Yu had been deceased for so long. In either case Ni may have honored one of these Zhangs by bestowing upon him the title duke, the highest rank of nobility.

There is another possible explanation for the use of the surname Zhang with the title duke. Ni Zan, like many others of the literati class during the Yuan, was known to have been strongly attracted to Daoism. The Zhengyi 正一 sect of religious Daoism was particularly important.²⁴ This sect traced its ancestry to the semi-legendary Zhang Daoling 張道陵 of the first century, and its patriarchs, or Celestial Masters (*Tianshi* 天師), all bore the name Zhang 張 thereafter. Thus Ni Zan was perhaps referring to a contemporary Celestial Master or even to the founder of the sect.²⁵

Yang Weizhen's inscription says that, after the three original artists completed their work, it was sent to "the diviner of Chengdu."²⁶ This individual is not otherwise identified, and no one mentioned thus far had any apparent connection with Chengdu, the capital of Sichuan 四川 (Shu 蜀). One may speculate, however, that another of the literary lights in the circles in which Yang moved might have been the recipient. The younger poet and painter Xu Ben's 徐賁 (1335–80?) ancestral home was Sichuan, but he lived near Suzhou and later (about 1364) established a countryside retreat on Mt. Shu ("Sichuan") near Wuxing 吳興.²⁷ He was a friend of many poets and painters, including the poet Gao Qi 高啟 (1336–74),²⁸ who in turn had a social acquaintance with Ni Zan. The older group of original artists of this painting may have recognized the talent—in poetry and painting—and kinship of Xu Ben by sending him their scribbled picture, perhaps to celebrate Xu's return in 1369 from a brief official banishment to the North. Such a scenario would date the original painting to about 1369.

None of these speculations is critical to my essential argument that the collaboration that produced this painting participates in and testifies to a redefinition of a particular society. This

contention rests largely upon the remainder of Zhang Shen's inscription, which continues with a poem:

The *Odes* say:²⁹

White sands and emerald bamboo freshened with rain,
An ancient hut [among] scattered trees [with] few
along the path.

[Since] Jizhu never came to Xu Shu's hideaway,
With whom can one divine the future in this cold
place?³⁰

The first two lines of the poem are fairly straightforward. The first sets Gu An's rain-laden bamboo against arid sands (moist ink on dry paper?), and the second refers to the isolated site of the gathering of friends.

But it is the last two lines, dense with layers of obscure meaning and implication, that provide an important key to understanding the painting. Essentially, these lines speak first of socially or historically conditioned moral stances, then of the isolation of friends separated not only from one another but also from their proper destiny—a contrast, as in the first two lines, between the particulars and their context. Ultimately, however, they define a set of ideals by which to frame a society and live within it.

In these lines, Zhang Shen reaches back to the Western Han period to cite a famous second-century B.C. diviner, Sima Jizhu 司馬季主, as recorded in Sima Qian's 司馬遷 *Shiji* 史記 (*juan* 127).³¹ In a sermon to two astonished court officials Sima Jizhu says that his humble life as a diviner, a low station in the social hierarchy, gives him intimate knowledge of nature's processes, which court officials, for all their learning and ostensible comforts, can never enjoy. The result is ever greater satisfaction for the diviner and ever greater frustration and peril for the official (indeed, the two court officials eventually came to sad ends).³²

On one level Zhang Shen chose Sima Jizhu because he was a diviner. As mentioned above, the fourteenth century was unique in Chinese history in that the literary elite escaped into "unorthodox professions" to avoid political and economic turmoil.³³ Moreover, fortunetelling was particularly popular in the lower Yangzi 楊子 area, where Ni Zan and his friends lived, and was common among Daoist priests. Thus, Sima Jizhu could be seen, generally or in particular, as a precursor of the life or the lives of an individual or the individuals referenced in the painting.

The diviner Sima Jizhu is then set against Xu Shu 徐庶, although they are well separated in

time. Xu Shu was an advisor and military tactician to Liu Bei 劉備 (162–223), who sought to maintain his family's legitimate succession to the Han dynasty³⁴ and eventually established his center in Shu (modern Sichuan). Liu Bei found himself in the southwest, where he was constantly threatened by the notorious Cao Cao 曹操 (155–200), once his friend, whose son (Cao Pi 曹丕) eventually established the Wei dynasty in the northern half of China following the collapse of the Han. Cao Cao lured Xu Shu away from Liu Bei by detaining his mother. For reasons of filial piety Xu Shu could not refuse to go to her, but when he arrived in the court of Cao Cao, his mother berated him for falling for a forged note from her and for abandoning his position with the righteous Liu Bei; she forthwith hanged herself. Before Xu Shu had left Liu Bei, he had recommended the virtuous and reclusive poet-painter Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮 (181–234) as his successor. After several invitations, Zhuge Liang was finally persuaded to serve in 207—whereafter he distinguished himself to such a degree that he is still remembered as a paragon of the skilled military tactician and loyal minister.³⁵

Zhang Shen's pairing of the two figures from ancient history would speak both of the gathering of friends and of their fate. Sima Jizhu represents an ideal that was emulated among the literati *yimin* during the oppressive Yuan dynasty. Conditions did not improve for the scholarly elite with the rebellion of Zhang Shicheng 張士誠 (1321–67), who captured Suzhou and surrounding regions in 1356,³⁶ nor was their situation much better when Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋 (1328–98) reunified China and established the Ming dynasty in 1368.³⁷ Many Chinese literati would not compromise their moral stance for the hated Mongols and were suspicious of the founder of the Ming (as he was of them); instead they, like Sima Jizhu, held fast to their own values. By contrast, Xu Shu, though a wise and able counselor, finally did not consistently adhere to his own standards. He could not resolve the complementary stresses of loyalty to his sovereign and filial piety toward his mother, and his life ended sadly as a result. (His mother did not veer from her ideals, no matter the disastrous outcome, and is thus more highly regarded.) The poet implies that standards are absolute, with no tolerance for ethical or behavioral shifts. In brief, moral perfection is set as an ideal, but with the recognition that some will fall short due to personal circumstance. This belief defines the framework of human behavior among the literati class.

Further contextual layers may have informed the consciousness of the scholarly companions. First, their historical knowledge was no doubt drawn from the original history of the Western or Former Han, the *Shiji*, a classic of its kind, for Sima Jizhu. Yet the reference to Xu Shu was not drawn from the account by Chen Shou 陳壽 (233–97) known as the *Sanguo zhi* 三國志 (Chronicle of the Three Kingdoms), which covers the period from 220 to 265. Xu Shu lived at the end of the Han. Nor did the poet probably think of another account of the period in a later great history, the *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑 (Comprehensive mirror for government) by Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–68), which covers the period 168–265 and treats the Shu-Han more briefly than the Wei, which is its focus.³⁸ Instead, Zhang Shen probably relied upon the popularized and embellished narrative known as the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* (*Sanguo zhi yanyi* 三國志演義) ascribed to Luo Guanzhong 羅貫中 (ca. 1330–ca. 1400), which was written at about the time of this painting.³⁹

I draw this conclusion largely because the full extent of Xu Shu's ambivalent morality is clear only in that contemporary account. Further, it seems less than accidental that this account evokes the remote age of the Three Kingdoms, which shares a common didactic thread with the Yuan since both were times of division and dissent. Liu Bei was revered by the Chinese under the Yuan, as he represented a line of legitimate descent in contrast to that of the Mongol usurpers.

Knowledge of Xu Shu would also involve knowledge of the longer story itself. This includes the epic battle in 208 between the forces of the future state of Wei and those of Liu Bei of the Shu-Han (in alliance with those of the state of Wu) at the Red Cliff on the Yangzi River. The Wei forces suffered a decisive defeat due to the remarkable tactics of the renowned Zhuge Liang (who had first been recommended by Xu Shu). This victory was the basis for one of two famous prose-poems by the multitalented Su Shi 蘇軾 (Dongpo 東坡, 1037–1101) in 1082. The first "Red Cliff" poem (*Chibi fu* 赤壁賦) tells of Su Shi and his friends passing the Red Cliff as they drink wine throughout a night in a boat and wistfully remember the ancient battle.⁴⁰ It celebrates the inexhaustible delights of unending nature in contrast to ephemeral historical events. Su Shi's "Red Cliff" has served as a frequent inspiration for painters ever since.⁴¹ Su himself, like Zhuge Liang, has been recognized as an extremely able, moral, and learned minister as well as a poet, calligrapher, and artist.⁴²

Having thought of Xu Shu and thinking further of the larger story as commemorated by Su Shi in his "Red Cliff" poem, Zhang Shen may quite possibly have had a deeper memory of Su Shi that is relevant to the painting. Among his many achievements, Su Shi was one of the first to delineate the ideal of "scholars' painting" (*shiren hua* 士人畫), in which ideas mean more than images—as is the case here and in the work of many Yuan dynasty artists. He wrote the often-repeated statement, "If anyone discusses painting in terms of formal likeness, his understanding is nearly that of a child."⁴³ Ni Zan echoes this dictum: "What I call painting is no more than free brushwork done sketchily; it does not aim at formal likeness and is merely done for my own amusement."⁴⁴ And it is reported that he went even further, remarking, "Ah, but a *total* lack of resemblance is not an easy thing to achieve!"⁴⁵ Susan Bush, in interpreting the meaning of a Ni Zan inscription, aptly and succinctly posits a question he may have asked: "Which is the counterfeited and which the truth, nature or art?"⁴⁶

What seems apparent is that Zhang Shen has equated Ni Zan with Sima Jizhu, placing him at the moral center of his contemporaries. Ni was well known for his exemplary behavior within the literati class of his time. His passion for cleanliness and order, his resolve in the face of personal adversity, the coherence and consistency of his art over time, and even his seeming eccentricity all bore the stamp of stubborn individuality.⁴⁷ This reputation grew to almost mythical proportions in subsequent times. In other words, he was seen in his own time as an ideal that others could not quite match, try though they might, and this image proved durable. Ni circulated widely among the literary elite, as Chu-tsing Li has noted: "Indeed, hardly a poet or painter of his time who lived in Wu-hsi and the region of his wanderings but could be counted as a friend or acquaintance."⁴⁸

Zhang Shen goes on to envision himself, and probably others of his peers, as Xu Shu reborn—basically honorable and worthy but with flaws imposed by circumstance. This was exactly the situation that so many literati faced under the Yuan and into the early Ming. Gao Qi wrestled with his conscience about whether to serve under the rebel Zhang Shicheng in Suzhou and under the Ming, finally suffering execution as a result.⁴⁹ Yang Weizhen served the Yuan court in a minor capacity but, perhaps partially to justify this lapse, found covert means to criticize it.⁵⁰ Zhang Shen seems to be saying that if only Ni Zan (= Jizhu) had managed to come to Zhang Shen's (= Xu Shu's) hut,

his physical and therefore moral presence would have kept the others from wavering.

Thus, the community of literati in and around Suzhou, skilled in a variety of arts, shaped its own society and established its values. While the group maintained some official contacts, it was essentially sealed within itself, deliberately putting government at arm's length. It took nourishment from Chinese values—finding models in the historical past for modes of behavior (Sima Jizhu) as well as ideas (Su Shi). Both the making of this painting by four kindred spirits *and* the messages it conveys testify to these values.

It has often been noted that the Yuan dynasty was a special, even unique period in Chinese history. While China had been ruled by foreign invaders before, it is fair to say that none had the impact upon the elite—particularly the intellectual elite—that the Mongols had.⁵¹ They essentially struck down the foundations of many long-established Chinese customs, and with these went the values upon which the literary elite had relied. Being so forcefully severed from cultural norms (social, governmental, etc.), by both choice and circumstance, this class faced a rare experience in Chinese history: freedom from responsibilities to hierarchical, bureaucratic, and authoritarian political structures, though admittedly evasive actions were often required to achieve this freedom. Yet these very features are the underpinnings of Confucian values, as is ordered morality.

The collaborative painting of *Old Tree, Bamboo, and Rock* by Gu An, Zhang Shen, Yang Weizhen, and Ni Zan provides a glimpse of the effort to construct and define a new society in which individuality was paramount but only in tandem with a lofty moral code. Thus, the painting is not really a case of artists "trying to outdo each other in amateurish ungainliness" so much as it is one of artists proclaiming their singular presence and their communication with one another in their own voices—the firmly inked bamboo of Gu An, the wetly scumbled tree of Zhang Shen, the dry rock of Ni Zan, and even the distinct character of Yang Weizhen's inscription. This work in no way achieves the coherent result characteristic of most collaborative works.⁵² Indeed, it is a stunning early example of a painting in "no style"⁵³—a notion that only much later fully freed some artists to find their own way beyond the strictures of historicism or orthodoxy to where what really matters is the individual. Might not some artists in contemporary China find themselves in a related situation and come to the same conclusion?

Notes

It is a great honor to participate in this tribute to Professor Richard Edwards, my mentor and friend, who put China and its art at the forefront of my life. I would like this as well to honor the memory of his late wife, Vee, who opened her home and her heart and did as much as her husband to open China to me. I hope Dick may forgive me if I take a different slant on what he wrote in one of his many insightful studies. "It is the idea in the artist's mind that determines the nature he reveals." Richard Edwards, "The Artist and the Landscape: Changing Views of Nature in Chinese Painting," *The Translation of Art: Essays on Chinese Painting and Poetry*, RENDITIONS 6, special art issue (Hong Kong: Centre for Translation Projects, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1976), 43. He was speaking of "nature" as that of the physical world, but I am concerned here with the revelation of the artist's nature. Both, however, may be seen as one, particularly in the Yuan dynasty. Edwards immediately goes on to say that a painted landscape was meant "to rescue the [real] landscape from the fragile existence of the moment and imbue it with notions of permanence." I will contend that the act of painting and the fact of it did the same for artists in the Yuan.

1. The painting has been illustrated in several places, including: James Cahill, *Hills beyond a River: Chinese Painting of the Yuan Dynasty, 1279–1368* (New York and Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1976), pl. 85; Zhang Guangbin, *The Four Great Masters of the Yuan (Yuan si da jia)* (Taipei: National Palace Museum [Guoli gugong bowuyuan], 1975), 315; Sherman E. Lee, *A History of Far Eastern Art*, 4th ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall; and New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1982), fig. 555; and Li Lin-ts'an, "Pine and Rock, Wintry Tree, Old Tree, Bamboo and Rock, the Development of a Theme," *The National Palace Museum Bulletin* 4, no. 6 (1970): fig. 11. Li (pp. 1–12) points out that the themes of his title were distinctive entities within painters' subjects and that the third, "old tree, bamboo and rock," was the last to develop. The present painting has been catalogued, its inscriptions have been transcribed and translated, and further commentaries are available in sources mentioned, as appropriate, in subsequent notes.
2. In Cahill's words, though he recognizes its importance as an example of Yuan art by concluding his *Hills* volume with it (pp. 175–76).
3. The inscriptions have been transcribed in three places, and each differs in minor ways from the others: Wang Jiqian [Wang Chi-ch'ien], "Ni Yunlin zhi hua" (The paintings of Ni Yunlin), *Gugong jikan* (National Palace Museum Quarterly) 1, no. 3 (1963): 29–30; *Gugong shuhua lu* (Taipei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan, 1965), 3:580; and Zhang, *Four Great Masters*, 59–60.
4. See the essays by Wai-kam Ho, "The Physicians and the Fortunetellers" and "The Recluse and the I-Min," in Sherman E. Lee and Wai-kam Ho, *Chinese Art under the Mongols: The Yuan Dynasty (1279–1368)* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1968), 83–95.
5. This translation and the others to follow differ importantly from those found in Zhang, *Four Great Masters*, 69.
6. Of the individuals mentioned, two have full entries in *Dictionary of Ming Biography [DMB]*, ed. L. Carrington Goodrich and Chaoying Fang (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1976). See the entry on Ni Zan by Chu-ting Li in 2:1090–93; and that for Yang Weizhen by Edmund H. Worthy in 2:1547–53. For a fuller treatment of "The Life and Writings of Ni Yunlin [Zan]," see Wang Jiqian, "Ni Yunlin shengping ji shiwen," *National Palace Museum Quarterly* 1, no. 2 (1966): 29–42.
7. The translation of this line follows the transcription in *Gugong shuhua lu* rather than that in Zhang, *Four Great Masters*, which makes no apparent sense. See references in n. 3.
8. The term *canglong* 蒼龍 ("blue [or green] dragon") was used by a Tang dynasty poet as a metaphor for an ancient pine. See *Daikanwa jiten*, ed. Morohashi Tetsuji, rev. ed. (Tokyo: Taishukan Shoten, 1986), 9:840-b (5). I see nothing listed under *jindao* 金刀 ("golden knife") in Morohashi that seems relevant to Yang Weizhen's usage; cf. 11:473-d.
9. The term here is *langgan* 琅玕, which refers to a semi-precious stone but has been used as a metaphor for beautiful—or "striking"—bamboo. See Morohashi, *Daikanwa*, 7:924-b–c (1–2).
10. I have no firm idea what "Jade Mountain" (*yushan* 玉山) refers to and thus have not specifically identified it. Perhaps it can be construed as a reference to the villa of Gu Ying 顧瑛 (1310–69), a rich poet and friend of many literary lights—including Ni Zan and Yang Weizhen—of Suzhou. It was known as *Yushan caotang* 玉山草堂 (The Thatched Hut of Jade Mountain). See *DMB*, 1:164, 266; and 2:1041, 1383. For a study of Gu Ying and the central role he played as host to the literati of the time, see David Sensabaugh, "Guests at Jade Mountain: Aspects of Patronage in Fourteenth Century K'un-shan," in *Artists and Patrons: Some Social and Economic Aspects of Chinese Painting*, ed. Chu-ting Li (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1989),

- 93–100. I suggest possible identifications of Duke Zhang below.
11. The term here is *bingyu* 冰玉, literally “ice-jade.” I have taken it to indicate the cold slipperiness of the wintry ground in the present context. Cf. Morohashi, *Daikanwa*, 2:139-a (1).
 12. See references in n. 3.
 13. See *Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu*, comp. Zhongguo gudai shuhua jiating zu (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1987), 2:117 (#1-0234). Yet another is found in the same source, this an early painting (dated 1357) of trees on a promontory, where the same two characters conclude the body of the inscription; 116 (#1-0231); and doubtless there are others. One could almost suspect that he concluded some of his inscriptions in this way so that he would have a stock of such ready-made paintings to present to his hosts while on his travels.
 14. For the painting, see Zhang, *Four Great Masters*, pl. 305, with the transcription on 53 and the translation on 60. For the single character *zeng* and the phrase *zengbie*, see *Cihai* (Taipei: Taiwan zhonghua shuju, 1961), 2:109-c and 109-d, respectively.
 15. The name appears as Tongxuan *yinshi*, “The Reclusive Master of Penetrating Mysteries,” among many other names. (It should also be mentioned that there is a Daoist cast to the term “Tongxuan,” which relates to Ni Zan’s own serious interest in that philosophy.) See *Zhongguo lidai shuhua juange jia zi hao suoyin*, comp. Shang Chengzu and Huang Hua (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1960), 2:1142 (and cf. 1:465, where a total of twenty-three alternative names for Ni are listed). A comprehensive compilation of seals and signatures of Chinese artists through the ages also lists Tongxuan *yinshi* as a *hao* of Ni Zan (among nineteen alternative names); *Zhongguo shuhua jia yinjian kuanshi*, comp. Shanghai bowuguan (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1987), 1:750. Unfortunately, no sources are given, and I have not otherwise seen this term on any actual work associated with Ni Zan. Perhaps these two sources have based their reading on the same painting.
 16. It appears as a place name in the translation in Zhang, *Four Great Masters*, 69. However, Wang Jiqian’s transcription (p. 30) indicates that it is to be taken as a person’s name. T. C. Lai has also read it in this way: “Hsueh Chai showed me this picture and I added a rock to it together with this poem.” *Understanding Chinese Painting* (Hong Kong: Kelly & Walsh, 1980), 78 (with illustration). He has not translated any more of Ni’s inscription or the others.
 17. See *Zhongguo meishujia renming zidian*, ed. Yu Jianhua (Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1990), alternative names section, 195b–c; and, for Cao Miaoqing, 899-b.
 18. See the reference in n. 17. Her three extant paintings are listed in Marsha Weidner et al., *Views from Jade Terrace: Chinese Women Artists, 1300–1912* (Indianapolis: Indianapolis Museum of Art, 1988), 177. Two are dated to the year 1379. A round fan painting is illustrated in *Masterpieces of Chinese Album Painting in the National Palace Museum* (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1971), pl. 40; and that, together with an album leaf also in the National Palace Museum, is found in Karen Peterson and J. J. Wilson, *Women Artists: Recognition and Reappraisal from the Early Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century* (New York: New York University Press, 1976), figs. VIII-15 and VIII-16. The exacting lineament and color of these flower paintings could not be further from the character of Ni Zan’s paintings.
 19. See the several essays in Weidner et al., *Views from Jade Terrace*.
 20. Wu Qizhen’s seventeenth-century *Shuhua ji* 書畫記 report of this painting says that Zhang Shen had died earlier (Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1962), 2:200. But this is in error; see Zhang, *Four Great Masters*, 69.
 21. *Shuhua ji*, 6:715.
 22. For example, he is not in John C. Ferguson [Fu Kaisen], *Lidai zhulu huamu* (Taipei: Zhonghua shuju, 1968), 1:277-b—where his name *should* be listed. Yet Wu Qizhen’s work was only published in 1962 and thus was not available to Ferguson when he first published his compilation in 1934.
 23. See *Zhongguo meishujia renming cidian*, 834-b. There is a long inscription by Zhang Yu on the well-known portrait of Ni Zan; see The Chinese National Palace Museum and the Chinese National Central Museum, *Chinese Art Treasures* (Geneva: Editions d’Art Albert Skira, 1961), pl. 86. The portrait is also to be found in Zhang, *Four Great Masters*, pl. 327, with the translation of the inscription on 75–76. This Zhang Yu is not to be confused with another who had exactly the same name, lived at about the same time (1333–85) in the same area, was also a poet and painter, and associated with artists like Gao Qi and Xu Ben (see below). See *DMB*, 1:106–7.
 24. For a brief summary of the history and doctrinal foundations of Zhengyi (Orthodox Unity) Daoism, see Kenneth Dean, *Taoist and Popular Cults*

of Southeast China (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 24–27.

25. For a brief biographical entry on Zhang Daoling, particularly relative to his importance for Zhengyi Daoism, see *Daojia da cidian*, ed. Li Shuhuan (Taipei: Juliu tushu gongxi, 1979), 292-c–293-a (and cf. 299-a). It is tempting to imagine that Zhang Ze was a Celestial Master, but I have not been able to access a source to confirm or deny this. What information I have been able to locate makes it highly unlikely. Over Ni Zan's lifetime there apparently were five Celestial Masters (numbered 38–42), who died in the following years: 1316, 1344, 1352, 1359, and 1378. The information for the first of these comes from *Daojia da cidian* under the name Zhang Yucai 張與材, 300-b; and that for the remainder is to be found in *DMB*, 44–45. Unfortunately, the *Daojia da cidian* does not list a thirty-seventh Celestial Master (the thirty-sixth died in 1283), 296a–b under Zhang Zongyan 張宗演. Yet apparently Zhang Ze could not have been the thirty-seventh Celestial Master, if only because it is reported that he had dated a painting to 1356 (when the forty-first Celestial Master held the seat), though perhaps he was another Daoist official who would have had the same surname.
26. The translation in Zhang, *Four Great Masters*, 69, of the last portion of Yang Weizhen's inscription reads as follows: "And sends it to Ch'eng-tu to sell it to a diviner." Given both the nature and context of this painting, this translation is singularly inappropriate. The translators have mistakenly read the characters singly. Thus, while the single character *mai* 賣 (meaning "to sell") does appear, it should be teamed with the subsequent characters to form the phrase *maiburen* 賣卜人, meaning "diviner." See *Cihai*, 2:105-b.
27. See the entry on him by T. W. Weng in *DMB*, 2:595–96, which is also the source for the further citation of Xu Ben below.
28. See the entry by F. W. Mote in *DMB*, 1:676–99; and also his *The Poet Kao Ch'i, 1336–1374* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962).
29. The *Gugong jikan* and *Gugong shuhua lu* transcriptions rightly include the phrase *Shi yue* 詩曰 ("The Odes say"), but Wang Jiqian's has omitted it. I have not been able to locate any quotation in one version of the *Odes* that would match this; see Bernhard Karlgren, *The Book of Odes* (Stockholm: Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, 1950). In any event, it would refer at best only to the first two lines (or even just the first), as the historical characters mentioned in the next two lines are later.
30. This translation differs considerably from that found in Zhang, *Four Great Masters*, 69, where, moreover, the last two lines—very important, in my estimation—have not been translated at all.
31. The relevant portion has been translated by Burton Watson, *Records of the Grand Historian of China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), 2:468–75. Watson points out that Sima Jizhu's given name "may be interpreted to mean 'Master of the Seasons'" (468, n. 2). One of the officials remarked, "I have heard it said . . . that the sages of antiquity, if they did not hold positions in court, were invariably found to be among the ranks of diviners and doctors." Watson, *Records*, 469. For further comment on Sima Jizhu, see Michael Loewe, "The Divination by Shells, Bones and Stalks during the Han Period," *T'oung Pao* 74, nos. 1–3 (1988): 94–96; and Aat Vervoor, *Men of the Cliffs and Caves: The Development of the Chinese Eremetic Tradition to the End of the Han Dynasty* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1990), 108–9.
32. There is a parallel to this Chinese example in basic Buddhist philosophy: attachment to the world leads to desire, which leads to sorrow when desires are unfulfilled. In addition to his interest in Daoism, Ni Zan is known to have developed an interest in Buddhism later in his life.
33. The information in this paragraph is drawn from the essays of Wai-kam Ho cited in n. 4 above.
34. For the source of this summary account, see n. 39 below.
35. The reference to the Later Han dynasty figure Xu Shu also may have relevance for Xu Ben. Somewhat like Xu Shu, whose surname was shared by Xu Ben, Xu Shu served first in the remnants of the Han state of Liu Bei, centered in Shu from whence Xu Ben's family came, but went, reluctantly, to serve the Wei state, which was seen as an illegitimate successor to the Han. Xu Ben wrestled with his conscience before ultimately serving either the Yuan or the Ming government (concluding his service with the latter to his sorrow).
36. See the entry on him by John Dardess in *DMB*, 1:99–103.
37. See the entry on him by Teng Ssu-yu, *DMB*, 1:381–92.
38. Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian* (Beijing: Guji chubanshan, 1978).

- she, 1956). The Sima Guang account is very brief and gives no glimpse of the depth of the dilemma faced by Xu Shu. This is available in a translation by Rafe de Crespigny, *The Last of the Han*, Monograph 9 (Canberra: Centre of Oriental Studies, Australian National University, 1969), 259–60.
39. This has been fully translated by C. H. Brewitt-Taylor, *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, 2nd ed. (Rutland, VT and Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle, 1959); see 373–401. A useful, though selective, translation has been provided by Moss Roberts, *Three Kingdoms: China's Epic Drama* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1976). For the portion having to do with Xu Shu's moral dilemma and his recommendation of Zhuge Liang as his successor, see the latter, 99–113, which serves as the basis for my summary. A full translation has recently been published by the same translator, *Three Kingdoms: A Historical Novel* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994). See also the entry on Luo Guanzhong by Winston L. Y. Yang in *DMB*, 1:978–80; and his Ph.D. thesis, "The Use of the 'San Kuo Chih' as a Source for the 'San-Guo-Chih-Yen-I'" (Stanford University, 1971).
 40. This is available in a translation by A. C. Graham in *Anthology of Chinese Literature*, comp. and ed. Cyril Birch (New York: Grove Press, 1965), 381–82 (and for the second poem, see 383–84).
 41. See Daniel Altieri, "The Painted Visions of the Red Cliffs," *Oriental Art*, n.s., 29, no. 3 (1983): 252–64; he also offers another translation of the first poem, 252–53. See also Jerome Silbergeld, "Back to the Red Cliff: Reflections on the Narrative Mode in Early Literati Landscape Painting," elsewhere in this volume.
 42. Luo Guanzhong and Su Shi may have found their sources among professional storytellers but under different circumstances, as suggested by C. T. Hsia, *The Classic Chinese Novel: A Critical Introduction* (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1968), 36 and 336, n. 45, respectively; see also his chap. 3, "The Romance of the Three Kingdoms," 34–74. This in itself might be indirect testimony that even the scholarly elite of the Yuan period had closer contact with the citizenry when they no longer walked the corridors of political power.
 43. Susan Bush, *The Chinese Literati on Painting* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971), 32; and see her chapter on "The Views of Northern Sung Literati" in general, 29–82. James Cahill concludes his Yuan dynasty volume with an insightful commentary on "Realism versus Expressionism," *Hills*, 163–76.
 44. Bush, *Chinese Literati*, 135.
 45. Cahill, *Hills*, 175.
 46. Bush, *Chinese Literati*, 136.
 47. This and more is concisely encapsulated by Cahill in *Hills*, 114–16. For example, Ni Zan himself wrote that "People call me a simpleton and an eccentric, and since that's my nature, and I'm satisfied with myself that way, why should I alter my principles because of what people say?" (p. 115).
 48. *DMB*, 2:1091.
 49. See the references in n. 28 above.
 50. See the reference in n. 6 above. See also the account by Richard L. Davis, "Historiography as Politics in Yang Wei-ch'en's 'Polemic on Legitimate Succession'," *T'oung Pao* 69, no. 103 (1983): 33–72.
 51. For example, I have argued that under another period of foreign rule, the Northern Wei (386–534), the wealthy gentry elite largely went about their own business with little effective interference from the court. *Written and Unwritten: A New History of the Buddhist Caves at Yungang* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1988), esp. chaps. 3–4.
 52. In reportorial paintings depicting such subjects as the emperor's travels it is impossible to distinguish an individual artist's hand. See a handscroll said to be the joint product of some eighteen painters, one having overall responsibility, in the Liaoning Provincial Museum; Danielle Elisséeff, *China: Treasures and Splendors* (Montréal: Société du Palais de la Civilization; Paris: Arthaud, 1986), cat. no. 129. Even paintings by artists historically classified in very different ways seem more exercises in harmonization than conversation. See two paintings, both dated 1691, with the "individualist" Shitao 石濤 (1642–1707) separately collaborating with two "orthodox" artists, Wang Yuanqi 王原祁 (1642–1715) and Wang Hui 王翬 (1632–1717), in Marilyn and Shen Fu, *Studies in Connoisseurship* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), 50.
 53. In regard to this famous concept of Shitao, see Richard Edwards, *The World around the Chinese Artist: Aspects of Realism in Chinese Painting* (Ann Arbor: College of Literature, Science and the Arts, University of Michigan, 1987), 119–22, esp. 122.

LITTLE HERMITAGE IN THE AUTUMN WOODS:
A LATE MING PAINTING BY XIANG DEXIN
MISATTRIBUTED TO TAO FUCHU OF THE YUAN

By SHEN C. Y. FU

IN THE AUTUMN OF 1968, I LEFT THE NATIONAL PALACE Museum in Taipei to pursue a graduate degree in Chinese art history in the Department of Art and Archaeology at Princeton University. Because English was still a problem for me, the following year Professor Wen Fong recommended that I improve my proficiency by attending the summer language course for foreign students at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor. We discussed the matter while strolling through the Princeton campus, and when the subject of tuition came up, Professor Fong graciously took out his personal checkbook and asked how much money I needed. I answered truthfully that I did not know and suggested that he give me a signed check, which I could fill in later. Professor Fong thought I was joking and burst into laughter, but in fact I was still so unfamiliar with such things that I honestly did not yet understand the potential risks of a blank check or why Professor Fong found my suggestion so humorous.

Not long afterward, I registered for the summer English course at the University of Michigan, and being a stranger in a strange place, I immediately went to the offices of the Department of the History of Art to seek out Professor Richard Edwards. I no longer recall whether Professor Edwards and I had already met on a previous occasion in Taipei, but I was certainly quite familiar with his scholarship and reputation. I remember that I found Professor Edwards easily and that he kindly escorted me to the dormitory and gave me a tour of the university environs and facilities. He showed me the library and offered me open access to the photographic archives of the History of Art Department, inviting me to visit whenever I had some free time and wanted to browse through the files. While we were walking along, Professor Edwards chatted with me obligingly in Chinese and altogether made me feel quite comfortable in my new surroundings.

Because I soon discovered that the summer language course had little relevance to my real academic needs, I did not apply myself with any particular zeal to the subject at hand, nor did I

make much progress in either written or spoken English at the time. Instead, I made it a habit after class to visit the library and photo archives, where because it was summer I often found myself the only person present. The quiet solitude afforded by the archives provided me with a great sense of comfort, and accordingly I spent much of my spare time leisurely working my way at random through the photo files. Once, when I met Professor Edwards, I informed him that many of the photos of paintings from the National Palace collection were misfiled, and he told me that in the future I should simply remove such photos and leave them on a desk so the staff could properly attend to them.

I began therefore to examine the photo archives in a more orderly fashion, and as a result I made a number of discoveries that summer about paintings belonging to the National Palace Museum and other collections. One of those discoveries forms the main subject of this article, which I would like now to dedicate to Professor Edwards and his wife in sincere gratitude for all they did those many years ago to help a young, and somewhat naive, foreign student feel more at home.

Tao Fuchu and the Little Hermitage in the Autumn Woods

During the three years prior to my departure from the National Palace Museum (hereafter NPM), I had conducted a systematic survey of most of the original Chinese paintings in its large and superb collection. While reviewing the Michigan photo archives of the NPM Yuan and Ming dynasty holdings, I was struck again by the fact that the hanging scroll *Little Hermitage in the Autumn Woods* (*Qiulin xiaoyin tu* 秋林小隱圖) (fig. 1), assigned to Tao Fuchu 陶復初 (active first half of the fourteenth century), was clearly not painted in a Yuan dynasty style. By comparing technical aspects of this painting's brushwork and composition with a Xiang Dexin 項德新 (1561–1623) work in the NPM and after examining the



FIG. 1. Xiang Dexin (attributed to Tao Fuchu), *Little Hermitage in the Autumn Woods*, undated, ink and color on paper, 70 × 28.7 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

available, albeit scant, materials relating to each artist, I came to the firm conclusion that the NPM painting assigned to Tao Fuchu of the Yuan dynasty is actually a work by Xiang Dexin, son of the famous late Ming collector, connoisseur, and painter Xiang Yuanbian 項元汴 (1525–90).¹

Little Hermitage in the Autumn Woods employs certain Yuan dynasty elements of brushwork and composition but differs in several key regards from genuine works of the period. While the brushwork, which falls between the styles of “hemp fiber” (*pima* 披麻) and “unraveled rope” (*jiesuo* 解索), does reveal a certain familiarity with the style of the late Yuan master Wang Meng 王蒙 (ca. 1308–85), the large central mountain, which is separated from lower peaks by drifting clouds and a waterfall, does not have a particularly massive appearance, and the slope and thatched pavilion in the foreground seem to project forward into close proximity with the viewer. These features are at variance with typical Yuan dynasty conventions. On the other hand, the overall composition, which fills the entire painting surface, and the brush techniques used in the rocks and trees show clear affinities to the style of landscape painting practiced by Wen Zhengming 文徵明 (1470–1559) and his Wu 吳 school followers, who regularly studied, adapted, and imitated Yuan dynasty models. I concluded, therefore, that this painting must belong to the Wen Zhengming school and date to the late Ming dynasty.

As with many works in the NPM collection, the formal identification of this painting was taken directly from an imperial catalogue compiled under the Qianlong 乾隆 emperor (reigned 1735–96).² At the upper left of the painting is a short nine-character artist’s inscription in two lines that reads, “Little Hermitage in the Autumn Woods, painted by Duyi jushi” (*Duyi jushi xie Qiu-lin xiaoyin* 讀易居士寫秋林小隱), which is accompanied by a two-character artist’s seal consisting of the name *Fuchu* 復初. Based on this seal, the Qianlong catalogue identifies the artist of this painting as Tao Fuchu and takes the *Duyi jushi* 讀易居士 signature to represent one of his sobriquets. The catalogue further considers a Xiang Dexin seal that appears elsewhere on the painting, which reads *Xiang Dexin yin* 項德新印 (seal of Xiang Dexin), to be his collector’s seal, the only such seal, in fact, placed on the work before it entered the imperial collection.

John C. Ferguson’s *Lidai zhulu hua mu* 歷代著錄畫目 (Catalogue of the recorded

paintings of successive dynasties) lists six entries under the name of Tao Fuchu.³ Aside from this painting, which is recorded in the 1793 imperial catalogue mentioned above, Ferguson could only find the titles of several Tao Fuchu bamboo paintings preserved in the *Shigutang shuhua huikao* 式古堂書畫彙考, published in 1682 by the important early Qing collector Bian Yongyu 卞永譽 (1645–1712).⁴ None of the bamboo paintings listed there is known to survive. In fact, because no extant paintings can be reliably attributed to Tao Fuchu, it is now impossible to make direct comparisons of brushwork or general stylistic qualities between *Little Hermitage in the Autumn Woods* and any authentic work by Tao.

Little is known about the life of Tao Fuchu, except that he was the younger brother of Tao Yu 陶煜 (1286–1358) and uncle of the artist Tao Zongyi 陶宗儀 (ca. 1316–ca. 1402). According to his biographical notice in the *Tuhui baojian* 圖繪寶鑑 (Precious mirror for examining paintings) by Xia Wenyan 夏文彥 (fourteenth century):

陶復初字明本，號介軒老人，天台人，官至台州儒學教授，贈樂清尹。師李蘊丘父子畫墨竹及著色竹甚工，亦能山水。

Tao Fuchu, courtesy name Mingben, sobriquet Jiexuan laoren, was from Tiantai [Zhejiang Province]. He reached the office of instructor of the [prefectural] Confucian school of Taizhou and was made magistrate of Leqing. He studied [the painting style of] Li Jiqui and his son [i.e., Li Kan 李衍, 1245–1320, and Li Shixing 李士行, 1283–1328] and was very skilled at painting bamboo, both in pure ink and with color. He was also competent at landscape.⁵

From this brief contemporary record, one can see that Tao Fuchu was known primarily as a painter of bamboo and that his established sobriquet was *Jiexuan laoren* 介軒老人, which does not match the *Duyi jushi* signature on the NPM painting. Since the *Duyi jushi* appellation is not associated with Tao in any source, I felt that the *Fuchu* seal appearing beside the artist’s signature may not belong to Tao Fuchu at all but rather to a different painter with the same given name but who used the sobriquet *Duyi jushi*.

Comparison with Paintings by Xiang Dexin

The NPM collection also contains a narrow hanging scroll by Xiang Dexin entitled *Autumn*

River and Cloudy Trees (*Qiujiang yunshu tu* 秋江雲樹圖) (fig. 2). As in the NPM painting attributed to Tao Fuchu, its composition fills the entire surface from bottom to top: a pathway zig-zags diagonally upward from the lower left corner to a small pavilion built out over the water, and a rushing cataract starting near the top center of the painting falls through clouds and mist into the pool below. The autumn trees are mostly devoid of leaves, and while the contours and brushwork of the mountains and rocks ultimately harken back to Yuan dynasty models such as Ni Zan 倪瓚 (1301–74) and Huang Gongwang 黃公望 (1269–1354), they more immediately display the influence of Wen Zhengming and the Wu school.

A four-line inscription appears among the clouds at the upper right of the painting:

秋江雲樹。草閣寒泉。項德新寫倪迂之筆。

Autumn river and cloudy trees, thatched hut beside a cold stream; painted by Xiang Dexin in the brush style of Ni Yu [i.e., Ni Zan].

Two square seals follow, one of which reads, *Xiang Dexin yin* (seal of Xiang Dexin), and the other, *Youxin shi* 又新氏 (Master Youxin). Although neither of the Xiang Dexin seals by his signature is the same as the one found by the *Duyi jushi* signature attributed to Tao Fuchu, the style of calligraphy is identical in the inscriptions on both paintings; for example, the precise form and execution of the two characters that are common to both inscriptions, *qiu* 秋 (autumn) and *xie* 寫 (painted), leave no doubt that these texts were written by the same hand.

Although the stylistic source of the brushwork differs in the two paintings—Wang Meng in the Tao Fuchu attribution as opposed to Ni Zan in this painting—there are many similarities in composition: each painting depicts a mountain path running along the shore of a river or lake to a thatched pavilion; both pavilions are built on stilts above the water, and although the buildings are differently constructed, each platform is surrounded by a low wooden wall or railing; and on the roof of each pavilion several loose tiles, or flat stones, lie scattered as weights among the thatch. The shapes of the mountains and placement of drifting clouds are also quite alike in both paintings, as are the use of washes and the visual relationship between the clouds and waterfalls. In both works the lines used to depict waves,

though closer together in the painting attributed to Tao Fuchu, fill the surface of the water. Taken as a whole, these various conceptual and technical parallels lend additional support to the conclusion that both paintings were executed by the same artist, Xiang Dexin.

Many more works by Xiang Dexin have been published since my original research was conducted, providing additional materials for comparison. For example, the Shanghai Museum of Art owns a 1602 hanging scroll by Xiang Dexin, entitled *Autumn Woods in an Isolated Valley* (*Juehe qiulin tu* 絕壑秋林圖) (fig. 3). Stylistically indebted to Wang Meng and Huang Gongwang, the composition and internal structure of this painting share several points of general and specific similarity with the NPM painting assigned to Tao Fuchu. The composition fills the painting surface from top to bottom; the trees, rocks, and thatched pavilion in the foreground are the main focus of attention; the middle of the painting is filled with drifting clouds and a central peak down which a waterfall cascades; and beyond, in the upper right, lie distant mountains rendered in washes of pale ink. Moreover, close comparison of the two written characters that the NPM Tao Fuchu attribution and Shanghai Museum inscriptions have in common, *qiulin* 秋林 (autumn woods), confirms that the artist's inscription on the NPM painting assigned to Tao Fuchu was written by the same hand as the long poetic inscription at the top of the Shanghai work. The Shanghai painting therefore provides a second concrete piece of evidence that the calligraphy on the NPM painting assigned to Tao Fuchu was written by Xiang Dexin.

Although not much is known about the life of Xiang Dexin, several established facts bear directly on the present discussion. Xiang Dexin used the courtesy name Youxin 又新 and the sobriquet Fuchu, and because he owned a studio called the Duyitang 讀易堂 (Hall for Studying the Book of Changes), he sometimes used the sobriquet *Duyi jushi* (Retired scholar who studies the Book of Changes).⁶ Two of Xiang Dexin's names, therefore, correspond exactly to the signature (*Duyi jushi*) and seal (*Fuchu*) on the NPM painting assigned to Tao Fuchu. These facts, along with the calligraphic, stylistic, and compositional evidence presented above, lead to the inescapable conclusion that Xiang Dexin was the real artist of the NPM painting *Little Hermitage in the Autumn Woods*, which was incorrectly attributed to Tao Fuchu in the eighteenth century.



FIG. 2. Xiang Dexin, *Autumn River and Cloudy Trees*, undated, ink on paper, 65 × 23 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.



FIG. 3. Xiang Dexin, *Autumn Woods in an Isolated Valley*, 1602, ink on paper, 105.6 × 34.5 cm. Shanghai Museum of Art, Shanghai.

Looking again for a moment at this NPM painting, one can readily discern that the original top of the scroll was damaged and repaired with new paper. The damage to the painting must have occurred before it entered the imperial collection since the Qianlong emperor inscribed his poem on the replacement paper above the central peak. Judging from its location in relation to the repaired section of the painting, Xiang Dexin's original inscription was probably longer than the nine characters that comprise the remaining text. This loss may have contributed to the misidentification of the work after remounting, an error that undoubtedly can be attributed to a combination of wishful thinking and inadequate connoisseurship on the part of the Qianlong emperor's artistic advisors. These factors may also explain why Xiang Dexin's other personal seal on the painting was wrongly interpreted by the authors of the Qing imperial catalogue as a collector's seal rather than as a seal belonging to the original artist.

Brief Discussion of Xiang Dexin (1561–1623)

Xiang Dexin was probably born in 1561, when his father Xiang Yuanbian was about thirty-six years old.⁷ On the left-side mounting of the NPM Xiang Dexin hanging scroll *Autumn River and Cloudy Trees* is a 1708 colophon by Chen Yixi 陳奕禧 (1648–1709) of the early Qing dynasty, which states:

吾禾項又新。為墨林先生之從子。

Xiang Youxin from our [home district of] [Jia]he was the nephew of Molin [i.e., Xiang Yuanbian].⁸

The term *nephew* (*congzi* 從子) must be an error because according to Xiang Dexin's close friend Wang Keyu 汪珂玉 (1587–after 1643):

項君復初為墨林公第三子

The gentleman Xiang Fuchu was the third son of lord Molin.⁹

The fact that Xiang Dexin was Xiang Yuanbian's son and not his nephew is further reinforced by his artist's seal, *Molin shu zi* 墨林叔子 (third son of Molin 墨林), which appears at the upper right of his inscription on the Shanghai Museum painting.¹⁰ In the same text quoted above, Wang Keyu

states that Xiang Dexin died sometime in 1623:

癸亥冬日余自北還項君已謝人間世矣

In winter of the *guihai* year [1623], I returned from the north to find that the gentleman Xiang [Dexin] had already departed this mortal world.

Most of Xiang Dexin's surviving works are either landscapes or paintings of bamboo, and many are small works such as folding fans.¹¹ Xiang Dexin did not consistently use a single style of brushwork. Not only did he employ the Yuan dynasty styles of Huang Gongwang, Wang Meng, and Ni Zan, as seen in the paintings discussed above; on occasion he also imitated the cloudy mountains of the Song dynasty Mi 米 school and the bamboo paintings of Wang Fu 王綬 (1362–1416) from the early Ming.¹² One reason for this diversity of styles was the richness of his family's large private collection: Xiang Dexin had so many outstanding models from which to choose that he was under no constraint to limit himself exclusively to the study of just one master or one school. As Wang Keyu wrote:

博雅好古翩翩文墨間與余契厚有年每過余齋頭或跌梅根話月或躋松巔語風或移鐙寫石影或翦燭辨花色揮毫染素忘倦余亦時詣其讀易堂出所藏書畫玩好鑒賞不休意甚洽也

Broadly cultured and fond of antiquity, [Xiang Dexin] ranged at will through the realms of literature and works of ink [i.e., painting and calligraphy]. For many years he and I shared a lasting bond of friendship. Whenever he dropped by my studio, whether sitting cross-legged on the roots of a plum tree and chatting in the moonlight or clambering up the piney ridge and conversing in the breeze, whether moving the lamp to sketch the shadows of a rock or trimming the candlewick to make out the colors of a flower, we would wield our brushes and dye the silk [i.e., paint or write] without ever growing tired. And when I sometimes visited his Duyitang Studio, he would bring out calligraphy and paintings from his collection for our enjoyment, and we would examine and discuss their fine points without ever pausing to rest, our minds were in such harmony.¹³

In his aforementioned colophon, Chen Yixi also noted:

根柢於古人。法度最深。復以高簡雅淡之情。見諸寄託。意不在畫而畫乃佳。試觀此幀…便知前輩風流。非後人能及。



FIG. 4. Wen Jia, *Cliffside Waterfall and Billows in the Pines*, undated, ink on paper, 106.6 × 43.2 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

Rooted in the ancients, [Xiang Dexin's] technical skills were extremely profound, and he expressed his feelings with simple elegance and grace. His meaning was not limited to the painting, and therefore his paintings were beautiful. When I beheld this scroll . . . I understood that the earlier generation [of painters such as Xiang Dexin] cannot be equalled by those who came later [i.e., the painters of today].

In his *Yuyutang shuhua ji* 玉雨堂書畫記 (Record of calligraphy and painting in the Jade Rain Studio), the nineteenth-century collector Han Taihua 韓泰華 commented as follows on one of Xiang Dexin's paintings:

復初嘉興人墨林第三子府志稱其畫得荆關法此紙小直幅自署仿王孟端 . . . 由家藏之富淘洗功深不愧為名筆

[Xiang] Fuchu from Jiaying was the third son of Molin. The [Jiaying] gazetteer praised his painting as having attained the level of [the tenth-century landscape masters] Jing [Hao] 荆浩 and Guan [Tong] 關同. His own inscription on this small hanging scroll on paper says he did it in imitation of Wang Mengduan 王孟端 [i.e., Wang Fu]. . . . Due to the richness of his family collection, his [painting] was deeply imbued with excellent qualities and he deservedly became a renowned painter.¹⁴

All three writers mention the formative influence that the early paintings in his family collection exerted on Xiang Dexin. In addition to this, his painting style was directly influenced by Wen Zhengming and younger members of the Wen family, such as Wen Jia 文嘉 (1501–83) and Wen Boren 文伯仁 (1502–75), which is not at all surprising given the close relations and frequent contact between the Xiang and Wen families. The Xiang Dexin landscape paintings under discussion here, for example, are particularly close to such works by Wen Jia as *Cliffside Waterfall and Billows in the Pines* (*Yanbao songtao tu* 岩抱松濤圖) (fig. 4).

In addition to his famous nephew Xiang Shengmo 項聖謨 (1597–1658)¹⁵ and his good friend Wang Keyu, quoted above, other members of Xiang Dexin's circle included Dong Qichang 董其昌 (1555–1636) and Chen Jiru 陳繼儒 (1558–1639), who visited him on a number of occasions at his Duyitang Studio to view, and sometimes inscribe, the calligraphy and paintings in his collection.¹⁶ Although Xiang Dexin shared a keen interest in art historical connoisseurship

with these two men, their influence apparently did not extend to his personal painting style, which remained firmly rooted in the Wu school tradition of Wen Zhengming.

The Xiang family was clearly the most important influence in Xiang Dexin's life. His father, Xiang Yuanbian, assembled one of the largest collections of Chinese painting and calligraphy ever to exist in private hands and was himself an accomplished amateur painter of bamboo, orchids, rocks, and small landscapes, which he executed in a casual, simple style. Xiang Yuanbian had six sons, all of whom were involved to some extent in the artistic and intellectual life of the age. His eldest son, Xiang Dechun 項德純 (1551–early 1600s), was a fine calligrapher and wrote a work called the *Shufa yayan* 書法雅言 (Refined words on calligraphy), but the most accomplished artist among his sons was Xiang Dexin. In the next generation, it is generally recognized that Xiang Shengmo surpassed both his grandfather and uncle as a painter; however, it is equally certain that Shengmo would not have enjoyed such success without Xiang Yuanbian's collection and Xiang Dexin's tutelage to guide and train him from youth.¹⁷ There is evidence that Xiang Shengmo was quite close to Dexin, including the fact that his studio name, Yi'an 易庵 (Studio of the Book of Changes), may reflect that of

his uncle, whose own studio name, as will be recalled, was Studio for Studying the Book of Changes. More importantly, judging from Xiang Dexin's few surviving works and those of Xiang Shengmo, there is a definite stylistic link between the paintings of uncle and nephew. This being the case, future researchers of Xiang Shengmo must pay closer attention to the paintings of Xiang Dexin if they truly wish to understand the origin of Xiang Shengmo's personal style and how it was shaped by his family environment and upbringing.

At the end of the summer of 1969, when the English course at the University of Michigan was over, Professor Edwards invited me to dine at his home along with some of his colleagues and friends, and I discovered to my great delight that Mrs. Edwards had prepared a large meal of assorted Chinese dishes that enabled me to assuage my craving for the cuisine of my homeland. To this day, whenever I happen to run across a photograph of the National Palace Museum's painting assigned to Tao Fuchu or other paintings by Xiang Dexin, I am always pleasantly reminded of the kindness and hospitality shown to me that long ago summer by Professor Edwards and his wife.

Notes

I would like to thank Stephen D. Allee, Research Specialist at the Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, for his translation of this article into English and for his assistance in updating and annotating my original research.

1. James Cahill advances this same conjecture in *An Index of Early Chinese Paintings: T'ang, Sung, and Yüan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 331, but provides no evidence.
2. In this case, the 1793 catalogue; see Wang Jie 王杰 (1725–1805) et al., comp., *Shiqu baoji xubian* 石渠寶笈續編 (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1971), 1:50, and 5:2769.
3. John C. Ferguson, *Lidai zhulu hua mu* (Beijing, 1934; rpt., Taipei: Zhonghua shuju, 1968), 308a.
4. Bian Yongyu, comp., *Shigutang shuhua huikao: hua* 畫 (Wuxing: Jiangsu shushe, 1921), *juan* 2:156a.
5. Xia Wenyan, *Tuhui baojian* (preface 1365), in Yang Jialuo, ed., *Yishu congbian* (Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1967), 11:87.
6. See Zheng Yinshu, *Xiang Yuanbian zhi shuhua shoucangyu yishu* (The collection and art of Xiang Yuanbian) (Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1984), 15. Other scholars believe Xiang Dexin's courtesy name and sobriquet should be reversed; see Wang Shiqing, "Dong Qichang de jiaoyou" (Dong Qichang's circle of friends), in *The Century of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, 1555–1636* (Seattle and London: The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art in association with the University of Washington Press, 1992), 2:471.
7. For birth year of 1561, see Cahill, *Index*, 331. Wang Shiqing gives Xiang Dexin's birth year as 1571; see his article in *The Century of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang*, 471. Since neither scholar provides evidence for his preferred date, I have chosen to follow the former.
8. Text published in *Gugong shuhua tulu* (Illustrated catalogue of painting and calligraphy in the National Palace Museum) (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1992), 9:30.
9. Wang Keyu, *Shanhuwang hualu* 珊瑚網畫錄 (Record of paintings seen by Wang Keyu), preface 1643 (published in *Shiyuan congshu*, blockprint ed., 1914–16?), *juan* 18:26b.
10. The Chinese tradition of ordering names using characters is as follows: *bo* 伯, *zhong* 仲, *shu* 叔, *ji* 季. Xiang Dexin was therefore his father's third (*shu*) son.
11. See *Zhongguo meishu quanji: huihua bian* 8, *Mingdai huihua (xia)* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1988), 24–25, and pls. 70–73, which reproduces four hanging scrolls, including three landscapes and one bamboo painting; Suzuki Kei, comp., *Chūgoku kaiga sōgō zuroku* (Comprehensive illustrated catalogue of Chinese paintings) (Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 1983), 5:536, lists five reproduced works, including three fan paintings; and Osvald Sirén, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters and Principles* (New York: The Ronald Press, Co., 1958), 7:189, lists seven entries, including a number of fans.
12. The private collection of Mr. Lin Boshou 林柏壽, which he placed on long-term loan with the National Palace Museum in 1969, contains two fan paintings by Xiang Dexin, one of plum blossoms and bamboo, the other a landscape of cloudy mountains done in the style of Mi Youren 米友仁 (1074–1151); see *Lanqian shanguan shuhua; huihua* (Calligraphy and painting in the Lanqian Shanguan Collection: Paintings) (Tokyo: Nigensha, 1978), 2:pls. 57–58. For a hanging scroll of bamboo and rocks done in the Wang Fu style, see *Zhongguo meishu quanji: Huihua bian* 8, 25 and pl. 73.
13. Wang Keyu, *Shanhuwang hualu*, *juan* 18:26b.
14. Han Taihua, *Yuyutang shuhua ji* (preface 1851), in Deng Shi and Huang Binhong, eds., *Meishu congshu* (Taiwan: Yiwen yinshuguan, n.d.), vol. 7, *juan* 4:103.
15. Many scholars have mistakenly asserted that Xiang Shengmo was the son of Xiang Dexin, but in an inscription on one of his paintings, Xiang Shengmo clearly refers to Xiang Dexin as his uncle (*bo*), not his father; see Yang Xin, *Xiang Shengmo* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1982), 2. According to recent research, Xiang Shengmo was actually the eldest son of Xiang Deda 項德達 (ca. 1580–1609), who was Xiang Yuanbian's sixth son and Xiang Dexin's youngest brother: see Chutsing Li, "Xiang Shengmo *Shangyou tu*," *Shanghai bowuguan jikan* 4 (1987): 51 and 56 n. 1; and Wang Shiqing's article in *The Century of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang*, 471.
16. For four examples of Xiang Dexin's relationship with Dong Qichang and others, see Shi-ye Liu Fiedler, "Chronology of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's Works and Inscriptions," in *The Century of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang*, 2:509 (1617, second month), 512 (1619, spring),

571 (re: Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫 painting), and 573 (re: Yan Hui 顏輝 painting).

17. Because Xiang Shengmo was only twelve years old when his father died, his paternal uncles must have seen to many aspects of his education and

upbringing. Although I know of no direct evidence, since Xiang Shengmo is often found as a young man in the company of Dexin, who was the most accomplished artist of the family, it seems quite likely that he received some level of training and instruction in painting from him.

REN XIONG AND HIS SELF-PORTRAIT

By JAMES CAHILL

HOWEVER ONE ASSESSES THE NINETEENTH CENTURY within the history of Chinese painting, it is difficult to avoid seeing it as a period that produced few masterpieces and not many major masters.¹ Three painters are generally recognized, in Chinese and Japanese writings more than in Western, as meriting positions in the first rank: Zhao Zhiqian 趙之謙 (1829–84), Xugu 虛谷 (1823–96), and Ren Yi 任頤 or Ren Bonian 任伯年 (1840–95). (Landscape painters such as Dai Xi 戴熙, 1801–60, famous though they may have been in their time, are ultimately of small consequence, since they add little to the long-established formulae of Orthodox school landscape.) To these three should be added, in spite of his short life and relatively small output, Ren Xiong 任熊 or Ren Weichang 任渭長 (1823–57); and, to the short list of masterpieces, his self-portrait (fig. 1). One of the truly arresting works in later Chinese painting, it confronts us with complex questions while appearing to offer, in both image and inscription, the most straightforward kind of self-revelation. In this it is like the 1638 self-portrait of Chen Hongshou 陳洪綬 (fig. 5), which I have written about before and will touch on again later in this essay.²

Four earlier studies of Ren Xiong's self-portrait have been made, one of them unpublished: the late Zhang Anzhi's 張安治 article of 1979;³ a seminar paper written by a former student of mine, Jane Debevoise, in 1982;⁴ Richard Vinograd's, in his book on later Chinese portraiture;⁵ and Howard Rogers's entry for this painting in an exhibition catalogue.⁶ The fact that the last three of these are by former students of mine assuages somewhat the difficulty they raise when I attempt still another study; at least it is kept, so to speak, in the family. The studies by Vinograd and Rogers became available to me just as I was beginning work on this paper⁷ and nearly drove me to change my topic by saying most of what seem to me the right things about the painting. I will try, nevertheless, to supplement their excellent treatments by finding still other ways to look at it.

Biography

Biographical studies of Ren Xiong in Chinese have been published by Zhang Anzhi, in his 1979

article on the self-portrait, and by Gong Yanxing 龔彥興, in a 1981 article that introduced information from newly discovered sources.⁸ The only substantial biography in English (apart from two that are unpublished, Jane Debevoise's in her seminar paper and Stella Lee's in her doctoral dissertation on Ren Bonian)⁹ is in Howard Rogers's catalogue entry. Chou Ju-hsi, in his section on the artist in *Transcending Turmoil*, adds some useful notes on his activity as a painter and designer of series of woodblock-printed pictures. To the sources used in these studies another can be added, an inscription written in 1862, after Ren's death, by his patron Yao Xie 姚燮 as a colophon to an album that Ren probably painted around 1851.¹⁰ There are some inconsistencies among the various accounts and sources, but a tentative biographical outline can be pieced together.

Ren Xiong was born in 1823 into a poor family in Xiaoshan 蕭山, southeast of Hangzhou in northern Zhejiang. His father died when he was still a child. He studied painting with a local portraitist but left, the story goes, because he wanted to portray people as they looked instead of producing the conventional idealized images. "He was fond of portraying eccentric and ugly figures—those crippled, with one eye blinded, short of an arm or a leg, or hare-lipped. So the village master was very angry and drove him out of his house."¹¹ He set off on his wanderings, according to Yao Xie's colophon, in 1849, "carrying his *qin* 琴 and his brush." According to another source he met a scholar-patron named Zhou Xian 周閑 in Qiantang (near Hangzhou) in 1848, and lived with him for three years, during which time he was able to study many old paintings—including, we may assume, the works of the late Ming master Chen Hongshou (1598–1652), from whom he took more than from any other artist. Ren Xiong traveled with Zhou Xian to a number of places, including Ningpo, where he met the litterateur and amateur painter Yao Xie (1805–64). Another version has it that the two met in Shanghai when Ren was selling his paintings in the marketplace there. They became friends, and Ren lived in Yao's household for about a year, from 1850 to 1851 (or, if we follow Yao Xie's colophon, from 1849 to the autumn of

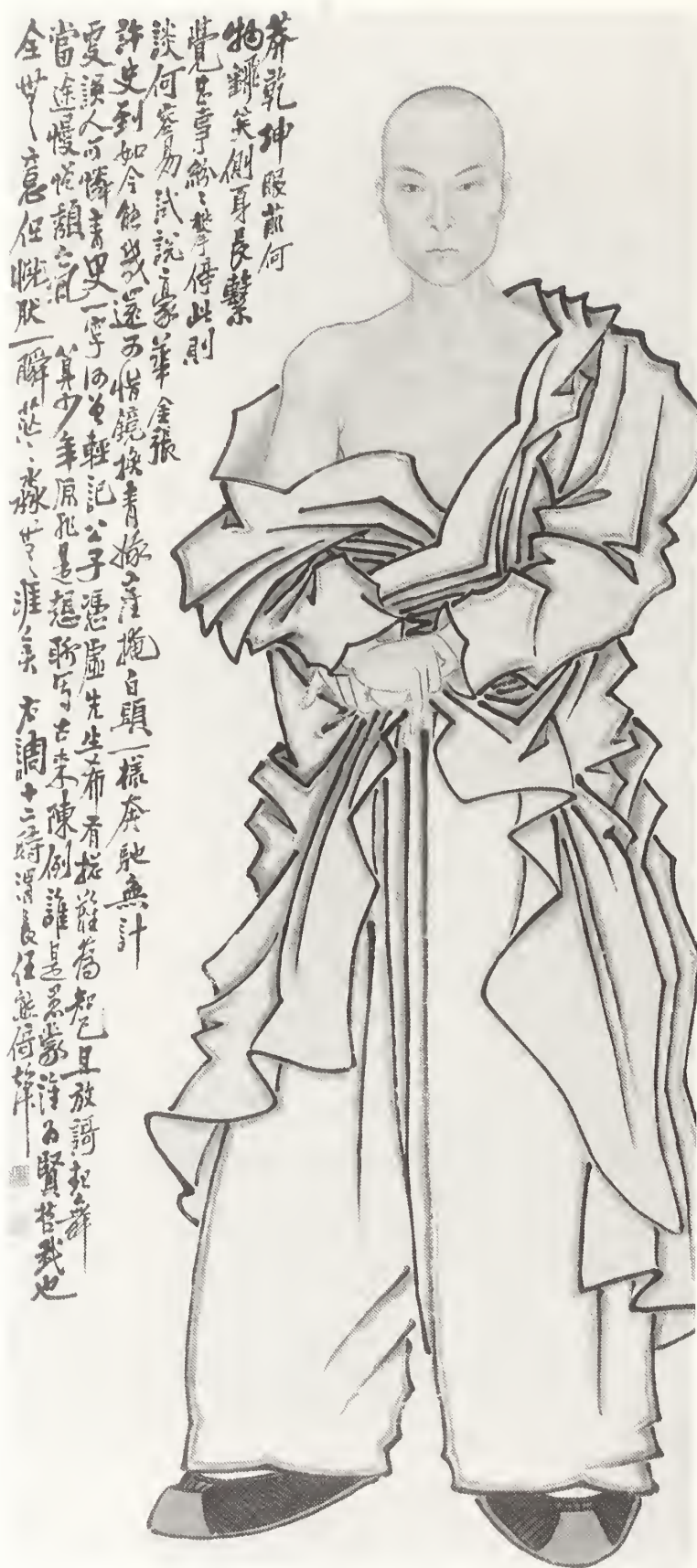


FIG. 1. Ren Xiong, *Self-Portrait*, hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper, 177 × 79 cm. Palace Museum, Beijing.

1850). During this period Ren Xiong designed a set of woodblock-printed playing cards for Yao, depicting the *Shuihu zhuan* 水滸傳 or “Water Margin” heroes, for use in drinking parties, following the model of Chen Hongshou’s series. He also painted one hundred twenty album leaves illustrating lines from poems by Yao Xie; this set of paintings is preserved in the Palace Museum, Beijing.¹² By this time Ren Xiong was achieving a degree of financial stability and attracting some attention as a painter.

Some time in 1851 he was in Shanghai, which he visited on other occasions in his later years, drawn no doubt by its patronage and relative peace. In 1852–54 he was mostly in Suzhou, where he was able to marry and have at least one child. But he could sell only enough paintings to permit a bare subsistence for himself and his family, including his parents, whom he had to support. From 1854, owing to the success of a set of playing cards he designed depicting Daoist immortals, the *Liexian jiupai* 列仙酒牌, which were published at his own expense in woodblock in that year, he was invited along with the block-cutter Cai Zhao 蔡照 by a patron named Wang Ling 王齡 who lived in Ren’s hometown, Xiaoshan, to produce more series of woodcut pictures. Two were completed, the *Yu Yue xianxian xiangzhuan zan* 於越先賢像傳贊 (Images of noted worthies of the Yue region) and the *Xianxia xiangzhuan* 劍俠像傳 (Images of knights errant), both in 1856. A third, the *Gaoshi zhuan tuxiang* 高士傳圖像 (Images of ancient lofty scholars), was left uncompleted on his death in the tenth lunar month of 1857.¹³ After he died, Zhou Xian reports, his family was so poor that friends had to help finance the funeral.

The question of Ren Xiong’s involvement in historical events of his time, and especially in the military campaign waged by the Manchu government to put down the Taiping rebels, has understandably been of special interest to P.R.C. scholars such as Zhang Anzhi, who suggested that in the period 1854–56 Ren joined the Qing general Xiang Rong 向榮 at his headquarters near Nanjing, where the rebels had established their capital.¹⁴ But this information comes from a single, not entirely reliable source, and other sources indicate that Ren was otherwise occupied in this period. It is true that he was a person of physical as well as artistic prowess—Zhou Xian describes him as good at horsemanship, archery, and wrestling. And he was moving about among military men, some of them his patrons. One of them, a

general stationed in Zhenjiang, reportedly invited him to join his staff in 1855; in 1853 his patron Zhou Xian had already discussed with him the possibility of his enlisting in the army to fight the Taipings, who took Nanjing in that year. But Ren declined to enlist on both occasions, and there is no solid evidence that he held any position in any military unit at all. Zhang Anzhi’s speculation that he may have been torn between commitment to the Qing forces and a sympathy for the Taiping rebels, and that in his last years he rejected the former and espoused the latter to adopt a revolutionary stance, thus seems unfounded.

Ren Xiong’s Position in Late Chinese Painting

Whatever anguish Ren Xiong may have felt in the face of the warfare that ravaged the Jiangnan region and the crushing conditions of his age, his paintings, perhaps with the single exception of the self-portrait, seem to betray little of it; they present on the whole the serene world of traditional painting. At most, they suggest moods of melancholy, but of a kind that is easily absorbed into the familiar scenarios of absent lovers and the like. Perhaps, following Takeyoshi Tsuruta, we can read in the somber, heavy masses of leaves in some of his flower paintings, or even more in his 1850 *Pheasants on a Rock* (fig. 2), the “sense of dark hopelessness about the conditions of the time” that Tsuruta finds in the flower paintings of Zhao Zhiqian.¹⁵ But the strongest impression left by a quick look over Ren Xiong’s paintings is of an extraordinary diversity in subject and style; one may even wonder, at first, whether any personal style can be recognized at all. This multifarious character of Ren’s painting might be illustrated by a single ten-leaf album, painted in 1852 and known now only through an old reproduction book,¹⁶ in the successive leaves of which he seems to aim at displaying the entire range of styles and subject types current in his time, including: a landscape in a loosened version of the Orthodox manner; a fisherman in the wet, simplified brush drawing of Xu Wei 徐渭 (who is named in the inscription); a military figure in the hard linear drawing of Chen Hongshou, and a bird on a flowering branch after the same model; a close-up flower composition that follows the style of the Yangzhou master Li Shan 李鱗 while anticipating that of Zhao Zhiqian; a conventional beautiful-lady picture; a strikingly original picture of a swallow flying through willow branches;



FIG. 2. Ren Xiong, *Two Pheasants on a Rock*, dated 1850, hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper, 166.5 × 45.5 cm. Ching Yüan Chai Collection, Berkeley.



FIG. 3. Ren Xiong, *Lady with Fan*, dated 1856, hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper, 124.2 × 33 cm.

and, strangest of all, a still life in the Europeanized mode (fig. 4).

Ren Xiong seems here to be summing up his heritage, or all of it that was potentially useful to him. It was not, for an artist working around the middle of the nineteenth century, a very healthy inheritance. The Orthodox school of landscape, in the period after Wang Yuanqi 王原祁, had survived only in a more or less comatose state, kept alive more by external factors, the lingering associations of the style with officialdom and literati high-culture values, than by any internal growth. In flower-and-bird painting, the technical and stylistic innovations of the Yangzhou masters, especially Li Shan, remained to be fully exploited, as they were to be after Ren Xiong's time by Zhao Zhiqian and others. For figure painting there were the styles of Chen Hongshou and Huang Shen 黄慎, styles that were in some respects polar opposites, the cool versus the ingratiating, the astringent versus (too often) the saccharine. And there were the genres of beautiful-women pictures and of portraiture. All of this did not add up to an internally compatible or viable stylistic repertory.

In individual works, however, Ren Xiong exploits this ragtag legacy with sustained originality. In a single year, 1855, he could do two pictures of standing women, one in the highly artificial Chen Hongshou manner, the other with the easy naturalism of someone unconcerned with old styles.¹⁷ In his painting of pheasants on a rock done in 1850 (fig. 2) he develops, far beyond

the point to which any predecessor had taken it, the technique of working with opaque pigments, muted and somber colors, and a close packing of brushstrokes into a continuous surface. Quite apart from how one might interpret its darkness and heaviness, this is technically an astonishing work for its time, more than a decade before Zhao Zhiqian was to attempt anything of the kind.

An 1856 picture of a poised woman standing at a window holding a fan and coolly returning our gaze (fig. 3) similarly transfigures the conventional beautiful-lady type, giving emotional depth to the image and a look of intelligence to the woman, qualities not usually to be found in pictures of this genre. In some of his figure paintings Ren Xiong seems virtually to be inventing the Shanghai school manner as it would be developed later by many others.¹⁸ Some of the leaves in his albums based on Yao Xie's poems are refreshingly liberated from old compositional types, brushwork systems, and restrictions on subject, as if lines of poetry could be translated directly into pictures, outside any pictorial tradition.¹⁹ A few leaves in his undated album *The Ten Myriads*²⁰ and his handscroll *Thatched Cottage of Lake Fan*, painted in 1855,²¹ indicate that with more time he might even have revitalized the linear mode of landscape, again taking it up more or less where Chen Hongshou had left it two centuries before. But all these, individually impressive as they are, remain as isolated achievements, scarcely constituting a unified oeuvre with any discernible direction and development.

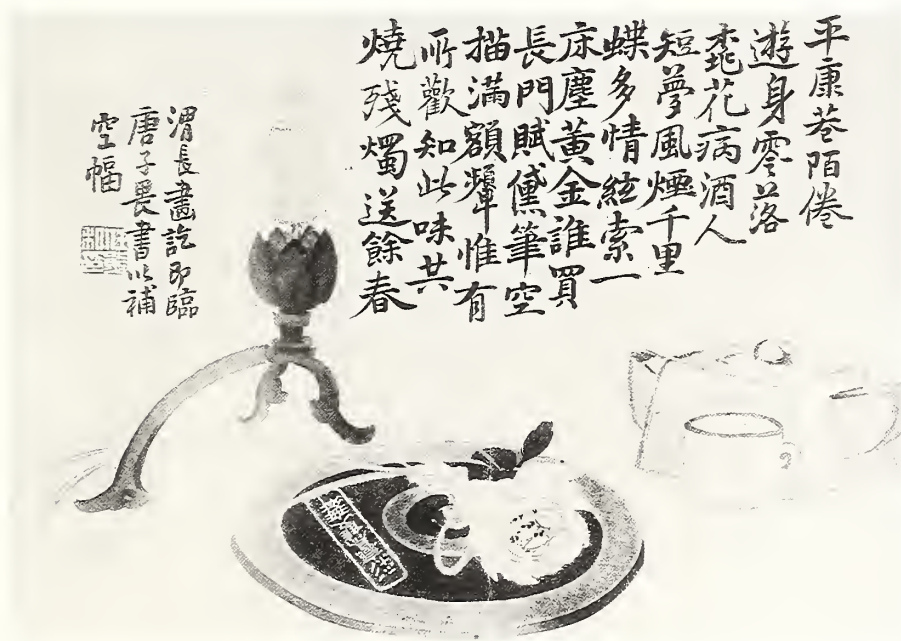


FIG. 4. Ren Xiong, *Still Life*, one leaf of ten-leaf album dated 1852. Present whereabouts unknown. From *Ren Wichang renwu huaniao ce*, n.p., n.d.

Ren Xiong's situation was not unlike that of his older contemporary Katsushika Hokusai (1760–1849) in Japan: a versatile, technically proficient, highly creative artist born into the late and somewhat decadent stage of a tradition, when the types of painting available did not seem easily susceptible to further development. Hokusai can be seen in his early and middle period to be casting about, trying everything, mastering subjects and styles, including the Westernizing manner, only to give them up and go on to others. He arrives at last at a synthesis in style and theme that is his own: the great landscape prints, the views of Mt. Fuji and others. But he does this at around the age of sixty-five, while Ren Xiong dies at thirty-four without ever quite achieving such a synthesis. Ren Xiong's art-historical predicament can be seen also as paralleling and aggravating the economic and daily-life predicament that he, like any other Jiangnan artist, faced at that time: in both their art and their lives the artists of this time and place were left with a sense of having nothing to hang on to, the sense that is expressed so trenchantly in Ren Xiong's inscription on his self-portrait, which will be considered below.

The Self-Portrait: The Impact of the Image

A number of features of the self-portrait (fig. 1) arrest our gaze immediately, signaling that this will not be just another Chinese portrait. One is its size: since the figure is about 5'3" tall and Ren Xiong is described by Zhou Xian as having been small of stature, the painting must be close to life size—perhaps exactly so, by design. If the whole figure had been painted in a realistic, "brushless" manner (i.e., without conspicuous brushstrokes) consistent with the rendering of the head and upper torso, we would in effect be confronted by the man as he might have seen himself in a full-length mirror.²² But that effect is violently denied by the harsh, heavy-line drawing of the robe, trousers, and shoes and by the disproportion in size—the shoes are broader than the head and absurdly distorted. From top to bottom the figure transforms abruptly from quasi-photograph to quasi-cartoon. The broad-based shape of the figure gives it stability, a quality that Ren Xiong no doubt wanted to impart to his self-image, however inappropriate it may have been to his reality. He appears solidly set on the ground, centered like a kung-fu master. One may be reminded of German Expressionist figures, for

instance those in early Feininger drawings or *Simplificissimus* cartoons, with their stolid, wide-flaring trousers. This distortion concentrates the expressive intensity at the top, in the head, for an effect that matches Zhou Xian's description of Ren as "intense and fierce, with a heroic look in his eyes." (Zhou tells us also that he had a voracious appetite and a great capacity for wine.)

The enlargement of the feet and lower parts also has the effect of making them seem closer to the viewer, so that Ren Xiong seems to look down at us—as indeed he would have, with the painting hanging in the normal way on the wall and the viewer standing on the floor. A "person of short stature" has elevated himself into monumentality. The starkness of the costume and absence of any ornament, the dramatic envelopment of the body by the robe, enhance this effect. Ren Xiong stands as if on a stage, more posed than poised, staring defiantly out at us, assuming a role; but the player wears neither mask nor make-up and is entirely himself: the drama at which we are spectators is the predicament of Ren Xiong.

Another aspect of the work is well caught by Richard Vinograd:

Portraits of young men are rare in general in China, and those we have encountered are images of sensitive young esthetes or bon vivants. Ren Xiong's "Self Portrait" could be an image of a street tough, and a good deal of the shock it conveys has to do with its assertions of young, muscular health and physicality as implied values in the self-image of a painter. In the overall context, the lowered robe suggests a fighter's pose, and the crossed, nearly clasped hands are centered tensely above some slashing vertical pleats of the trousers that have a remarkably sword-like character. It is as if Ren has painted an almost contemptuously minimally disguised image of himself as a young swordsman.²³

The striking disparity in manner of rendering body and robe, to return to that, is similar to—although far more radical than—the disparity that Norman Bryson points out in writing about a Watteau *Concert*, where, by contrast, it is the figure that is more loosely described:

[I]n the most daring area of the canvas, where a small girl is seen against a cello, Watteau risks the astonishing effect of painting the instrument in a high finish, "Dutch" manner with invisible brushwork and emphasized texture and reflection, while the figure of the girl is painted in broad, dry strokes . . . as though a painting of a girl stood next to a real cello. . . . The result of the stage/life ambiguity is both to coax and to disappoint the interpretative glance.²⁴



FIG. 5. Chen Hongshou, *A Tall Pine and Daoist Immortal (The Artist and His Nephew in a Landscape)*, dated 1635, hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk, 202 × 97.8 cm (detail). National Palace Museum, Taipei.

The Watteau painting in which this passage is found creates, for Bryson, deliberate ambiguities between the world of “coded meaning,” whether of drama or painting, and the world of “life.” Ren Xiong’s figure similarly has something of the character of a player who has stepped before the curtain, still in a liminal status, situated between reality and artifice.

A pronounced discrepancy between body and costume, or between figure and setting, was of course common in Chinese portraits of the later centuries; virtually all Chinese portraiture, in fact, appears to place “real” people in conventionally rendered surroundings. But a discrepancy tolerated at the hands of lesser masters became a deliberately employed expressive device in the hands of greater ones, who turned the jarring effect on the viewer of this mismatch to the conscious end of problematizing the idea of portraiture. Chinese writers on the subject have tended to make the distinction between portraiture (*xiaoxiang hua* 肖像畫) and figure painting (*renwu hua* 人物畫) clear and unproblematic, and

so it is, much of the time. But some of their best artists have worked against that clarity in their portraits, confounding conventions, creating ambiguities. Foremost among them was Chen Hongshou, whose 1635 self-portrait in a landscape (fig. 5) is an extreme example of “real” person in conventionalized setting.²⁵ Seeing it beside Ren Xiong’s painting, unlike as the two seem at first, reveals that they have telling affinities, beginning with the simple one that they are both self-representations of brilliant but embittered artists in their thirties. There is no reason to believe that Ren Xiong knew this particular work, but he understood well enough Chen’s method of playing against the peculiarities of the Chinese portrait tradition.

In spite of the Chinese theorists’ insistence on the primacy of the face in revealing the character of the person portrayed, Chinese portraiture, especially in the later periods, relied more heavily on two other means of characterization: the device of accompanying the figure with attributes and elements of setting that carried established

meanings; and the double-image device in which a recognizable portrayal of the sitter is superimposed on the conventional image of some personage or type from the past. Chen Hongshou draws on both devices in his self-portraits. In one painted in 1627²⁶ he makes his self-image into a kind of *renwu* or type, that of the cultivated man driven by some breakdown in human society of his time, as were the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove, to seek solace in wine and withdrawal. In the 1635 work he utilizes both the double-image strategy, overlaying his picture on an established type, the solitary-wanderer-under-trees, and the setting that contributes to the characterization of the person portrayed—or, as here, comments on the situation of that person. Chen places a more or less believable image of himself in a landscape so bizarre and artificial as to make the stylistic disjuncture into a metaphor for alienation.

Ren Xiong allows himself no setting comparable to that in Chen's painting, but his costume—cloak, trousers, shoes—serves the same function and carries roughly the same message. It is drawn in the same hard, schematic way as the landscape in Chen Hongshou's picture and similarly offers no comfortable envelopment to the figure. Both visually within the work and in its mode of signification, the costume seems to mediate between the organic body and the entirely conventional signs of the inscription.

Is Ren Xiong's self-portrait also a double image? And if so, what personage or type does he present himself as enacting here? I will attempt an answer to that question after considering the inscription.

The Self-Portrait: Its Inscription

Three English translations of the inscription have been made, in the three English-language studies listed above. Jane Debevoise's was undertaken with the help of Cyril Birch, at that time our Chinese literature specialist at U.C. Berkeley; Richard Vinograd used the Debevoise-Birch rendering and also consulted with Zhang Anzhi about its meaning. I have drawn on these freely and also had the help of my wife Tsao Hsingyuan 曹星原, who made several key suggestions that change somewhat the sense as others have construed it. So the rendering I offer reflects the efforts of seven trained and capable people; and yet Ren Xiong's inscription still resists our

collective attempt to reduce it to lucidity. Part of the difficulty lies in his use of a language and meter proper to dramatic lyrics, the *kunqu* 昆曲, which was popular in the Jiangnan region in Ren Xiong's time. My collaborative translation reads:

With the world in turmoil, what lies ahead of me? I smile and bow and go around flattering people in hope of making connections; but what do I know of affairs? In the great confusion, what is there to hold on to and rely on? How easy it is merely to chat about this!

If we try to talk [for contrast] about the heroic men [of the Han, such as] Jin 金, Zhang 張, Xu 許, and Shi 史, how many like them are left now? What is more pitiable is that black eyebrows change [succeed each other] in the mirror, and dust covers white heads [people stream through history, leaving no trace, like reflections in a mirror]—and still we gallop along without goals. What is even more misleading and pitiable is that the historians haven't recorded, even disrespectfully, a single word [about all these ordinary people]. As for the young gentlemen Pingxu 凭虛 [Emptiness] and Xiyou 希有 [Scarcely Exist, imaginary characters in Han literature], it's hard to take *them* as friends.

When I calculate back to my youth, I didn't start out thinking this way; with a sense of purpose I portrayed the ancients for display [as paragons]. But who are the ignorant ones, who are the sages? In the end, I have no idea. In the flash of a glance, all I can see is the boundless void.

Composed by Ren Xiong, called Weichang, to the tune of "The Twelve Daily Records."

Richard Vinograd's discussion of the inscription is very good, and I would quote from it at length if space permitted. He notes that the tone is candid, perhaps even confessional, but cautions that we should "consider the possible rhetorical position of the statement" and points out that the use of a dramatic verse form suggests a consciously self-dramatized tone. Such suggestions certainly do not impugn the sincerity of Ren Xiong but only emphasize the complexity of reading that the work demands.

A complete discussion of the inscription is beyond my purpose; I would only note the seeming discrepancy between the last lines, in which he seems to renounce the practice of "portraying the ancients for display [as paragons]" and the fact that he went on portraying them in the woodblock-printed books of his last years, some of which must antedate the portrait, since he was

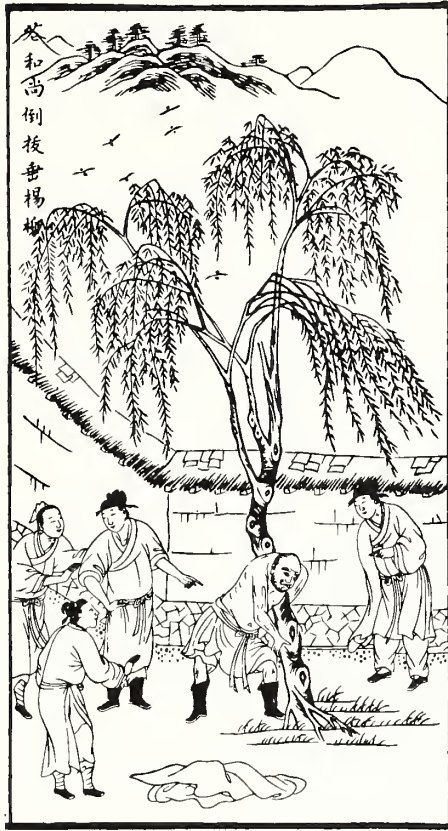


FIG. 6 (left). Anonymous, *Monk Hua Uproots a Willow Tree*, woodblock print. From *Jingyin Ming Chongzhen ben Yingyu pu tuzan* 景印明崇禎本英雄譜圖讀 (Heroes from the *Shuihu zhuan* and *Sanguozhi yanyi*), reprint of late Ming edition, Nanjing University, 1949.

FIG. 7 (right). Anonymous, *The Defeat of Wang Qiu* 王球, woodblock print. From *Shuihu quanzhuan chatu* 水滸全傳插圖 (Illustrations to the *Water Margin*), reprint of Ming-period illustrations, Beijing, People's Art Pub. Co, 1955.

working on the *Gaoshi tu* when he died. We can resolve this in part by following Vinograd in allowing for rhetoric in Ren's statement; but we can also recognize that carrying through fully the implications of the position he adopts in the inscription would in effect have meant the end of his practice as a painter, since none of the subjects he represented in his paintings, or the ways he represented them, are true to the feelings expressed there. The deep disillusionment underlying the inscription had to be harbored at a level below that of his engagement in his professional and social life, if he was to continue, and he needed to continue to survive. Perhaps it is this conflict, more than any conflict between pro-Taiping sentiments and involvement in the anti-Taiping campaign, that generates the tension which Zhang Anzhi and others have recognized in the work.

The Self-Portrait and Woodblock Print Imagery: Conclusion

Striking features of the painting, apart from the realism of the corporeal parts of the figure,

are the bare upper torso, the loose, voluminous cloak draped over it, and the broad trousers with huge shoes protruding below them. We are probably safe in assuming that these did not make up Ren's actual everyday costume, and that they are significant elements in the self-image he offers us. So, what did they signify, for Ren and his audience? Clues can be found by looking to see what types of personages are represented with these features in the woodblock-printed pictures by Ren Xiong himself, Chen Hongshou, and the anonymous artists who illustrated military epics and novels, notably the *Shuihu zhuan* and *Sanguo zhi* 三國志.

In these illustrations to popular stories, the bare-torsoed figure might be simply a brawling ruffian—participants in wrestling matches and other violent encounters are often depicted this way—or he might be stripped for strenuous action, as when the Monk Hua 花和尚 in *Shuihu zhuan* uproots a willow tree (fig. 6). The bare-torsoed fighter is sometimes shown beating a richly clad personage who is clearly his social superior (fig. 7), or even assaulting an armored figure, as when, in another *Shuihu zhuan* illustration (fig. 8), the ghost of Zhang Shun 張順 kills Fang

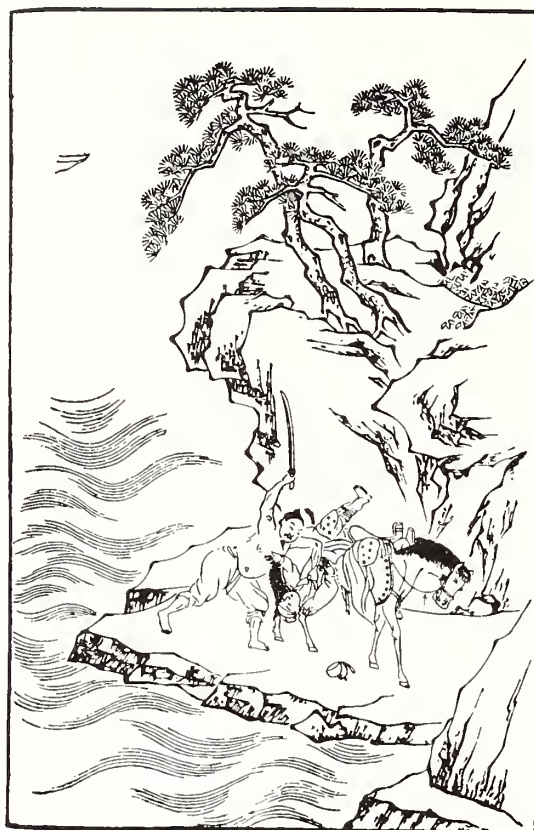


FIG. 8 (left). Anonymous, *The Ghost of Zhang Xun Kills Fang Tianding*, woodblock print. From same source as fig. 7.

FIG. 9 (right). Chen Hongshou, *Shi Jin Practicing Martial Exercises*, woodblock print. From *Ming Chen Hongshou Shuihu yezi* (Playing cards of the *Shuihu* heroes by Chen Hongshou of the Ming), Shanghai, People's Art Pub. Co., 1979.



FIG. 10 (left). Chen Hongshou, *Shi Xiu Exercising*, woodblock print. From same source as fig. 9.

FIG. 11 (right). Ren Xiong, Wang Lin, from *Yu Yue xianxian xiangzhuan zan*, 1856. From Wang Zidou, ed., *Ren Weichang muke renwu* (Figural woodblock prints by Ren Xiong), Shanghai, People's Art Pub. Co., 1980.





FIG. 12. Ren Xiong, *He Xun*, woodblock print.
From same source as fig. 11.



FIG. 13. Ren Xiong, *Hexiao Zhangren*, woodblock print,
from *Gaoshi zhuan tuxiang*, 1857. From 1877 reprint,
collection of the author.

Tianding 方天定. Like the swordsmen of Japanese *chambara* films, the hero is made virtually invincible by his moral superiority.

Shi Jin 史進, one of the *Shuihu* heroes, as seen in Chen Hongshou's print (fig. 9), had his upper torso tattooed with a nine-dragon pattern and always took his shirt off when he fought. He is sometimes shown in these prints practicing martial exercises, his tattoo reinforcing the vigor of his movements. Another of the *Shuihu* figures, Shi Xiu 石秀, as portrayed in another of Chen Hongshou's pictures performing strengthening exercises (fig. 10), wears a loose robe similar to Ren Xiong's, with the upper part of his body projecting above it. Loose costumes (the Japanese *gi* 着) are still worn by practitioners of the martial arts. The jagged angularity of the robe in Ren Xiong's painting follows a convention well established in woodblock prints as a way of conveying the fierceness and harsh energy of military figures; we see it in a number of the figures in Chen Hongshou's *Shuihu zhuan* series (e.g., figs. 9 and 10), as well as in some of his paintings of the same

period, the 1630s.²⁷ Ren Xiong puts this mode of drawing to striking use in his picture of Wang Lin 王琳 (fig. 11), another native of Zhejiang and one of the figures in his series of *Images of Noted Worthies of the Yue Region*.

The bare torso and loose clothing can have implications of informality and even sensuality, as in Luo Ping's 羅聘 famous 1760 portrait of Jin Nong 金農 asleep in a garden.²⁸ They can also signify high-minded reclusion, as in Ren Xiong's imaginary portrait of the early fourth-century He Xun 賀循, another of his *Images of Noted Worthies of the Yue Region* (fig. 12.) He Xun, who came from Shaoxing near Ren's birthplace, was a virtuous and effective administrator who repeatedly rejected offers of high ministerial posts from a succession of rulers, always pleading sickness.

Another of Ren Xiong's imaginary portraits, this time from the unfinished *Gaoshi zhuan* series, is of Hexiao Zhangren 荷篠丈人, whom Ren dresses in a costume similar to his own in the self-portrait (fig. 13.) This was a rustic who, when asked by Confucius's disciple Zilu 子路

whether he had seen the Master, spoke contemptuously of the sage as one whose four limbs didn't move (out of laziness) and who couldn't tell the five grains apart; how, he asked, could one take such a person as master?

Putting these together—without meaning to suggest that all of them or any one of them can be simply transferred to Ren Xiong's self-image—we have the following composite characterization: a person of low-class origins, of martial skills, ardor, and strength; a person of low status capable of besting his superiors should the circumstances arise; a person who, although of great potential value to the ruling powers, stays out of their service by choice; a person who perceives the weaknesses of the self-proclaimed sages of his day and is willing to criticize them. We cannot, I think, be more specific in applying any of these to Ren Xiong's feelings about the Taipings or any other particular issue of his time. But, in conjunction with the inscription in which he laments bitterly the passing through history, unrecorded and ineffectual, of myriads of ordinary people and expresses his own feelings of frustration and helplessness, his cynicism now about traditional values that he had accepted blindly before, the implications of the picture become clearer. And we must set both painting and inscription within the context of Ren Xiong's own situation as a man of no rank or status making his way by his talents among well-established gentry patrons, rich merchants, military officials, meanwhile struggling simply to

survive under the worst of conditions. Where his inscription states the hopelessness of his situation as powerfully and bleakly as he could, the self-portrait conveys with equal power his defiance of the role and the predicament into which history has thrust him. The central import of the work lies ultimately in the contradiction between the two: in another age, it says, I might have been a hero, someone who bettered the state of the world, a significant player on the stage of history. As it is, I can only join the myriads who disappear without trace, like reflections in a mirror.

And yet, through the act of writing this inscription and painting this picture, along with all his others, Ren ensures that he will not disappear without trace. A final question that the work presents, the question of whom it can have been addressed to, can now be answered: to the world at large, to anyone who would look and read and get the message. This was not a painting of the same type as, for instance, Zheng Xia's 鄭俠 *Destitute People* scroll of the Northern Song or Zhou Chen's 周臣 *Beggars and Street Characters* (if we believe the colophons) of the Ming²⁹—paintings that, by portraying movingly an intolerable situation, meant to change it. The portrait would be, as the artist surely realized, as ineffectual as Ren Xiong himself, except for the psychological satisfaction that painting it must have brought him and the deepening of his reputation that it would bring for him in ages to come.

Notes

1. In writing this I do not mean to diminish the achievement of Claudia Brown and Ju-hsi Chou in their exhibition and catalogue *Transcending Turmoil: Painting at the Close of China's Empire 1796–1911* (Phoenix: Phoenix Art Museum, 1992.) Their research, and their assembling of paintings by nineteenth-century masters that present them for the most part at their best, open the way for the inclusion of painting of this period in our histories with a fullness that was not possible before. I am aware also that value judgments, which must be in some part (but not entirely) subjective and culturally conditioned, and even more the identification of masterworks, are unpopular today in art-historical circles, invoking charges of canon-formation and perpetuation of biases. Many years of working with this material, however, and the viewing of thousands of the paintings, have convinced me of the basic truth of my statement.
2. James Cahill, *The Compelling Image: Nature and Style in Seventeenth-Century Chinese Painting* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982), chap. 4 passim.
3. Zhang Anzhi, "Ren Xiong heta di zihua xiang" (Ren Xiong and his self-portrait), *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan*, no. 2 (1979): 13–18.
4. Jane Debevoise, "Some Working Notes on the Art of Ren Xiong," unpublished paper, June 1982.
5. *Boundaries of the Self: Chinese Portraits 1600–1900* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 128–30.
6. Howard Rogers and Sherman E. Lee, *Masterworks of Ming and Qing Painting from the Forbidden City* (Lansdale, Pa.: International Arts Council, 1988), cat. no. 73, pp. 203–4.
7. For presentation at the symposium "Chinese Painting of the Ming and Qing Dynasties," Cleveland Museum of Art, 6–7 May 1989.
8. Gong Sanxing, "Ren Weichang shengping shi-lue kao" (Research on the biography of Ren Weichang), *Meishu yanjiu*, no. 4 (1981): 86–88.
9. Stella Lee, "The Figure Paintings of Ren Bonian (1840–1896): The Emergence of a Popular Style in Late Chinese Painting" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1981), 67–75.
10. This album, in the Ching Yüan Chai Collection, Berkeley, is no. 59 in the *Transcending Turmoil* catalogue; Yao Xie's inscription is translated on pp. 165–66.
11. Lee, "Figure Paintings," 69, quoting from Chen Dingshan's somewhat fictionalized account.
12. The albums have been published only in part: see *Ren Xiong Yao Xie shiyi tuce* (Shanghai: People's Art Publishing Co., 1981), a selection of eighteen of the leaves.
13. See Wang Zidou, "Ren Xiong xiuxiang muke renwu sizhong" (Four series of elegant figural woodcuts by Ren Xiong), *Zhongguo meishu* 13 (1986): 44–59. A shorter discussion of them is in the preface to the book edited by the same author in which many of the prints are reproduced, *Ren Weichang muke renwu* (Figural woodcuts by Ren Xiong) (Shanghai: People's Art Publishing Co., 1959).
14. On the possible relationship between Ren Xiong and Xiang Rong, see also *Transcending Turmoil*, 160 and n. 231.
15. Takeyoshi Tsuruta, *Kindai Chûgoku kaiga* (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1974), 8.
16. *Ren Weichang renwu huaniao ce* 任渭長人物花鳥冊, album of ten leaves, one dated 1852, collection of Liu Huairui, Shanghai? n.p., n.d.
17. For the painting in Chen Hongshou style, see *Nanjing bowuyuan canghua* (Nanjing, 1981), pl. 95; for the other, *Tianjin renmin meishu chubanshe canghua xuan* (Tianjin, 1984), pl. 1, a representation of "Yuannü Passing on the Scripture."
18. E.g., in a series of six hanging scrolls making up a screen, painted in 1850 and representing Daoist fairies and auspicious symbols, in the collection of the Affiliated School of the Central Academy of Fine Arts, Beijing. See James Cahill, Richard Vinograd, and Xue Yongnian, ed., *New Interpretations of Ming and Qing Paintings* (Shanghai: Shanghai Painting and Calligraphy Press, forthcoming), no. 58.
19. The suggestion has been made that Ren Xiong in these leaves draws in some part on the styles of Japanese paintings that he might have seen in Shanghai at this time, when trade with Japan was already flourishing. The suggestion is promising and persuasive but cannot be pursued here.
20. See Nie Chongzheng, "Ren Xiong ji qi 'Shiwan tuce'" (Ren Xiong and his "Ten Myriads" album), *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan*, no. 1 (1983): 61–64 and pl. 1–3. The album as a whole has been published

as *Ren Xiong Shiwan huace* (Beijing: Wenwu Press, 1989).

21. Shanghai Museum; see *Transcending Turmoil*, no. 61.
22. As Ren Xiong may in fact have done. One leaf in an album of *fenben* 粉本 sketches for paintings (or after paintings) by the Shanghai master Qian Huian 錢慧安 (1833–1911), many of them intended for reproduction by lithography in picture books, in the collection of the Affiliated School of the Central Academy of Fine Arts (see n. 18 above) with leaves dated 1893 and 1895, presents an old woman gazing at herself in a full-length mirror. Whether the full-length mirror was available to Ren Xiong forty years earlier is a question I cannot answer.
23. Vinograd, *Boundaries of the Self*, 128.
24. Norman Bryson, "Watteau and Reverie: A Test Case in 'Combined Analysis,'" *The Eighteenth Century: Theory and Interpretation* 22, no. 2 (Spring 1981): 97–126.
25. See n. 2 above. The contrived and controlled interplay between artifice and "reality" in Chen Hongshou's figure paintings is the main theme of my chapter.
26. Cahill, *Compelling Image*, fig. 4.1.
27. A good example is Chen Hongshou's painting of the two Han-period generals Su Wu 蘇武 and Li Ling 李陵; see James Cahill, *The Distant Mountains: Chinese Painting of the Late Ming Dynasty, 1570–1644* (Tokyo and New York: John Weatherhill, 1982), fig. 139.
28. Vinograd, *Boundaries of the Self*, pl. 13.
29. James Cahill, *Parting at the Shore: Chinese Painting of the Early and Middle Ming Dynasty, 1368–1580* (Tokyo and New York: John Weatherhill, 1978), pl. 12, fig. 88–89, and pp. 191–93.

PART 3

RESEARCH RESULTING FROM
EXHIBITIONS AND COLLECTIONS

ZHU DUAN'S WINTER LANDSCAPES

By EUN-WHA PARK

ZHU DUAN 朱端 (*zi* 字 KEZHENG 克正, *hao* 號 Yiqiao 一樵), a native of Haiyan 海鹽, Zhejiang 浙江, was a distinguished court painter of the later Ming Academy, active from the late Hongzhi 弘治 (1488–1505) into the Zhengde 正德 (1506–21) era.¹ Although Zhu was widely recognized and admired during his life, known extant works are rare today. As is the case with numerous professional painters of the Ming, many more paintings might survive under the names of ancient or more celebrated masters.²

Bits of biographical information about Zhu Duan can be gleaned from a few of the standard biographical compendia.³ According to the

biography in the gazetteer of Jiaxing 嘉興 Prefecture, he came from a poor family and in his youth worked as a woodcutter and a fisherman. The same source notes that Zhu and his friend Zeng He 曾和 learned painting from a mysterious stranger whom they met in the nearby mountains.⁴ Whatever his early training, Zhu Duan gained a reputation for his painting and was summoned to court in 1501, a date we know from his use of the seal inscribed *Xinyou zengshi* 辛酉徵士 (Called to court in the *xinyou* year).

Later, during the Zhengde era, Zhu was elevated to the honorary rank of *Renzhidian zhihui* 仁智殿指揮 (Commander of the Embroidered Uniform Guard of the Renzhi Palace), and the emperor awarded him a seal inscribed *Qianci yiqiao tushu* 鈐賜一樵圖書 (Seal presented by the emperor personally to the single woodcutter [Zhu Duan]). This seal attested to Zhu's outstanding achievements as a court painter while alluding as well to his previous occupation.⁵ Seals with similar inscriptions were presented to Wang E 王謬 (?–after 1541) and to Zhu's friend Zeng He. Unfortunately, we have no way of knowing when these presentations were made.⁶

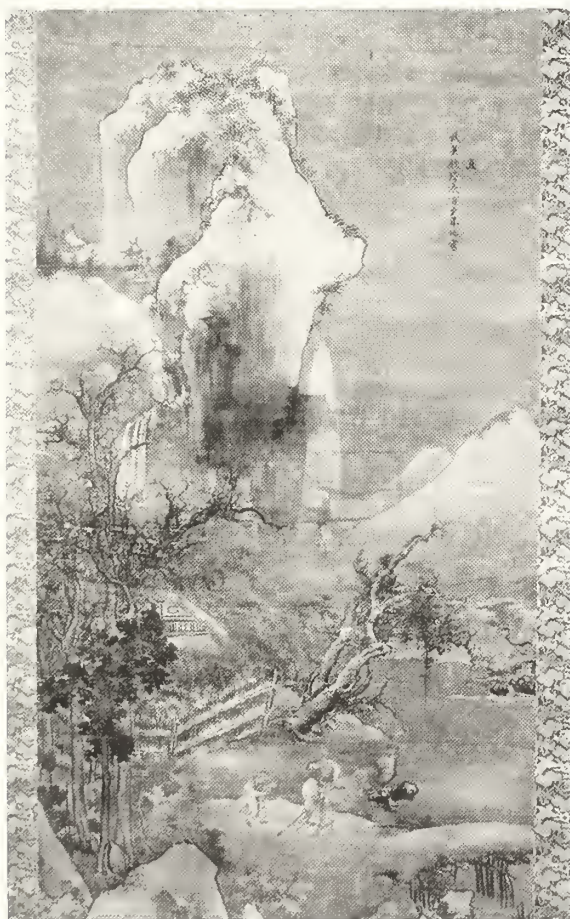


FIG. 1. Zhu Duan, *Searching for Plum Blossoms*, hanging scroll, ink and slight color on silk, 161.5 × 85.3 cm. Private collection, Seoul.

Winter Landscapes in the Early Style

Recently a winter landscape by Zhu Duan emerged from a private collection in Seoul, Korea (fig. 1).⁷ This newly discovered painting, with a clearly written formal signature, is a welcome addition to Zhu's oeuvre, adding new information about the artist's career at court and suggesting the course of stylistic development among his treatments of this theme. Such a chronology remains tentative, however, as only one of Zhu's surviving landscapes is dated.⁸

The present owner of the winter landscape acquired the painting in Seoul during the 1950s. Unfortunately, no fabric wrapper or wooden box accompanied the scroll, and it bears no seals other than those of the painter, so that we have no clues as to its provenance. Nor does it have a title label on the upper stave. And although the mounting is in the formal Japanese style with embroidered silk borders and two *fengdai* 風帶,

we cannot take this to mean that the scroll had previously been in a Japanese collection, as many paintings in Korean collections (even paintings by Korean artists) were remounted in the Japanese style during that country's occupation of Korea from 1910 to 1945.⁹

The painting is a large hanging scroll painted in ink and slight color on silk. It has suffered some damage, particularly in the lower left side of the central mountain, where the silk has been patched and the contour line of the mountain rather clumsily retouched. Otherwise it is in good condition.

Unique among Zhu Duan's extant paintings, this scroll bears the artist's official signature with his name and rank in the upper right quadrant of the scroll, accompanied by three of the artist's seals: *Kezheng*, *Xinyou zhengshi*, and *Qianci Yiqiao tushu*. The signature reads, *Zhi Wuyingdian Jinyi baihu Zhu Duan xie* 直武英殿錦衣百戶朱端寫 (Painted by Zhu Duan, Company Commander of the Embroidered Uniform Guard, on appointment to the Wuying Palace) (fig. 2). This clearly indicates that the painting was executed

and presented to the imperial court when Zhu was working at the Wuyingdian as *baihu* 百戶 (company commander), before he was transferred to the Renzhidian and promoted to the rank of *zhihui* 指揮 (commander).¹⁰ Even though we do not know precisely when Zhu Duan achieved the rank of *zhihui*, we can conclude the winter landscape was painted relatively early in his career as court painter.

The viewer's attention is immediately engaged by the two figures in the foreground of this winter landscape: a dark-hooded old scholar with a staff and his servant boy bearing a cloth-wrapped *qin* 琴 have just emerged from a rustic compound at the lower left. Hunched over against the cold, the old man awkwardly draws a sleeve over his head to protect it from the bitter wind as the two figures approach the bridge at the lower right. The cottage they have left is surrounded by a bramble fence and snow-covered bamboo; a few colorful leaves cling to the deciduous trees in the foreground. Above the cottage a waterfall flows from a narrow ravine in which temple roofs are visible among the trees; from here the major mountain rises unimpeded almost to the top of the scroll. Sky and water are darkened with gray wash, against which the white snowy mountains stand out. On the right side of the painting low earthen mountain ridges rise gently in the middle ground to enclose the foreground space. Parts of the central mountain and foreground rocks are darkened with ax-cut strokes, which are turned into rows of repeated wet brushstrokes that merge with flat washes below. Large dabs of ink *dian* 點 suggest the undergrowth on the edges of the central mountain.

Although the painting lacks an inscribed title, the pale flowers on bare tree branches on the far side of the stream suggest that it may depict a popular theme among winter landscapes: searching for plum blossoms. This theme is associated with the famous Tang poet Meng Haoran 孟浩然 (689–740), who is said to have refused high government office in favor of living in reclusion on Mt. Lumen 鹿門. Each year in the early spring, when the snow still covered the ground, Meng set out over the Ba Bridge near the Tang capital of Chang'an 長安 in search of the first plum blossoms of the year. This anecdote became a popular subject for paintings as early as the Northern Song dynasty.¹¹ In the Xuande 宣德 era (1425–35) of the early Ming it became the subject for a play entitled *Meng Haoran taxue xunmei* 孟浩然

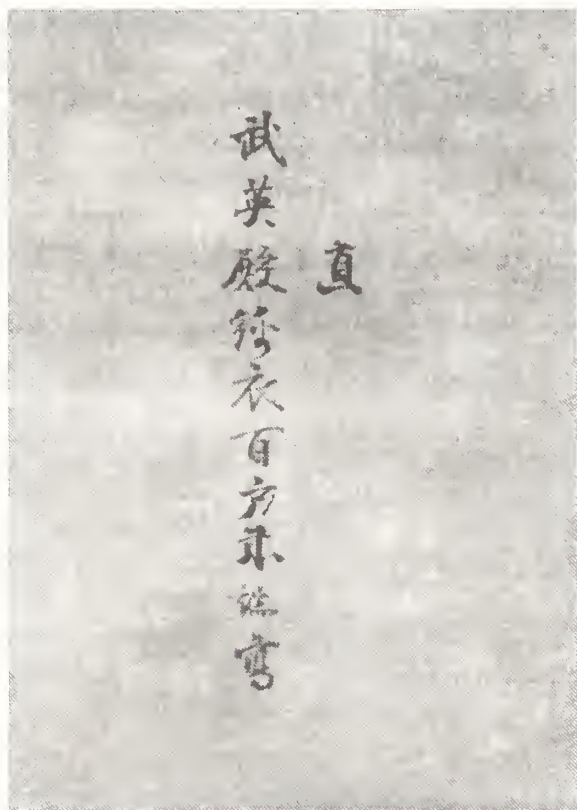


FIG. 2. Zhu Duan, *Searching for Plum Blossoms*, artist's seals and inscription.

踏雪尋梅 (Meng Haoran searching for plum blossoms in snow), written by the *zaju* 雜劇 playwright Zhu Youdun 朱有燬 (1379–1439).¹² As grandson of the founding emperor of the dynasty Ming Taizu 太祖 (r. 1368–98), Zhu exerted a great influence on the early Ming drama,¹³ and it is perhaps due to his work that the theme of Meng Haoran searching for plum blossoms experienced a revival of interest among professional and court painters of the Ming.¹⁴

Zhu Duan's winter landscape, an early work thus identifiable as *Searching for Plum Blossoms*, incorporates pictorial elements similar to the style of Wang E, one of the leading masters at court when Zhu arrived. Wang's treatment of this same theme is preserved in an early painting, now in the Palace Museum, Beijing.¹⁵ It depicts a simple but powerful wintry scene, without the hard-edged, blocky forms characteristic of his later works.¹⁶ Zhu Duan's formation of the wintry mountains, the iciclelike pinnacle rising into the darkened sky, the rows of straight ax-cut brushstrokes, and the snow-covered tree trunks are quite similar to those in Wang E's Beijing scroll, which Zhu might actually have seen. In Wang's painting, however, the clearly drawn dark brushstrokes suggest the sharp projections and recessions of the rock more convincingly than Zhu's more flattened treatment. Zhu softens the tight, almost harsh mood of Wang E's winter scene with the more flaccid, gentle lines and less confident texture strokes that seem to mark the early stage of his landscape development.¹⁷

Zhu Duan's winter landscape also bears striking similarities in composition and detail to the *Snow Landscape* by the earlier Zhe school master Dai Jin 戴進 (1388–1462) (fig. 3).¹⁸ Now in the collection of C. C. Wang, this large hanging scroll depicts an old scholar in a dark-trimmed long robe and hood accompanied by his *qin*-bearing servant under a looming snow-covered mountain mass. They are about to cross a bridge leading to a large boulder, behind which we see plum branches with white blossoms. Once again, these motifs identify Dai Jin's specific theme as *Searching for Plum Blossoms in Snow*.

Striking as the similarities are, there are important differences between the two scrolls. Dai's major mountain mass, so similar in its shape and structure to Zhu Duan's, occupies a more central position within the composition than Zhu's, opening a wider space for the depiction of the temple buildings in the pine-filled ravine to the left. To



FIG. 3. Dai Jin, *Snow Landscape*, hanging scroll, ink and slight color on silk, 150.5 × 91 cm. C. C. Wang Collection.

the right, Dai's winding river opens a deeper recession to the distant mountains than the shallow distance created in Zhu Duan's painting.

The mountains and rocks in Dai Jin's painting are outlined with black ink, and the dark surfaces are defined with chiseled ax-cut strokes. The contour lines are slightly modulated and gather force as they turn in sharp angles to form the jagged edges of the rocks, and the short, sharp ax-cut strokes convey the surfaces of the rocks more convincingly than the longer, more wash-like texture strokes used by Zhu Duan. Other details such as the bare trees with hanging vines, the wood-supported bridge, and the figure drawing his sleeve awkwardly over his head further suggest both that Dai Jin's painting provided the prototype for Zhu Duan's composition and motifs in his own version of the theme *Searching for Plum Blossoms in Snow* and that Zhu infused his

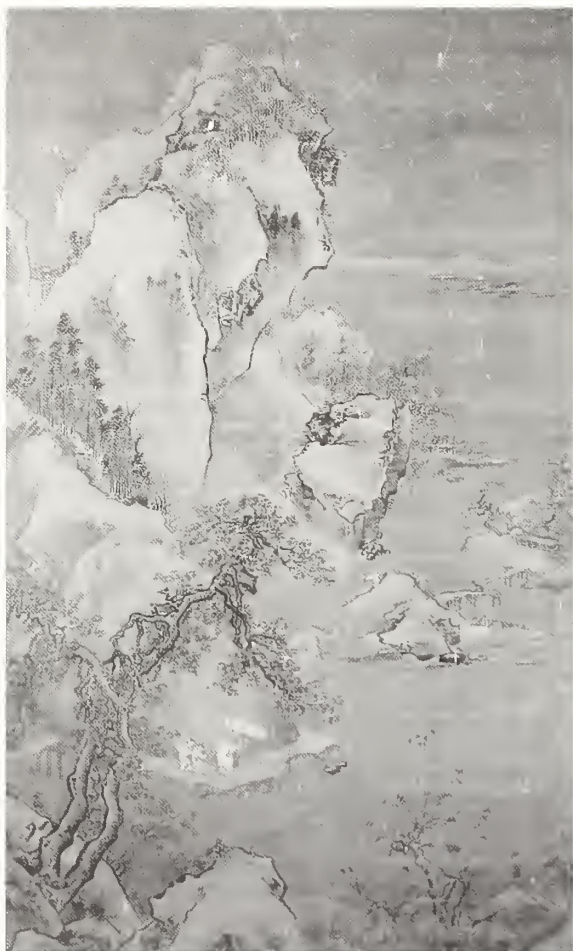


FIG. 4. Zhu Duan, *Searching for Plum Blossoms*, hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 208.3 × 124.5 cm. Palace Museum, Taiwan.

treatment with characteristics of his own developing style.

Zhu Duan himself treated this subject on more than one occasion, and in *Searching for Plum Blossoms* in the Palace Museum, Taipei (fig. 4), he used a composition similar to that of the Seoul scroll.¹⁹ In this large painting a determined-looking old gentleman holding a staff and an umbrella is braving the snowy cold on a narrow path along the river bank. Accompanied by two servant boys, one of whom carries a wrapped *qin*, he sets out to view the plums that we see blossoming across a zigzag bridge in the middle ground. As in Zhu's scroll in Seoul and Dai Jin's *Snow Landscape*, high mountains rise diagonally from the left toward the center of the composition, while a broad river opens a deeper recession along the right side. This scheme, juxtaposing the verticality of the mountains on one side with the

horizontal recession of a river valley on the other, originated in the Song Academy and was popularized by Dai Jin; it was a favorite compositional device among Zhe school painters.²⁰

Other elements frequently found in paintings by Dai Jin that appear in the Taipei scroll by Zhu Duan include the clumps of bushes on the protruding rock, the tall evergreen trees arranged along the diagonal ridge near the center, and the stately foreground pines.²¹ The ax-cut strokes drawn downward or laterally melt into a thinly applied wash to suggest the rugged shading of the rock surface. Crisp, slightly modulated contour lines of the wintry mountains, the use of contrasting areas of dark and light, and the stubby strokes on the mountain top are also strikingly similar to Dai Jin's painting in the C. C. Wang collection. These comparisons of Zhu Duan's winter landscapes in Seoul and Taipei with Dai Jin's *Snow Landscape* suggest that Zhu developed his winter landscape style through variations on Dai Jin's precedent. In all, the theme of Meng Hao-ran searching for plum blossoms provides the focus for the seasonal work.

Winter Landscapes in the Mature Style

Zhu Duan's mature treatment of the winter landscape is epitomized by *Solitary Angler on a Wintry River*, a hanging scroll in the Tokyo National Museum (fig. 5).²² Based on a Tang poem by Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元 (773–819), this subject had been popular for winter landscapes since the time of Li Cheng 李成 in the Northern Song.²³ By the time of Zhu Duan it was a familiar composition explored by many earlier painters, but Zhu presents a dramatic view of the wintry river in his distinctive personal style.

The composition of the Tokyo scroll is similar to that in Taipei, with a cluster of large rocks rising along the left juxtaposed with a river that recedes on the right. The low ranges of distant hills in both draw the eye into an expansive distance. Zhu heightens the power of the composition in the Tokyo scroll by reducing the landscape elements to a few carefully selected motifs and by widening the river into a broad sweep of open space.

Rocks are outlined with the dark, fluctuating lines we have already seen in the earlier winter landscapes, but here these strokes are reinforced with confidence and power. The lower surfaces



FIG. 5. Zhu Duan, *Solitary Angler on a Wintry River*, hanging scroll, ink on silk, 172 × 109 cm. Tokyo National Museum.

of the cliffs and rocks in the foreground are punctuated by deep black tones, in which ax-cut strokes drawn in a variety of angles are transformed into powerful, expressive, almost nervous brushwork. Similar agitated lines delineate the snow-covered bare branches and tree trunks displayed against the broad expanse of the river. The edges of the trunks are heavily inked to indicate (by contrast with the plain silk) fallen snow. Sky and water, washed with a uniform gray wash, enhance the bleak atmosphere and the lonely mood of the wintry river.

The bold, spontaneous quality of the brushwork and controlled complexity of the ink washes, along with the confident composition, clearly mark *Solitary Angler* as belonging to Zhu Duan's mature style. Its distinguishing features are logical developments from the apparently earlier winter landscapes in Seoul and Taipei.

A final example of Zhu Duan's winter landscape manner that shares many features with *Solitary Angler* is *Hongnong and Tiger* in the Palace

Museum, Beijing (fig. 6).²⁴ It depicts a historical incident from the Eastern Han in which the meritorious official Liu Kun 劉昆 (?–A.D. 57) was appointed governor of Hongnong 弘農 (in modern Honan Province), a district that had been menaced by tigers for many years. After three years of service distinguished by Liu's benevolence and virtue, the tigers withdrew across the river.²⁵ Such subjects, demonstrating the effects of enlightened rule, must have been seen as suitable for the Ming academic painter.²⁶ Zhu Duan depicts Liu Kun and four attendants watching a tiger with cub on its back retreating across the river. The figures, drawn with realistic attention to detail, occupy a stagelike foreground framed by a rocky outcropping and drooping tree branches.²⁷

In composition, motif, and brushwork, this scroll is similar to the *Solitary Angler* in Tokyo, and the two paintings were probably done around the same time. Jagged rocks formed with dark, fluctuating outlines and chiseled by short ax-cut



FIG. 6. Zhu Duan, *Hongnong and Tiger*, hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 174 × 113.6 cm. Palace Museum, Beijing.

strokes and occasional dark ink washes; bare tree branches draped with trailing vines growing from the overhanging rocks; spiky reeds along the water—all are unmistakably painted by the same hand that brushed *Solitary Angler on a Wintry River*.

Reconsidering Zhu Duan

According to the traditional written sources, Zhu Duan followed the landscape styles of Ma Yuan 馬遠 (fl. before 1189–after 1225) of the Southern Song and Sheng Mou 盛懋 (fl. ca. 1330–ca. 1369) of the Yuan.²⁸ Extant works have led modern scholars to characterize Zhu's style as strongly influenced by the Northern Song master Guo Xi 郭熙.²⁹ Paintings that support this view include two large hanging scrolls, *Grand Landscape in the Manner of Guo Xi* in the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm, and *Viewing a Misty River* in the Palace Museum, Beijing.³⁰ These feature spring and autumn scenes in

spacious compositions, with the crab-claw twigs and eroded rock forms rendered with curling strokes and light washes typical of the Guo Xi tradition; they are devoid of the sharp contrasts and heavy tones of the winter landscapes.³¹

The group of winter landscapes discussed here is distinct from the paintings displaying the influence of Guo Xi and belongs rather to a more typical Zhe school style based on Dai Jin, a style that has not yet been given serious consideration as characteristic of Zhu Duan. By examining a series of paintings that are similar in theme and composition, we can see that Zhu's winter landscape style developed from that of the Seoul painting, done soon after his arrival at court, to the distinctively individual manner of *Solitary Angler on a Wintry River*. Yet, as in the cases of many other professional and court painters of the Ming, a more comprehensive evaluation of his individual style and artistic achievement must await the discovery and publication of additional unknown paintings.

Notes

1. For recent studies of Zhu Duan's painting, see Suzuki Kei, *Mindai kaigashi no kenkyu: Seppa* (A study of Ming painting: The Zhe school), *Toyo Bunka Kenkyujo Kiyo*, special issue (1968): 231–34; James Cahill, *Parting at the Shore: Chinese Painting of the Early and Middle Ming Dynasty, 1368–1580* (New York and Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1978), 127–28; and Richard Barnhart, *Painters of the Great Ming: The Imperial Court and the Zhe School* (Dallas: Dallas Museum of Art, 1993), 267–76.
2. Richard Barnhart, "An Imaginary Exhibition of Chinese Paintings from the Freer Gallery," *Oriental Art* 24 (March 1993): 39.
3. For references, see Mu Yiqin, *Mingdai yuanti Zhepai huihua shiliao* (Literary sources for Ming dynasty court paintings and Zhe school paintings) (Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1985), 63–64.
4. Mu, *Mingdai*, 64. Zeng He, from Zhapusu 乍浦所 in Zhejiang Province, was also summoned to court and appointed to the Renzhi Palace during the Zhengde period, but he died soon after his arrival in the capital. For Zeng's biography, see Mu, *Mingdai*, 64–65, and Yu Jianhua, *Zhongguo meishujia renming cidian* (Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1981), 1078.
5. Cahill, *Parting*, 127.
6. Zeng He's seal was inscribed *Yiyutu* 一漁圖 (The single fisherman). Yu, *Zhongguo meishujia*, 1079. For Wang E, see Barnhart, *Painters of the Great Ming*, 262.
7. Published in *Wolgan Misool* (The monthly art magazine), October 1992, 51.
8. *Boating in Autumn*, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, is datable to 1518 from the inscription. Barnhart, *Painters of the Great Ming*, 262.
9. Few of the Chinese paintings in Korean collections have been available for study even in Korea, although Chinese influence on Korean painting is widely acknowledged. Literary sources indicate that many Chinese paintings were imported and collected by Koreans and that the Zhe school landscape style enjoyed continuing popularity among both literati and professional painters from the time of its introduction in the mid-fifteenth century through the first quarter of the eighteenth century. In recent years some Chinese paintings in Korean private collections have come to light and are adding new material for the study of Ming and Qing painting; continuing discoveries should lead to a better understanding of the relationship between Chinese and Korean painting. For the published Chinese paintings in Korean collections, see *Archaeological Artefacts: Chinese and Japanese Paintings and Ceramics in the Lee Hong-Kun Collection* (Seoul: National Museum of Korea, 1985), 87–102; and the following issues of *Wolgan Misool*: October 1992, 50–61; November 1992, 68–76; February 1993, 88–91. For Chinese influence on Korean painting, see Ahn Hwi-joon, "Chinese Influence on Korean Landscape Painting of the Yi Dynasty (1392–1910)," *International Symposium of Cultural Properties: On Conservation and Restoration* (Tokyo: National Research Institute of Cultural Properties, 1982), 213–23; and Ahn Hwi-joon, "A Study on Korean Painting of the Zhe School Style," *Misul Charyo* (National Museum of Korea art magazine) 20 (June 1977): 24–62.
10. For a brief account of the titles and ranks in the Ming academy, see Barnhart, *Painters of the Great Ming*, 1–3.
11. So far as I know, the earliest record of a painting with a title alluding to Meng Haoran's story is found in *Guangchuan huaba* 廣川畫跋 by the late Northern Song scholar Dong You 董道 (see *juan* 2, 9–10).
12. Zhu Youdun's play was adapted from the Yuan drama *Dongyinshi taxue xunmei* 凍吟詩踏雪尋梅 (Searching for plum blossoms in the snow while chanting a poem), attributed to the famous playwright Ma Zhiyuan 馬致遠. Although the Yuan play is now lost, the title itself demonstrates that the story of Meng Haoran was widely known in the Yuan. Another Yuan drama about Meng Haoran is *Fengxue qilü Meng Haoran* 風雪騎驢孟浩然 (Meng Haoran riding a donkey in a snowstorm), now also lost. See Zhuang Yifu, ed., *Gudian xiqu cunmu huikao* (Anthology of classical plays) (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1982), 4:201 and 6:407; Fu Daxing, *Ming Zaju kao* (Study of the Ming *zaju*) (Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1982), 70; and W. L. Idema, *The Dramatic Oeuvre of Chu Yu-tun (1379–1439)* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1985), 103–5.
13. Zhu Youdun was also a skilled calligrapher and painter. For his life and work, see Idema, *The Dramatic Oeuvre of Zhu Youdun*.
14. Wang E, Wu Wei 吳偉, and Jiang Song 蔣嵩 all painted winter landscapes on the theme *taxue xunmei* 踏雪尋梅. Although the title is not written on the paintings, the motifs of flowering plum trees and a figure riding a donkey in snow are enough to identify the subject. See Meiching Kao, ed.,

Paintings of the Ming Dynasty from the Palace Museum (Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1988), 82–83; Suzuki, *Seppa*, 174; and Mu, *Mingdai yuanti Zhepai*, 320.

Parenthetically, “Searching for Plum Blossoms” also became a popular subject for the winter landscape in Korea. The Korean title is *Baqiao xunmei* 瀾橋尋梅 (Crossing the Ba Bridge in search of plum blossoms), and the painting usually depicts the donkey-riding poet about to cross the bridge in a wintry landscape setting. For examples, see *5,000 Years of Korean Art* (San Francisco: Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, 1979), 135; and Jay Levenson, ed., *Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration* (Washington D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1992), 418–19.

15. Published in Kao, *Paintings of the Ming Dynasty*, 82–83. This painting is datable to before 1505 by a seal of the Hongzhi emperor who reigned 1487–1505.
16. For Wang E’s later paintings, see Barnhart, *Painters of the Great Ming*, 261, 263.
17. Richard Barnhart pointed out the stylistic affinity between Wang E and Zhu Duan’s early work in a winter landscape that Barnhart reattributes to Zhu. This painting, in the Freer Gallery, is a compact landscape depicting a group of travelers in a wintry setting; its style is similar to that of Zhu’s winter landscapes under discussion. See Barnhart, “An Imaginary Exhibition,” 39–40.
18. This painting is unsigned but bears Dai Jin’s seal; it is reproduced in *Yiyuan duoying*, no. 38 (1988): 26.
19. The Taipei scroll is published in *Special Exhibition of Winter Landscape* (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1989), 36–37.
20. Cahill, *Parting at the Shore*, 100.
21. See the winter landscapes by Dai Jin illustrated and discussed by Mary Ann Rogers in “Visions of Grandeur: The Life and Art of Dai Jin,” in Barnhart, *Painters of the Great Ming*, 127–94.
22. Published in Suzuki, *Seppa*, 230.
23. Barnhart, *Painters of the Great Ming*, 272. For a translation of Liu’s poem, see William H. Nienhauser, Jr., et al., *Liu Tsung-yüan* (New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1974), 104.
24. Published in Kao, *Paintings of the Ming Dynasty*, 86–87.
25. Liu Kun’s biography is recorded in *Hou Hanshu* (Seoul: Kyongin munhuasa, 1977), *juan* 79, *Liulin liezhuan* (Biographies of Confucian scholars), 2549–50.
26. Shan Guoqiang, “A Brief Account of the Court Painting of the Ming Dynasty,” pt. 1, *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan*, no. 58 (1992): 13–14.
27. Framing the figures with rock and trees is a compositional device used by many Zhe school painters. See Susan N. Erickson, “Chang Lu’s *A Poet Contemplating a Waterfall*,” *Ming Studies* 26 (Fall 1988): 40–41.
28. Mu, *Mingdai*, 63–64.
29. Shan Guoqiang, “Court Painting,” pt. 2, *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan*, no. 59 (1993): 56.
30. The Stockholm painting is published in Cahill, *Parting at the Shore*, pl. 54, and Barnhart, *Painters of the Great Ming*, 273. The Beijing scroll appears in Mu Yiqin, *A Selection of Ming Dynasty Court Paintings and Zhe School Paintings* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1983), pl. 48, and *Zhongguo meishu quanji* (Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1988), *Huihua*, vol. 6, pl. 150. *Travelling in Autumn Hills*, a small album leaf in the Leslie Tang Schilling Collection, is another example of this style; it is reproduced in Barnhart, *Painters of the Great Ming*, 274.
31. The spacious composition and nervous lines depicting the trees and rocks in the Stockholm scroll suggest that its date is close to those in Beijing and Tokyo.

POSTSCRIPT TO AN EXHIBITION: A DISCOVERY OF A COLLABORATIVE WORK

By JAMES ROBINSON

SOME PEOPLE ASSEMBLE EXHIBITIONS TO PROMOTE A personal point of view. Others, like Professor Richard Edwards, create exhibitions primarily as learning experiences and use them as occasions for bettering our understanding. For him they are projects of personal discovery—not only for himself but also for students and colleagues. The shared observations made at each step of the process, before, during and after the fact, seem to make the headaches of an exhibition worth enduring. Exhibitions, especially those that focus on a particular topic, can provide wonderful opportunities for seeing, comparing, and discussing the details in paintings that are often invisible in photographs and slides. Perhaps because of this, Edwards liked to include as much variety as possible, and he rarely excluded the problematic simply because it was problematic. He had faith that the attention given to art assembled in an exhibition might be just what is needed to begin to solve some of the problems uncovered during research. Edwards's last major exhibition, "The Art of Wen Cheng-ming (1470–

1559)," concentrated on the work of that master and follower of Shen Zhou 沈周, the subject of Edwards's first major study.

Here I would like to present a discovery made possible by that exhibition. It concerns a fan painting illustrating the preface to the *Peach Blossom Spring*, now in the collection of the University of Michigan Museum of Art, which was attributed to Wen Zhengming 文徵明 because it bears a transcription of that text signed by Wen and dated to 1542 (fig. 1).¹ Though the calligraphy is certainly by Wen Zhengming, the painting should be attributed to his contemporary Qiu Ying 仇英 (Ch'iu Ying, d. 1552). Recognizing Qiu as painter and Wen as calligrapher enriches the value of this fan and raises several issues, some of which can be lightly touched upon here: Qiu's reputation in this genre of blue-green narrative painting; Qiu's practice of working with other artists and calligraphers; and the implications of the subject itself, a topic Professor James Cahill first raised at the exhibition symposium and has since developed further.²

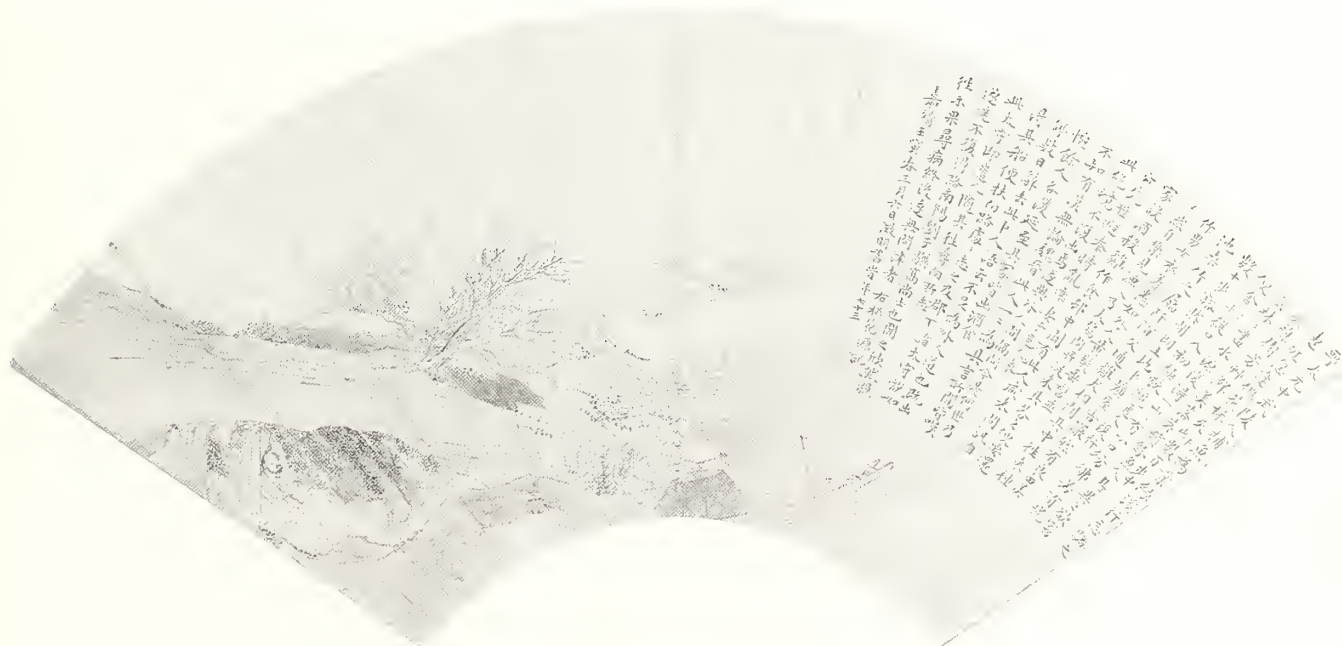


FIG. 1. Attributed to Qiu Ying, *Peach Blossom Spring*, summer 1542, ink and color on gold paper, 20.8 × 54.9 cm. University of Michigan Museum of Art, 1976/1.212.

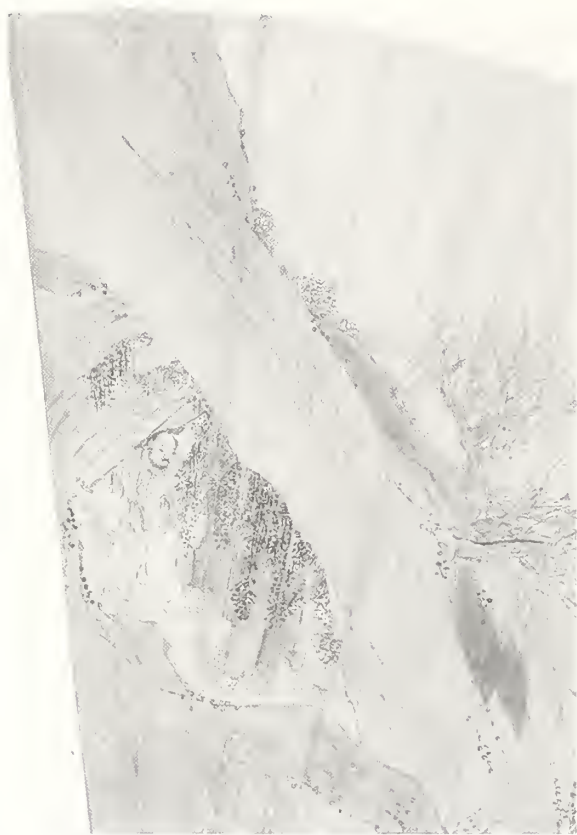


FIG. 2. Detail of fig. 1.

In the lower left corner of the fan (fig. 2) is a very faint rectangular seal that is illegible in photographs. Although the impression is damaged, firsthand examination reveals that it conforms to a two-character seal reading *Qiu Ying*.³ Part of the red ink from the character *Ying* can be seen on the adjoining section of paper to the right, which proves the seal was affixed to the fan while the fan was still in use. The ink would have been transferred when the fan was folded up.

The presence of this seal certainly supports other aspects of the fan painting that suggest a Qiu Ying attribution. Some of these will be dealt with later. But to appreciate this small, delicate, Ming-style blue-green painting more fully, it is appropriate first to reflect upon Qiu Ying's reputation.

By all accounts a professional painter, Qiu Ying has always been respected by collectors with superior taste. For example, the eminent connoisseur An Qi 安岐, in the 1742 preface to the catalogue of his collection, writes that he had "selected those items that are most important."⁴ Among those "most important" paintings, An Qi records more by Qiu Ying than by any earlier or later artist.⁵ He quotes Dong Qichang 董其昌

(1555–1636), who said that Qiu was "first among the lofty hands of recent times," that not even the Song artist Li Tang 李唐 could reach Qiu's vitality or elegance and that from the Song through the Ming dynasties none surpassed him.⁶

Dong Qichang's comment "ice is colder than water" suggests he felt Qiu's painting even surpassed that of his stylistic predecessor, the Song dynasty master Zhao Boju 趙伯駒.⁷ Qiu's copies of Zhao Boju's (and his brother Zhao Bosu's 趙伯驥) blue-green paintings of the *Peach Blossom Spring* were some of his greatest achievements, according to extant records. In about 1569 Wen Jia 文嘉, the son of Wen Zhengming, noted that Qiu executed a faithful copy upon request and was rewarded with fifty pieces of gold, prompting numerous copies by others. None, however, could equal Qiu's delicate craftsmanship.⁸ Dong Qichang, whom one might expect to disparage Qiu and whose harshest criticism of Qiu was to equate him with Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫 of the Yuan, wrote that Qiu was the reincarnation of Zhao Boju, praising his extremely delicate style by commenting that not even Wen Zhengming with all his effort could surpass him.⁹ Dong further noted that in the five hundred years since the Zhaos, there were artists who could capture their delicate style, but only Qiu Ying could go beyond that and capture the elegance and scholarly spirit (*shiqi* 士氣) of their paintings.¹⁰

Dong Qichang did not recommend the blue-green mode of painting, for it was painfully laborious and lacked spontaneity. But he did recognize its worth. In his apt phrase, the styles of the Zhaos and that of the Dong Yuan 董源 (d. 962) tradition "are like the paired wings of a bird."¹¹ Though Qiu's reputation often suffered in the shadow of Wen Zhengming, some connoisseurs have judged Qiu superior in the blue-green style. This important mode of painting has recently been considered full of antique resonance, with an imperial and scholarly association that also appealed "to patrons of strong antiquarian bias."¹² For this mode of painting, Qiu's authorship is perhaps more desirable than that of Wen Zhengming.

The *Peach Blossom Spring* fan can now be added to the group of paintings by Qiu Ying that combine his illustrative talents with the work of the greatest calligraphers of his day. It is worth exploring these joint works. Not only did Qiu illustrate cherished works of calligraphy for collectors, but in his early years he apparently also collaborated with noted painters. Beginning as

early as his mid-teens, he worked with Shen Zhou, Tang Yin 唐寅, Zhou Chen 周臣, Wen Zhengming, Zhu Yunming 祝允明, and six other contemporaries on a memorial painting for a retired Suzhou official.¹³ Records show that eight years later Qiu was asked to paint with Wen Zhengming, in the capacity of a colorist, unfortunately not with the best results.¹⁴ These are the rare examples; far more numerous are the recorded and extant instances of Qiu Ying's illustrations accompanying a piece of calligraphy or a calligrapher's transcription of a text that Qiu had illustrated.

It is not always clear in these collaborative works whether the painting or calligraphy came first, but aesthetically it may not matter. A few of the recorded examples, as (un?)reliable as they may be, should suffice to suggest the scope of Qiu's work. It is recorded that Qiu Ying illustrated texts in 1530,¹⁵ 1542,¹⁶ and sometime between 1551 and his death around 1552.¹⁷ In 1542 and 1551 he executed paintings for which calligraphy was solicited from Wen Zhengming.¹⁸ In 1520 he worked with Wen Zhengming and in 1525 with Zhu Yunming.¹⁹ Additionally, there are undated examples of collaborative works and uncommon circumstances, such as his painting of Zhongkui 鍾魁, which he showed to Wen Jia, Wang Guxiang 王穀祥, and Lu Zhi 陸治 when they visited him in 1543. Qiu gave it to Wang because Wang so admired it, and Lu Zhi, on the spur of the moment, added the background. Later it was inscribed by Wen Zhengming.²⁰ Clearly, Qiu worked with the best artists of his day and they with him.

As Edwards notes in the catalogue entry, "The popularity of the [Peach Blossom Spring] theme in Suchou at this time is suggested by paintings of it from the hand of Wen's contemporary, Ch'iu [Qiu] Ying." The subject illustrated in the Michigan fan is a story by Tao Qian 陶潛 (365–457) that prefaces his less famous verse, *The Peach Blossom Spring*. It tells of a fisherman who discovered an ideal land where people had escaped the chaos of the Qin period (221–207 B.C.). This harmonious world was reached through a mountain cave at the source of a stream that flowed through a beautiful grove of blossoming peach trees. After the fisherman had come back to his own world, he and others were unable to relocate this utopian village.²¹

By necessity this fan is not a full illustration of the story, as are the handscrolls by Qiu in the Art Institute of Chicago and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. The artist planned for the text to be

added in the upper right, and he had to reduce the story to a few symbolic motifs.²² Yet, even without the text, the selection of motifs is so precise that anyone with a little knowledge would recognize the theme. The fisherman's boat drawn to the bank, the blossoming peach trees, and the narrowing cave are sufficient to set the scene. The fisherman is caught emerging from the cave, surrounded by it, and thus our attention is focused on him.

Edwards appropriately included this painting in the exhibition because Wen did work in a similar blue-green manner. Professor Anne Clapp observes that Wen and Qiu "between them composed a whole new chapter in its [the blue-green mode's] history."²³ Similar blue-green paintings by Wen are extant, and Wen did illustrate famous poems. Yet my initial doubts that Wen was the artist of the *Peach Blossom Spring* fan arose from two considerations. First, Wen's inscription only states that it was "written (*shu* 書) by Zhengming at the age of 73"; he seems to have reserved the term *shu* for his calligraphies or colophons on paintings by others. Second, the subject matter itself is problematic, for it is unclear whether Wen ever illustrated this particular piece or genre of literature.²⁴

In general, Wen and Qiu chose to illustrate writings with different kinds of subject matter. Wen was inclined to paint either full-length or distilled illustrations for his own poetry or for poems, such as the "Red Cliff" by Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101), with an abstract, philosophical content, while Qiu tended to illustrate more descriptive literature, some of which borders on a mere inventory of objects, such as the *Shanglin fu* 上林賦 and the *Dule yuan ji* 獨樂園記. In the instances where both artists illustrated the same literary piece, Qiu Ying arguably depicted a broader range of literature than did Wen Zhengming. The straightforward narrative of the fisherman's discoveries was not as compatible with Wen Zhengming's preferences as it evidently was with Qiu's.²⁵ So based on the subject alone, one might surmise that Qiu—the consummate craftsman, master of Song styles, and repeated illustrator of the *Peach Blossom Spring*—was more likely than Wen to have painted this fan, especially when the painting itself has been aptly described by Edwards as a "craftsman-like blue-green colored scene," owing "much to the late Sung."²⁶

Certain specific details are also not characteristic of Wen's usual practice. The face of the fisherman, with its full, fine-haired beard of even

length stretching from ear to ear, is rather unusual. It varies from Wen's usual facial type, which generally sports a more cursorily depicted mustache and goatee. Qiu, on the other hand, used this style of beard on some faces of workmen, such as farmers and fishermen, though never when portraying scholars, officials, or servants.²⁷

Viewing this fan as a work by Qiu Ying rather than Wen Zhengming, one notices motifs that are found in Qiu's other works. Certainly, the most prominent motif in this fan is the cave. Slightly above and beyond a rocky protrusion in the foreground, the circular entrance of the cave is partially obstructed by a flat, blank, slanting ledge of rock with an underside of concave arcs. The cave in the Chicago Art Institute version of the theme, with its circular entrance partially obscured by a straight-sided mass of slanting rock, is similar. The lower left corner of Qiu Ying's painting *Zhao Mengfu Writing the Heart Sutra in Exchange for Tea*, with a text also written by Wen Zhengming in the same year of 1542, displays a variant of this motif: the cavity for the stream and its far bank are similar in structure and impact to the cave entrance depicted on the fan.²⁸

The drapery lines on the fisherman in the



FIG. 3. Qiu Ying, *A Donkey for Mr. Zhu* (detail), ca. 1550, handscroll, ink on paper. Courtesy Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Washington, D.C.

Peach Blossom Spring and the central figure in Qiu Ying's *A Donkey for Mr. Zhu* similarly describe the loose fabric of the inside back of the pant legs (fig. 3).²⁹ On the right leg of the fisherman, lines from near the front of the leg cross the thigh and cuff to the back of the trousers, and on the front or left leg, a long line continues from the back of the thigh and extends downward from the knee. The pant legs also reveal one of Qiu Ying's idiosyncrasies: the definition of the facing edge of the trousers with one smooth, continuous line and the back with several slanting lines drawn downward and into the leg. At the knees and cuffs, the lines flare slightly, suggesting a movement of the cloth.

Qiu Ying's talents and mastery of earlier styles, particularly the blue-green mode of painting, supplied the demands of contemporary collectors and assured a prominent place for him in the history of Chinese painting. It is not surprising, then, to read that in 1552, when the collector Hua Yun 華雲 (1488–1560) visited Zhang Fengyi 張鳳翼 (1527–1613) and saw Leng Qian's 冷謙 (thirteenth–fourteenth century) painting *Penglai Immortals Playing Chess*, he produced some Dengxin tang 澄心堂 paper and asked Qiu to copy (*lin* 臨) it.³⁰ On another painting of this same subject, out of fear that Qiu Ying's talents would not be recognized later, Wen Zhengming extolled Qiu's achievements, pronouncing the painting pure in spirit, refreshing in vitality, and graceful.³¹ Wen's fear was perhaps grounded in Qiu's evident absence of ego as an artist. Nowhere can one find large or lengthy writings by Qiu on his paintings. If his paintings are signed by his own hand, which they often are not, the signature is usually in an unobtrusive corner of the painting, on a rock or tree trunk.³² It has even been said that in his copies (*lin mo* 臨摹) of previous artists' works, he never added a signature.³³ In his choice of subjects and styles, as well as in the attitude toward painting he adopted, we find an abundance of conservative Song aesthetics and ideals.

The *Peach Blossom Spring* fan painting appears never to have borne Qiu's signature, and though his seal has all but disappeared from view, this exquisite little painting remains to affirm that some of his accomplishments are certainly equal to, and should not be obscured by, those of Wen Zhengming.

Notes

This article is based on one that Professor Edwards urged me to write soon after the exhibition "The Art of Wen Cheng-ming" as a timely addendum. It was originally intended for *Oriental Art Magazine*, but because of the publication lag the topic was no longer timely and I did not then pursue publication. This brief note contains the core of that article, with only slight additions prompted by some scholarship during the intervening years. I am thankful to Professor Edwards for all the encouragement he gave me as a student.

1. Richard Edwards, *The Art of Wen Cheng-ming* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1976), cat. no. XXXVIII, pp. 142–43.
2. Namely, the relationships of biography and styles. See James Cahill, "Tang Yin and Wen Zhengming as Artist Types: A Reconsideration," *Artibus Asiae* 53, no. 1/2 (1993): 228–48.
3. This seal is similar to nos. 3 and 9 in Victoria Contag and Wang Chi-ch'ien, *Seals of Chinese Painters and Collectors* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1966), 6 and 633; *Signatures and Seals on Painting and Calligraphy* (Hong Kong: The Arts & Literature Press, 1964), 2:6; and nos. 8–10 in Shanghai Museum ed., *Zhongguo shuhua jia yinjian kuanzhi* (Beijing: Wenwu Press, 1987), 1:144.
A seal in the lower right corner was left unidentified in the exhibition catalogue. The legend reads "Langhuan Immortal's Hall fan collection 瑯嬛館藏扇" and alludes to the *Langhuanji* 瑯嬛記, which, like the *Peach Blossom Spring*, tells of finding a utopian place. The story recounts a visit by Zhang Hua 張華 (232–300), a shepherd turned statesman, to an extraordinary place called Langhuan fudi 瑯嬛福地, where each room was full of marvelous books, none being later than the Qin period. Ruan Yuan 阮元 (1764–1849), a renowned bibliophile and antiquarian, is the only person I have found with a seal containing a similar legend ("the Langhuan Immortal's Hall 瑯嬛館"). See Shanghai Museum ed., *Zhongguo shuhua jia*, 1:563, no. 34, for one with a similar legend and style of carving. Ruan was one of the compilers of the first supplement to the catalogue of the Qing imperial collection and author of *Shiqu suibi* 石渠隨筆. Ruan's seal is not only appropriate; it also adds to the lineage of the painting.
4. Thomas Lawton, "Notes on Five Paintings from a Ch'ing Dynasty Collection," *Ars Orientalis* 8 (1970): 193–94.
5. The total for Qiu is six scrolls and two albums in the main body of the catalogue and eleven paintings in the supplement.
6. An Qi, *Moyuan huiguan* 墨緣彙觀 (Beijing, 1908), chap. 3, pp. 77a, 79a, 80b, and 81a.
7. An, *Moyuan*, 81b.
8. Wen Jia, *Qianshantang shuhua ji* 鈴山堂書畫記 (Meishu congshu ed.), 8b.
9. Dong Qichang, *Rongtai bieji* 容臺別記, chap. 6, pp. 34b–35a and *Huayan* 畫眼 (Yishu congbian ed.), 38. In another colophon, Dong included Shen Zhou with Wen as not equal to Qiu in the blue-green mode of painting. See Bian Yongyu 卞永譽, *Shigutang shuhua huikao* 式古堂書畫彙考 (Taipei: Zhengzhong shuju, 1958), 4:468.
10. Dong, *Rongtai*, chap. 6, p. 50a and *Huayan*, 43.
11. Dong, *Rongtai*, chap. 6, p. 8a and *Huayan*, 26.
12. Anne de Coursey Clapp, *The Painting of T'ang Yin* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 233.
13. Clapp, *T'ang Yin*, 51 and, for other examples, 52 n. 12.
14. This information is from a colophon on the *Princess and Lady of the Xiang*, by Wen Zhengming. See Thomas Lawton, *Chinese Figure Painting* (Washington: Freer Gallery of Art, 1973), 63.
15. In 1530 Qiu illustrated the Yuan artist Ni Zan's 倪贊詞 entitled *Spring in Jiangnan* for Yuan Zhi 袁衷 (1502–47). The text was one of the more influential works of literature in Suzhou during the middle Ming dynasty, and Yuan Zhi had two verses by Ni Zan in his collection as well as numerous rhyming poems by most of the noted calligraphers and poets of the period. Chiang Chiao-shen, *Wen Cheng-ming yu Su-chou hua-t'an* (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1977), 152. See also Jao Tsung-i, "Tz'u Poetry and Painting: Transpositions in Art," *Ku-kung chi-k'an* 8, no. 3 (Spring 1974): 16.
16. According to the colophons, Qiu painted *Zhao Mengfu Writing the Heart Sutra in Exchange for Tea*, now in the Cleveland Museum of Art, to accompany a poem by Zhao Mengfu and a transcription of the sutra by Wen Zhengming. Wen's writing of the sutra is dated to the same year as his writing on the *Peach Blossom Spring*, 1542, and in both Wen has written the second part of the date (*yin* 寅) in a special manner. See Edwards, *Wen Cheng-ming*, 144.
17. The paintings illustrate six traditional texts that were copied by famous Ming calligraphers. See Lawton, *Figure Painting*, 58–69.
18. In 1542 Wen copied the *Lanting* 蘭亭 onto a Qiu

- Ying painting, and in 1551 he transcribed Sima Xiangru's 司馬相如 *Shanglin fu* for a 1550 Qiu Ying painting. Chiang, *Wen Cheng-ming*, 199, and Bian, *Shigutang* 4:470.
19. Qiu and Wen copied Li Gonglin's 李公麟 *The Lotus Society*. Chiang, *Wen Cheng-ming*, 117. Qiu and Zhu duplicated a painting by Zhao Mengfu. Lawton, *Figure Painting*, 59.
 20. Chiang, *Wen Cheng-ming*, 206.
 21. A translation of the preface is included in the catalogue entry noted above, and a complete translation of the preface and the poem with commentary and annotation can be found in James Hightower, *The Poetry of T'ao Ch'ien* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 254–58.
 22. Marshall Wu, curator at the University of Michigan Museum of Art, notes that the black ink of the writing crosses on top of the brown lines defining the water. Dr. Wu also suggests that the artist may have intentionally used brown for the water lines in order to avoid confusion with the writing that was to be added later.
 23. See n. 13 above.
 24. Regarding courtesans, Professor Cahill has written that "Wen Zhengming would have died before depicting such a subject." Cahill, "Tang Yin and Wen Zhengming," 240. While this may be extreme, I suspect there were similar boundaries, albeit self-established, for the literature Wen felt was worthy or suitable for him to illustrate.
 25. When Wen Zhengming chose to exhibit his talents in calligraphy, he was evidently not similarly discriminating in his choice of texts. Writing a text apparently was not quite the same as illustrating it.
 26. Edwards, *Wen Cheng-ming*, 204 and 142.
 27. See Qiu's *Canon of Filial Piety and Six Scenes in Sung and Yüan Styles* in *An Exhibition of Works by Ch'iu Ying* (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1989), 36 and 46.
 28. See n. 16 above.
 29. Marilyn and Shen Fu, *Studies in Connoisseurship: Chinese Paintings from the Arthur M. Sackler Collection in New York and Princeton* (Princeton: Princeton University Art Museum, 1973), no. III, p. 89.
 30. Chiang, *Wen Zhengming*, 246.
 31. Bian, *Shigutang*, 472. The theme of immortals playing chess was quite popular during this time in Suzhou. A later example, once attributed to Leng Qian, is reproduced in *Arts of Asia at the Time of American Independence* (Washington: Freer Gallery of Art, 1975), 7.
 32. For a discussion of Qiu's calligraphy and signatures see Jean-Pierre Dubosc, "A Letter and Fan Painting by Ch'iu Ying," *Archives of Asian Art* 28 (1974–75): 108–12. An unobtrusive signature may seem in keeping with what a "professional should do," yet I feel that the duplication of another's painting does require a certain suppression of individuality in the interests of the final image—not unlike the position taken by some Song Academy artists with respect to nature.
 33. An, *Moyuan*, 78b.

CHINESE PAINTINGS IN TEXAS MUSEUM COLLECTIONS

By ALICE R. M. HYLAND

THE STUDY OF CHINESE PAINTING IN THE UNITED STATES has seen immeasurable progress over the last several decades, due in large part to the efforts of dedicated scholars at American universities and museums. Professor Richard Edwards has been one of the leaders in this field, inspiring many students and colleagues over the years at the University of Michigan. His enthusiasm, wide scope of intellectual curiosity, attention to detail, and diligence have influenced all who come into contact with him. His numerous former students are active throughout the United States as well as in Europe and Asia. To my knowledge I am the only former student currently involved in Asian art in Texas.

The various art museums in Texas are known throughout the world for their outstanding collections and exhibitions, which they share with institutions on the east and west coasts. Asian art has come to be appreciated, especially in recent years, with the appointment of curators in that area. The increasing number of Asians living in Texas has also helped foster interest in their cultures. The Asia Society established a branch in Houston in 1979.

Three Texas museums hold Chinese paintings: The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston; the San Antonio Museum of Art; and the Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth. Although the Dallas Museum of Arts has no Chinese paintings in its collections, it does house the Hans Popper Collection of Oriental Art.¹ The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, was the first art museum founded in Texas, opening on 12 April 1924. Its collections grew with the aid of major gifts from prominent Houstonians over the years.² A small area within the museum's encyclopedic permanent collection, the Asian art holdings have grown steadily, with an emphasis on exceptional quality. Chinese paintings were acquired under the guidance of Celeste Marie Adams, Curator of Oriental Art from 1980 until 1993.

Interest in Asian art in San Antonio has a long history due to the city's strong military tradition, with many soldiers stationed in the Far East. This initial Asian connection has been substantially augmented by the patronage of Lenora and Walter F. Brown, who gave part of their extensive

Chinese pottery and porcelain collection to the San Antonio Museum of Art when it opened 1 March 1981.³ Since then the collection has continued to expand in all Asian geographic areas as well as media,⁴ thanks to the expertise of Curator James Godfrey and the support of the Browns along with other generous donors, such as Faye Langley Cowden, John and Karen McFarlin, Kay and Tom Edson, and Floyd L. Whittington.

In Fort Worth the Kimbell Art Foundation was established by the industrialist Kay Kimbell for his impressive private collection. At his death in 1964 he bequeathed his entire corporate financial interest to the foundation for the building and endowment of an art museum. The building, designed by Louis Kahn, opened on 4 October 1972. Since 1965 a substantial Asian collection has been assembled by the museum staff, in particular Emily J. Sano, Curator of Asian Art from 1979 until 1989. The present essay focuses attention on the unpublished Chinese paintings in these three museum collections.

The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, has three Chinese paintings. Wang Li 王理 (active late sixteenth–early seventeenth centuries), *Two Mynahs*, dated 1620 (75.343), was published in 1981.⁵ Subsequently, two paintings have been purchased: Bian Shoumin 邊壽民 (1684–1752), *Geese Descending on a Sandbank*, dated 1730 (90.513), and Dong Bangda 董邦達 (1699–1769/74), *Pine and Rock*, dated 1759 (90.400).

Bian Shoumin, born in Huaian, Jiangsu, passed the first-level examinations but never received a government appointment. He was known for his distinctive calligraphy and poetry. Dedicated to the subject of geese, he lived for some time in Jiangxi near Lake Zhu in order to observe geese along their migration route. After the late 1730s he was frequently in Yangzhou, where he associated with artists who came to be known as the Eight Eccentrics of Yangzhou.⁶ Although not counted as one of the Eight Eccentrics, he was friendly with Jin Nong 金農 (1687–1763), Gao Fenghan 高鳳翰 (1683–1748), and Zheng Xie 鄭燮 (1693–1765). He may have assisted Jin Nong in producing lanterns embellished with specially patterned silk and calligraphy.⁷

Geese Descending on a Sandbank (fig. 1) is executed in ink and slight color on paper. The artist's inscription reads:

Five days past the time of White Dew in the year 1730 of the Yongzheng reign-era, while lodging in Yangzhou I heard Cao Qiupu play the song "Geese Descending on Sandbank." My inspiration rising, I did this on the basis of the poem:

Just now wild geese came into the sky,
as I waved my brush before the master of the *qin*;
Autumn sounds meld with autumn thoughts
as I stand beside I know not who.
Bian Shoumin, called Weijian.⁸

It is followed by two artist's seals: *Bian Yigong* and *Shanyang Ren*.

Bian was directly inspired by his observation of nature rather than by works of earlier masters. In this painting he has captured the geese and their activities in a lively manner. As one bird flies in, another observes from the ground; a third preens its feathers, while another pecks at the ground or river reeds. The style of execution, *xieyi* 寫意 (sketches from life), succeeds in capturing the essence of the activities of the geese. The birds are formed without outlines, simply with broad strokes of varying ink tones. This is similar in subject and brushwork to *Wild Geese and Reeds* (1730) in the Palace Museum, Beijing, exhibited at The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, in 1989.⁹ Bian also painted in a more detailed fashion, as seen in the album *Flowers and Vegetables*, dated 1747, in the Edward L. Elliott Family Collection.¹⁰

This involvement with the actual world and interest in rendering it accurately can be traced back to the great Ming dynasty (1368–1644) literatus Shen Zhou 沈周 (1427–1509), studied in depth by Richard Edwards. Specifically, Shen Zhou's *Xieyi* album of 1494 portrays animals in a lively and spontaneous manner.¹¹

In contrast to the freely brushed *xieyi* mode of Bian Shoumin's painting, Dong Bangda's *Pine and Rock* (fig. 2) represents the orthodox lineage of literati painting. Along with Dong Yuan 董源 (ca. 900–62) and Dong Qichang 董其昌 (1555–1636), Dong Bangda is known as one of the three Dong, grouped together because they shared a surname and an orthodox approach to landscape painting. Dong Yuan was one of the forefathers of the doctrine, which was articulated and synthesized by Dong Qichang. Dong Bangda represented a later phase of its development.¹²

Born to a poor family in Fuyang, Zhejiang, Dong Bangda overcame many obstacles, obtaining the *jinshi* 金士 degree in 1733. His career as



FIG. 1. Bian Shoumin, *Geese Descending on a Sandbank*, 1730, hanging scroll, ink and slight colors on paper, 132.2 × 71.2 cm. The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, Museum purchase with funds provided by the Alice Pratt Brown Museum Fund.

a government official was exceptional. He was appointed a compiler of the second class in the Hanlin Academy; in 1738 he was in charge of the provincial examination in Shensi. He held many offices, the highest of which were President of the Board of Works (1763–65, 1766–67) and President of the Board of Ceremonies (1765–66, 1767–69).¹³



FIG. 2. Dong Bangda, *Pine and Rock*, 1759, hanging scroll, ink on paper, 128.3 × 54.6 cm. The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, Museum purchase with funds provided by the Museum Collectors.

In addition to his administrative responsibilities, Dong was active as a painter. Members of the Qing dynasty (1644–1911) Painting Academy were classified as *Huahua ren* 畫畫人. Dong was a painter official, *Hanlin huajia* 翰林畫家, a civil official who had a talent for painting and came into contact with the emperor on this basis.¹⁴ He also worked with Zhang Zhao 張照 (1691–1745) on compiling the *Shiqu baoji* 石渠寶笈 and the *Bidian zhulin* 祕殿珠林, the two comprehensive catalogues of paintings and calligraphy in the imperial collection.¹⁵ Thus, Dong had access to the paintings in the palace, and his works were at times inspired by them.

Dong Bangda entered the civil service at the beginning of the reign of the Qianlong 乾隆 emperor (r. 1735–95). At that time he was one of the younger talents painting to glorify the new ruler. Since Dong was first and foremost an official and proud of his literary accomplishments, his paintings often were occasioned by imperial activities or poetry and emphasize the quality of brush and ink.¹⁶ Dong was active in the palace for thirty years until his death in 1769.

Pine and Rock is inscribed by the artist with a poem, the date of 1759, and an acknowledgment of working in the mode of Li Tang 李唐 (ca. 1050–1130): “fang Li Xigu biyi.” Three artist’s seals follow the inscription: *Chen Bangda yin*, *Fucun*, and *Dongshan*. The two major components of the work are painted with clear stylistic references to the past. The pine recalls Li Tang’s distinctive treatment of pines in such paintings as *Whispering Pines in the Gorges*.¹⁷ In particular, the trunk has a lively, twisted silhouette, and the needles are delineated with incisive brush strokes. Yet there is a vast distance between the stylistic details of Li Tang’s brush and those of Dong Bangda. Dong has eliminated the specificity and tightness of Li to create a more loosely structured, somewhat more organic tree. When painting rocks, Li was known for his thoroughly constructed forms, built up with numerous ax-cut texture strokes. Dong’s rock is more reminiscent of those of Dong Yuan, created by applying long, ropy hemp fiber texture strokes and dots to suggest vegetation.

The San Antonio Museum of Art owns two fine Ming dynasty paintings, a handscroll by the relatively obscure artist Dao Yan 道衍 (Yao Guangxiao 姚廣孝) (1335–1419) and a hanging scroll by the renowned and prolific Lan Ying 藍瑛 (1585–ca. 1669) (88-14P). The Yao Guangxiao handscroll is titled *Landscape in Contemplation* (87-19P) in a frontispiece brushed by Shen

Shixing 申時行 (1535–1614) in running script. According to the artist's inscription, the painting was done in 1382 for Xu Da 徐達 (Xu Tiande 徐天德) (1332–85) and bears one seal of the artist: *Daoyan*.

Yao was a Buddhist monk, poet, and official from Changzhou. At first he studied Chan 單 doctrine, but finding it too abstract he turned to the Pure Land Doctrine. In 1382, the year of this painting, Yao was recommended as a monk

qualified to recite sutras requested by the emperor for the deceased Empress Ma 馬太后 (1332–82). He was later assigned to the court of the prince of Yen, Zhu Di 朱棣 (1360–1424) in Beijing. Yao became Zhu Di's closest advisor in civil and military affairs, influencing him in his rebellion against the second Ming emperor Zhu Yunwen 朱允炆 (1377–1402), who had succeeded Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋 (1328–98) in 1398. When Zhu Di ascended the throne in 1402, he

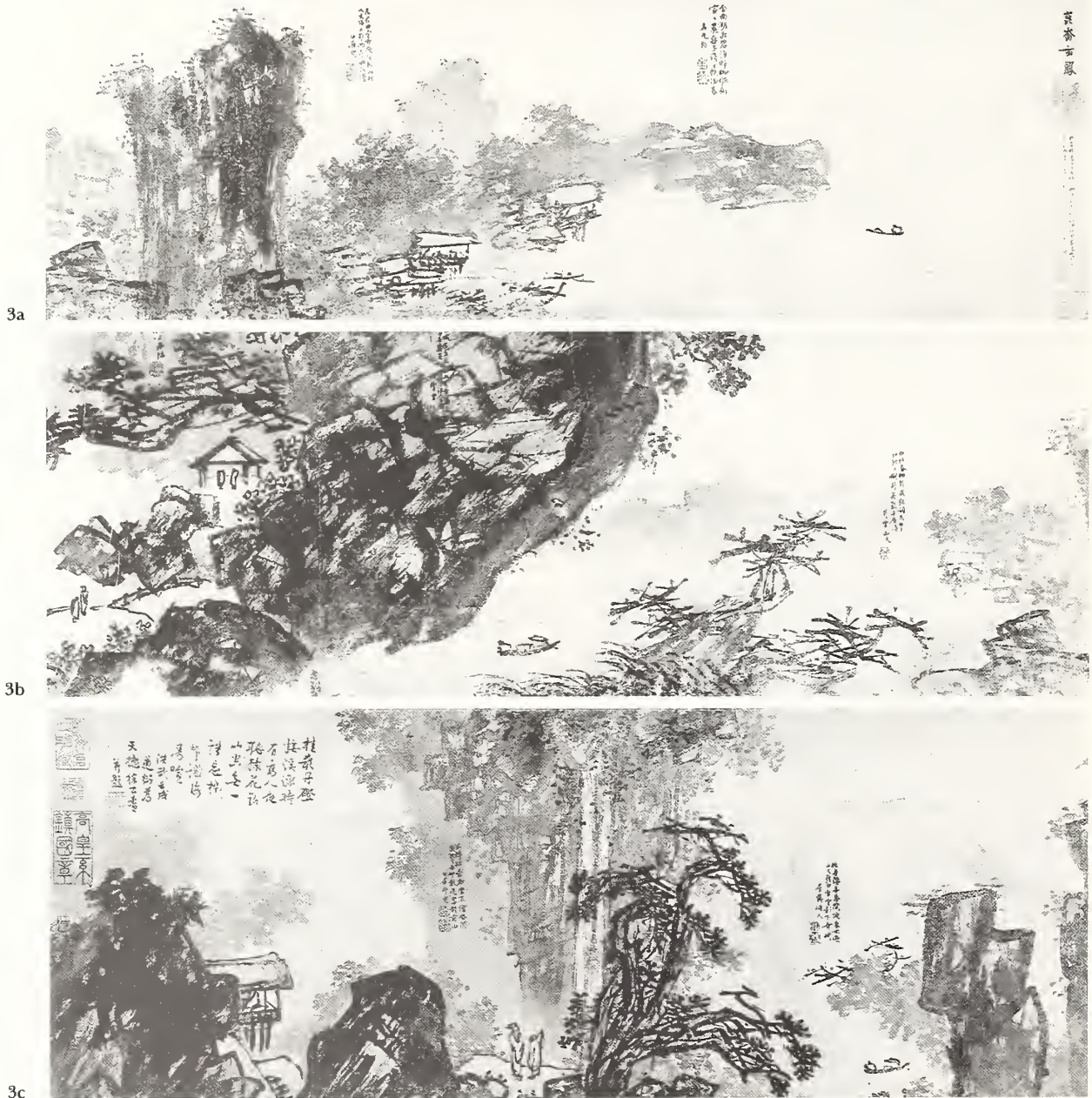


FIG. 3. Dao Yan (Yao Guangxiao), *Landscape in Contemplation*, 1382, handscroll, ink and color on paper, 28.3 × 278 cm. San Antonio Museum of Art, gift of the Ewing Halsell Foundation in honor of Mr. and Mrs. W. H. George.

appointed Yao head of the central Buddhist registry. The emperor also had Yao tutor his grandson and work on the revision of what became the *Yongle dadian* 永樂大典.¹⁸

The recipient of the painting was an equally important political figure. Born in Haozhou, Anhui, Xu Da ranked first among the military commanders involved in the founding of the dynasty. When Zhu Yuanzhang assumed the throne in 1368, he named Xu right chief counselor. In 1376 Xu's eldest daughter married the emperor's fourth son Zhu Di, whose fief was at Beijing, where Xu had been based since 1371. The prince received his early military training from Xu Da, an accomplished strategist with, however, a minimal education.¹⁹ It is no doubt through these relationships with Zhu Di that Yao came to paint this scroll for Xu.

Paintings by Yao are extremely rare, although an ink bamboo painting has been published.²⁰ Executed in ink and light color on paper, the work is visually exciting because of its composition and brushwork. The scroll presents a river scene with boats, buildings at the water's edge, and viewing pavilions. Figures appear throughout. The viewpoint shifts dramatically from a distant one of the shoreline (fig. 3a) to a close concentration on an impressive rock mass (fig. 3b). The final scene focuses on a precipitous waterfall observed by two friends (fig. 3c).

The painting is loosely executed in wet, scratchy, scribbly strokes of a type that became popular in the fifteenth century through the works of Zhe school artists such as Dai Jin 戴進 (1388–1452) and Wu Wei 吳偉 (1459–1508).²¹ The fluid, rapid application of the ink and washes imparts a tremendously vital energy to the surface of the scroll. This effect is heightened by the relatively extreme contrasts in ink tones, which range from very pale gray to deep charcoal black. The style and date of this painting place it as an important transitional work between the spontaneous and abbreviated style of works by amateur Chan monk artists such as Mu Qi 牧谿 (ca. 1200–70) and Liang Kai 梁楷 (thirteenth century) and the sketchy, cursive Zhe school brushwork derived from them in the fifteenth century. Since it is difficult to determine whether Yao had seen many Chan paintings, it is impossible to establish firm evidence that they influenced his work. Another problem is the absence of other landscape paintings by him, which would help identify his personal painting style more clearly. Consequently, one can only suggest that the energetic,



FIG. 4. Lan Ying, *Landscape after Zhao Mengfu*, 1622, hanging scroll, 130 × 48.5 cm, ink and color on silk. San Antonio Museum of Art.

expressive brushwork of this handscroll may reflect influence from earlier Chan monk painting and anticipates the later Zhe school manner, thus providing an important link between the two traditions. Interspersed among the landscape forms are eight poems with fifteen seals of Woyun Shanren 臥雲山人; following the painting are thirty-eight colophons all done at the request of Lian Chuan 連傳.²²

The second notable painting in the collection of the San Antonio Museum of Art is a hanging scroll by Lan Ying dated 1622, *Landscape after Zhao Mengfu* (fig. 4). The title derives from the artist's inscription, which is followed by two seals: *Tien-shu shi* and *Lan Ying yin*. Born in 1585 in Qiantang (Hangzhou), Zhejiang Province, Lan Ying grew up in an important metropolitan area that had been an artistic center for centuries. Because of his birthplace, he became known as one of the three masters of the Zhe school. Yet his painting style is not related to that of the Zhe school since Lan was primarily inspired by Huang Gongwang 黃公望.²³

During his early career, Lan studied the styles of many past masters, including Wang Wei 王維 (699–759), Dong Yuan 董源 (act. ca. 960–80), Fan Kuan 范寬 (act. ca. 990–1030), Mi Fu 米黻 (1051–1107), Li Tang 李唐, Zhao Mengfu

趙孟頫, and the Four Great Yuan Masters.²⁴ In this respect he was following the great late Ming artistic leader Dong Qichang in adopting the practice of *fang* 仿, stimulation of creativity by the specific style of an earlier master.²⁵ In his early twenties, Lan spent some time among the Songjiang circle of painters, whose most prominent member was Dong Qichang. This association may have inspired him to work in the *fang* mode.²⁶

Lan was a prolific artist whose early, middle, and late works can be clearly distinguished. *Landscape after Zhao Mengfu* is characteristic of his early phase, with brushwork that is "unobtrusive and sensitively descriptive,"²⁷ in contrast to his later works, in which "forms are presented with an emphasis on silhouette, strongly contoured in heavy line, shaped but untextured."²⁸

The National Palace Museum, Taipei, has a *Fanghu* album also dated 1622.²⁹ The eighth leaf, *Dark Pines and a Drifting Boat*, is inscribed "Using Zhao Mengfu's brushwork, Lan Ying" (fig. 5). Although the album leaf has a horizontal format, the two paintings share similar motifs and brushwork. In both the foreground is close to the viewer, with a pair of trees as the focal point. A tall pine and a deciduous tree direct the viewer's attention to the scholar(s) enjoying the scenery.



FIG. 5. Lan Ying, *Following Ancient Masters*, "Dark Pines and a Drifting Boat," 1622, album leaf, ink and color on silk, 32.4 × 55.7 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

The grouping together of trees of different species was typical of Zhao Mengfu, as is evident in his painting *East Mountain in Lake Dongting*.³⁰ In both works the mountain and rock forms display long, twisting texture strokes. Zhao used these in such paintings as *The Qiao and Hua Mountains*,³¹ inspired by the works of Dong Yuan and Juran that he encountered when he went north to work for the Mongol government in 1286. The San Antonio Museum of Art painting is a sensitive reinterpretation of the style of Zhao Mengfu.

Of the three museums under consideration, the Kimbell Art Museum has the most extensive collection of Chinese paintings. These ten works range in date from the Yuan to the Qing dynasty. Most of them are well known through publication.³² Two that are less known are a fourteenth-century *Pink and White Lotus* (AP 1984.19) and a *Landscape* by Gong Xian 龔賢 (1618–89) (AP 1985.12).

Pink and White Lotus (fig. 6) marks the continuation of a tradition dating back to the Song dynasty (960–1279), when large-scale compositions of lotus were painted to decorate Buddhist temples or palace halls. The best examples of this type are two pairs of paintings preserved in Japan at the Chion-in, Kyoto, and Tokyo National Museum.³³ A single hanging scroll dated to the thirteenth century is in the Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Köln.³⁴ A fourteenth-century pair is in the collection of the Hōmpo-ji, Kyoto;³⁵ another pair of that date is in the Tokyo National Museum.³⁶ Typical of most lotus paintings of this type, it bears neither the signature nor the seals of the artist, and dating must be done purely on stylistic grounds. The earlier portrayals of lotus are executed in slightly more refined brush strokes, and the arrangement of the plants is slightly more graceful and naturalistic. This particular work appears to date from sometime in the fourteenth century, during the Yuan or early Ming dynasty. It was probably originally part of a pair. A comparison of its composition with the pairs mentioned above suggests it would have been the left painting. The lotus plants lean slightly to the right, and the leaves are cut off at the left edge of the scroll. In the other extant pairs of lotus paintings, the lotus of the left-hand scroll leans more subtly, whereas the plants in the right-hand scroll are tilted more extremely to the left.

In the Kimbell scroll the magnificent, volumetric plant forms fill almost the entire picture plane

and command the viewer's attention. The elements of the lotus leaves, blossoms, and seed pods are shown just past their blooming peak, with some of the petals on the ground. The forms are extremely skillfully portrayed through fine, thin outlines and refined gradations of color. The upper and under sides of the leaves are distinguished by different shades of green. The various



FIG. 6. Anonymous, *Pink and White Lotus*, fourteenth century, hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 135.8 × 60.6 cm. Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, Texas.

views of the plant forms impart a lifelike, naturalistic quality to the painting. The only paintings comparable to this in American museum collections are a scroll in the Cleveland Museum of Art, *Peonies* (Yuan dynasty, late thirteenth century), and a pair in the Nelson-Atkins Museum, *Tree Peonies and Garden Rocks* (late Southern Song–early Yuan dynasty, thirteenth–fourteenth century).³⁷

The antithesis of the formal rendition of the *Lotus*, Gong Xian's *Landscape* (fig. 7) epitomizes the individualist painting tradition that flourished in the mid-seventeenth century just as the Ming dynasty ended and the Manchus came to power. Gong Xian was born in Kunshan, Jiangsu Province, but is most closely associated with Nanjing, where he spent most of his life. As an ardent Ming loyalist, he wandered for many years in south China during times of political turmoil, especially after the fall of Nanjing in 1645. He lived in the vicinity of Shanghai and Yangzhou, returning to Nanjing in late 1666.³⁸ He was well educated, an accomplished poet and calligrapher, but basically lived as an impoverished recluse.

The Kimbell painting is signed "Painted by Gong Xian, called Ban Qian while at a hostel in Han Jiang (Yangzhou)." It bears two artist's seals—*Gong Xian ji yin* and *Ban Qian*—and may have been painted when Gong Xian was in Yangzhou in 1651.³⁹ Gong is best known for his dark, brooding landscapes with strongly contrasting light and dark ink and blunt, angular brushstrokes. But the Kimbell painting is executed in the "white" manner, utilizing light ink tones and sparse, ascetic brushwork. During this period in Gong's stylistic development he was working in the linear mode practiced by Hongren 弘人 (1610–64) and late Ming landscape artists working in Nanjing as an extension of the Anhui school.⁴⁰

During his stay in Yangzhou in the 1650s and 1660s Gong was acquainted with various people from Anhui.⁴¹ His work was influenced by Yun Xiang 惲向 (1586–1655) and Zou Zhilin 鄒之麟 (ca. 1585–1654), artists of the Anhui school who belonged to Nanjing intellectual and artistic circles. Yun Xiang worked in the manner of Ni Zan 倪瓚 and Huang Gongwang; his paintings achieve lucidity and transparency through the restrained use of ink. Zou Zhilin was also inspired by Huang Gongwang and painted in a strongly linear, reductive style.⁴² Gong Xian's interest in and understanding of the Anhui style is documented in an inscription on a handscroll in the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University.⁴³



FIG. 7. Gong Xian, *Landscape*, ca. 1650, hanging scroll, ink on silk, 276.2 × 56.5 cm. Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, Texas.

Unfortunately, the comments and painting are not dated, so it is impossible to relate them chronologically to the Kimbell scroll. Gong's connection with Anhui artists continued over a long period of time. He collaborated with Wu Ding 吳定 (act. ca. 1640s) on an album in the late 1640s. An album dated 1663 contains a leaf by Gong Xian as well as one by Hongren.⁴⁴

The Kimbell *Landscape* is related to the Anhui style through its minimal use of texture strokes and the angularity of its contour lines for the rocks. Within the tall, narrow ($79 \times 17\frac{1}{4}$ inches) scroll most of the compositional elements are oriented around the central vertical axis. The foreground is established by ghostly trees outlined in pale strokes with very few leaves and minimal texture strokes to represent bark. The shapes of the trunks and arrangement of the branches resemble those in other paintings of the 1650s, published by James Cahill in his pioneering study of Gong Xian's early style.⁴⁵ The rock forms are outlined and their volume suggested by a moderate application of dots in varying shades of gray. Described with outlines only, an empty pavilion anchors the middle distance, framed at the front and back by pine trees. In the background the rock forms culminate in a craggy mountain mass. The repetition of fairly dark ink dots from the foreground to the background unifies the picture's surface and leads the viewer from the bottom to the top of the scroll. There is no arresting contrast between dark and light tones, simply a subtle but effective gradual shading of ink tones to build up the forms to a point of visual credibility. Gong Xian was primarily inspired by nature itself rather than the paintings of earlier masters.⁴⁶ This painting succeeds in capturing the

essence of a natural scene through the structure and volume of the rock forms, slight recession back into space, and variety of trees.

This group of Chinese paintings collected by three Texas museums range in date from the fourteenth to the mid-eighteenth century and represent a variety of artistic traditions. The anonymous artist who painted *Pink and White Lotus* was a professional painter working for a Buddhist or court patron. Bian Shoumin, Lan Ying, and Gong Xian were all scholar-amateur painters whose primary goal was the expressive use of brush and ink. Yao Guangxiao and Dong Bangda were both associated with the court but were not court painters as such. Four of the six works were inspired by earlier artists or traditions. *Pink and White Lotus* is part of the lineage of formal portrayals of this symbolic plant. Yao's *Landscape in Contemplation* is an important transitional link between the spontaneous Chan tradition and later works by the Zhe school masters. Lan Ying's work specifically adopts the manner of Zhao Mengfu, while Dong Bangda states that he is working in the mode of Li Tang. Four of the paintings are rare examples of their particular genre. *Pink and White Lotus* is one of a few early academic paintings of flowers. The scrolls by Lan Ying and Gong Xian are unusual because of their early execution within each artist's career. Yao Guangxiao's *Landscape* is the only landscape by him known at the present time. The Chinese paintings in Texas museum collections are worthy of the thorough study advocated by Richard Edwards. As his students continue to expand the information available about Chinese paintings as he has done, his teaching will have an ever-increasing impact on this rich field of study.

Notes

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4. Alice R. M. Hyland, "Oriental Galleries London. San Antonio. Chicago," *Apollo* 2 (1993): 110–14.
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6. Howard Rogers and Sherman E. Lee, *Masterworks of Ming and Qing Painting from the Forbidden City* (Lansdale: International Arts Council, 1988), 197–98.
7. Rogers and Lee, *Masterworks*, 194.
8. Object file, The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston.
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10. Wen C. Fong et al., *Images of the Mind: Selections from the Edward L. Elliott Family and John B. Elliott Collections of Chinese Calligraphy and Painting at The Art Museum, Princeton University* (Princeton: The Art Museum, Princeton University, 1984), 466–74.
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13. Arthur W. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1943), 792.
14. Yang Boda, "The Development of the Ch'ien-lung (Qianlong) Painting Academy," paper presented at the international symposium, "Words and Images: Chinese Poetry, Calligraphy and Painting," New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1985, 36.
15. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, 24.
16. She Cheng, "An Overview of Stylistic Development in the Qianlong Painting Academy," in *Chinese Painting under the Qianlong Emperor*, ed. Ju-hsi Chou and Claudia Brown (Phoenix: Arizona State University, 1988), 75–77.
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18. L. Carrington Goodrich and Chaoying Fang, eds., *Dictionary of Ming Biography* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), 2:1561–65.
19. Goodrich and Fang, *Dictionary*, 2:602–8.
20. *Chung-kuo ku-hua chi* (Hong Kong, 1966), pl. 148.
21. Richard Barnhart, "The 'Wild and Heterodox School' of Ming Painting," in *Theories of the Arts in China*, ed. Susan Bush and Christian Murck (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 365, 370.
22. Christie's, *Fine Chinese Paintings and Calligraphy* (New York, 3 June 1987), 79.
23. *Style Transformed: A Special Exhibition of Works by Five Late Ming Artists* (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1977), 32.
24. *Style Transformed*, 33.
25. *Heritage of the Brush: The Roy and Marilyn Papp Collection of Chinese Painting* (Phoenix: Phoenix Art Museum, 1989), 42.
26. James Cahill, *The Distant Mountains: Chinese Painting of the Late Ming Dynasty, 1560–1644* (New York: Weatherhill, 1982), 181–82.
27. Cahill, *Distant Mountains*, 185.
28. Cahill, *Distant Mountains*, 184.
29. *Style Transformed*, 291.
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THE DEPARTMENT OF THE HISTORY OF ART
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

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THE DEPARTMENT OF THE HISTORY OF ART
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Volume 26 1996

Freer Gallery of Art

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EDITORIAL OFFICES: The Department of the History of Art, Tappan Hall, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48109-1357.

The full text of *Ars Orientalis* is also available in the electronic versions of the *Art Index*.

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ISSN 0571-1371
Printed in the United States of America
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THE PRICE SHUTEN DŌJI SCREENS: A STUDY OF VISUAL NARRATIVE

By QUITMAN EUGENE PHILLIPS

THE 1990 PUBLICATION OF VIDYA DEHEJIA'S ARTICLE, "On Modes of Visual Narration in Early Buddhist Art" was a welcome event for students of visual narrative.¹ Her elaborate and thoughtful taxonomy, based on early Indian Buddhist narrative reliefs and paintings, formed a significant addition to a growing body of narratological scholarship in art history.² Dehejia's article reminded us of the need to give visual narration the same kind of attention granted to other aspects of pictures. I have taken up a part of that task in this article by offering a detailed analysis of the narrative structure in a single pair of Japanese six-fold screens depicting the *Tale of Shuten Dōji* in the Price Collection in Los Angeles. I began this project by attempting to produce a useful complement to Dehejia's attempts to map out broad categories. But my investigation of the Price screens and related works led me increasingly farther away from Dehejia in my approach to visual narrative. Therefore, I would like to preface my analysis with a direct critical response to Dehejia's work and an introduction to further issues raised by the extraordinarily rich body of narrative painting in Japan.

My original plan for this introduction called for explicating key similarities and differences in the Indian and Japanese works and suggesting ways in which Dehejia's taxonomy might be modified to fit the corpus of Japanese narrative paintings. The author herself had adapted freely from Western studies and implied a certain universality to her categories, so further adaptation seemed a logical next step. In the course of research and reflection, however, I came to question the value of such an undertaking. Doubts arose in part out of a natural recognition of the vast and obvious differences in the bodies of material under study, differences that go far beyond national boundaries. Where Dehejia's article addressed pictorializations of canonical sacred texts in sacred settings, my work has focused on the illustrations of the noncanonical, local religious stories and secular tales that make up the majority of Japanese narrative paintings. If her set of categories came to seem too clear-cut and restrictive for my material, she was, after all,

working in a more clearly defined and apparently conservative genre. In larger part, however, a growing general distrust of the taxonomic enterprise motivated me to reconsider Dehejia's work as even a starting point for creating a more flexible set of categories.

Regular Holes for Irregular Pegs

In creating her taxonomy, Dehejia took terms in common use among students of narrative painting and sculptural relief and gave them more precise meaning as the labels of two modes of monoscenic narrative and five modes of multiscenic narrative: "synoptic narrative," "conflated narrative," "continuous narrative," "linear narrative," and "narrative networks." For the sake of brevity, I address only the final three to give a clearer understanding of the distinctions Dehejia was making. She defined "continuous narrative" and "linear narrative" as related but fundamentally different. What links them is the representation of the "protagonist" at different times and places in an order that clearly indicates the direction of temporal and spatial movement. In other words, a regular arrangement of depicted events allows the viewer to "follow the story" in a sequence of pictures without great difficulty. What distinguishes the linear mode from the continuous is the inclusion of framing motifs, such as strategically placed trees and pillars, to separate one time frame from the next. Narrative networks, in contrast to both linear and continuous narratives, present multiple events over a broad surface with little indication of a prescribed order of viewing. Independent knowledge of the story must guide the viewer.³

The examples Dehejia presents make her taxonomic scheme appear reasonably sufficient to describe the sacred narrative reliefs she addresses. Applying her categories to Japanese narrative paintings, however, raises innumerable difficulties, most obviously in trying to make consistent and meaningful distinctions between continuous and linear narrative. In nearly every Japanese handscroll painting, distance, clouds, landscape,

and architecture articulate spatial and temporal change in richly diverse ways. Sections of text act as primary partitioning elements as they mark off pictorial segments. Within such segments, cloud motifs serve as internal punctuation rather than as simple framing devices. Elements of landscape and architecture make up settings far more elaborately developed than in Dehejia's examples of early Indian reliefs and, as a consequence, seldom stand out forcefully as deliberately inserted partitioning motifs. They articulate change rather than frame it.

A drawing after a short segment of the illustrated handscroll *The Tale of the Demon Shuten Dōji*⁴ (*Shuten Dōji emaki* 酒天童子絵巻), painted in 1522 (fig. 1) by Kano Motonobu 狩野元信 (1476–1559), provides a good example. (This segment is defined by the sections of text that come before and after it in the work itself.) Within it we see the same figures (the “protagonists”) three times as they travel through the mountains from right to left. Cloud motifs separate their first appearance (on the far right) almost completely from the others, with only a narrow gap maintaining a minimum of continuity. The second and third views of the figures (on the left) are much closer to each other but located on either side of a large rock formation. We can read the clouds and the rock formation as framing devices and the segment as a “linear narrative,” but that hardly takes into account the narrative subtleties of the picture. For example, the distance between the first view of the figures and the second alone suggests a journey of some length. Following long-standing handscroll conventions, however, the clouds convey to the viewer that the distance traveled and/or the time expended went well beyond the effective limits of direct scale representation.⁵ In contrast, the large rock formation in the foreground to the left, without the aid of clouds and greater distance between motifs, suggests that the two events it separates are in close temporal proximity.⁶

Furthermore, its firm integration into the larger landscape encourages a sense of continuity.

Within any handscroll segment, in fact, there can be a dramatic shift from what Dehejia might label “continuous” narration to what she might call “linear.” We simply cannot classify the great majority of Japanese narrative handscrolls, or even segments of them, according to these categories. We can only use the term “linear” to describe the long, narrow handscroll format itself and the usual sequential ordering of events within that format.

Not all Japanese visual narratives are linear in that sense: a number are painted on broad surfaces, and some might fit Dehejia's category “narrative networks.” Again, however, the category does not encompass the complexity and diversity of the Japanese cases. The most common broad format is a pair of six-fold screens (e.g., figs. 6–9), which usually manifest one of three compositional tendencies: 1) a few scenes are extracted from a longer linear (i.e., handscroll) narrative, adapted, blown up, and placed in individual cloud-framed settings without regard to temporal relationships;⁷ 2) many more scenes are extracted, depicted in individual cloud-framed settings, and arranged in a clear temporal sequence, such as in a series of columns going from right to left;⁸ and 3) a large number of events are arranged according to the location where they occur within a broad, geographically unified setting with little regard for temporal relationships. Screens illustrating scenes of battle are the most common examples of the third tendency, as in the *Battle of Ichinotani* 一の谷 (fig. 2).⁹ The majority of narrative screens adhere closely to one of these tendencies, but not all do. The screens examined in the case study below represent striking alternatives.

Clearly, Dehejia's taxonomy of modes cannot be adopted as a universal schema, but is there perhaps some benefit in developing a more complex one better suited to Japanese pictorial

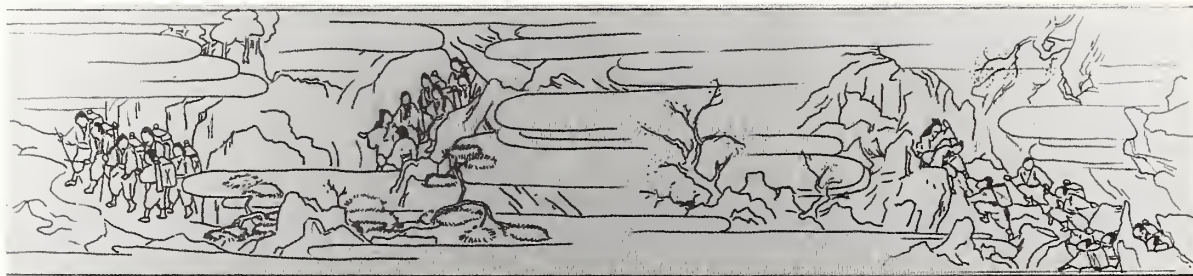


FIG. 1. Drawing after Kano Motonobu, *Shuten Dōji emaki*, ca. 1522. Set of three handscrolls, colors on paper, height 33.1 cm, lengths 1751.4, 2098.7, and 2789.1 cm. Suntory Museum of Art, Tokyo.

narration? It seems to me that there is more danger than benefit. Once created, a taxonomy gains a pernicious life of its own; we constantly reify its categories when we look at objects, asking, “which is it?” rather than “what is it, and how can I most accurately describe and explain it?”¹⁰ A taxonomic viewpoint constantly trims irregular pegs to fit regular holes. The labels of taxonomies such as Dehejia’s also beg the question of what is being described. That is, what exactly about a picture or carving is “continuous” or “linear”?

On the other hand, dissatisfaction with such categories does not vitiate the value of a better technical language for discussing visual narration. Art historians do, after all, have reasonably precise, widely shared vocabularies for discussing other aspects of pictures, such as color, spatial development, and modeling. Similarly, without creating a new taxonomy, it should be possible to define for narrative terms that describe specific aspects of narrative paintings (or reliefs) and to emphasize that such description is subject to qualification. The terms below are offered as a starting point:

setting(s)	unified/continuous partitioned juxtaposed
organization of scenes	linear planar geographical
scene interrelation	tightly sequential loosely sequential episodic

A more detailed explanation of usage begins with the fundamental distinction between “setting” and “scene,” which amounts to no more than the difference between a place and an action or event that occurs there.¹¹ A change of scene usually indicates a change in time, but not always, because “scenes” are not strictly defined here as the several actions of a single protagonist or group of protagonists, as in Dehejia’s study. Simultaneous actions by different agents may therefore be depicted as separate scenes.

The terms used to describe settings also lend themselves to straightforward explanation. To begin with, “continuous” and “unified” both describe single settings containing multiple scenes but are offered as alternatives because of the fundamental difference between linear and planar pictorial formats. As viewers unroll and reroll their way through a handscroll painting with long, unbroken stretches of landscape, for example, they generally move through time as a sequence of events as well as through space (see figs. 1 and 4). The description “continuous” therefore seems particularly appropriate. In contrast, an unbroken panorama on a broad surface actually works against temporally linear readings, so the term “unified” is more appropriate (see fig. 2). Yet the settings of Japanese multiscenic narrative paintings are not usually unbroken, uninterrupted expanses. Bands of gold cloud often effectively subdivide a single broad setting or partition one smaller setting from another (see fig. 9). In some cases, settings are juxtaposed with only elements of landscape and architecture to articulate the discontinuity (see fig. 6 top, detail 2).

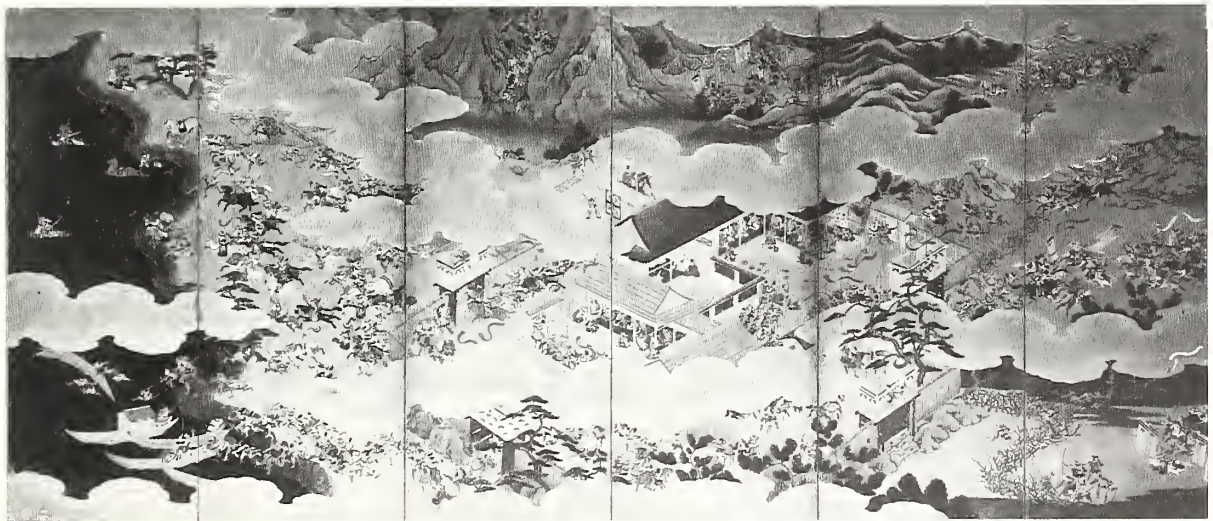


FIG. 2. Kano House, *Heike Monogatari: Battles of Ichinotani and Yashima*, right screen (*Ichinotani*), seventeenth century. Pair of six-fold screens, colors and gold on paper, 151.5 × 363 cm. Courtesy of the Saitama Prefectural Museum.

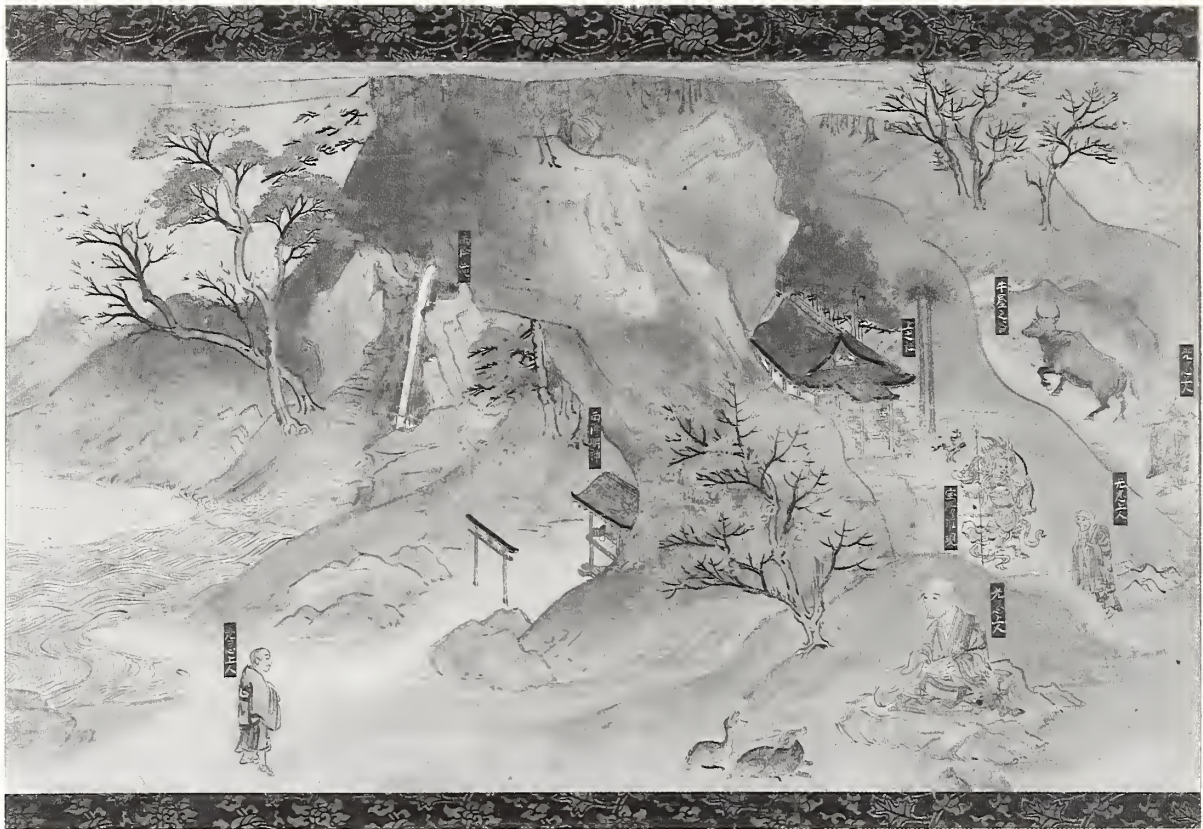


FIG. 3. Anon., *Jinōji-engi*, fourteenth century. Hanging scroll (section of a handscroll), ink, color, and gold on paper, 34.2 × 55.8 cm. Avery Brundage Collection. Courtesy Asian Art Museum of San Francisco.



FIG. 4a. (Drawing after) Takashina Takakane, attr., *Genjō Sanzō e*, scroll 1, segment 5 (Xuanzhuang's horse collapses; his companions stay behind), fourteenth century. Set of twelve hanging scrolls, colors on paper, average height 40.4 cm. Fujita Art Museum, Osaka.



FIG. 4b. (Drawing after) Takashina Takakane, attr., *Genjō Sanzō e*, scroll 1, segment 6 (Xuanzhuang instructs a barbarian in the precepts; an old man has him exchange his horse for a barbarian one).

Scene organization obviously bears some relation to the format of a painting, but the overlap is far from complete. An organization is linear if it gives a clear indication of scene sequence; linear formats, such as handscrolls and friezes, naturally tend to restrict scene organization in such a manner. Planar formats, such as walls, ceilings, and screens, allow organization in multiple directions and even an organization that has little or nothing to do with temporal, narrative relationships. The linearity of a format does not, however, automatically lead to a wholly linear organization of the narrative. A section of a wide handscroll may contain a small group of scenes arranged in two dimensions as if on a screen. For example, a very short handscroll fragment in the Asian Art Museum in San Francisco shows the protagonist in several locations without making their sequence completely clear to the viewer unfamiliar with the story (fig. 3). Likewise, a planar format may contain scenes whose progression stands out quite clearly. Scene arrangement may, for example, conform to conventional patterns of reading (up to down and right to left in Japan; see fig. 6 top, detail 2). In the most extreme case, special motifs may divide the surface into a series of rows or columns, as mentioned above. At the other extreme is the purely geographical organization also discussed above, which depends on place rather than time. Large, spatially unified panoramas provide the setting for numerous scenes placed according to their location rather than their sequence. Scenes in what I call planar organization conform to the demands of neither temporal sequence nor

location but follow, at least in part, some alternate principle (see below for a detailed discussion of one example).

Scene interrelation is an issue largely distinct from scene organization, being a matter of degree rather than basic pattern. At one extreme, a group of scenes may form a tight chronological sequence and offer a detailed representation of several actions that make up a single event, such as a brief journey. We see this interrelation clearly in the fifth and sixth pictorial segments of the first scroll of *The Illustrated Travels of Xuanzhuang in India* (*Genjō Sanzō e* 玄奘三藏絵, fig. 4), which focus on the weakness of his horse and companions (seg. 5, fig. 4a) and the kindness of an old man in exchanging a better horse for the priest's (seg. 6, fig. 4b). At the other extreme, the narration may appear to be episodic, with little sense of a logical sequence, as between the second and third pictorial segments of *The Illustrated Pillow Book* (*Makura no sōshi e* 枕の草子絵, fig. 5). In the second, Sei Shōnagon 清少納言, the author, has impressed several courtiers with her knowledge of Chinese literature through a witty remark (fig. 5a). In the third, Retired Emperor Ichijō 一条院 sits with his consort, who has in front of her the Chinese lute (*biwa* 琵琶) he has given her (fig. 5b). Whatever narrative connection there may be belongs to the subtleties of the text and does not come out readily in the illustrations. At various points between the two extremes just described, a relatively small group of scenes may span various periods of time, as in the life of a saint, and provide at times only a loosely sequential summary. It is important to

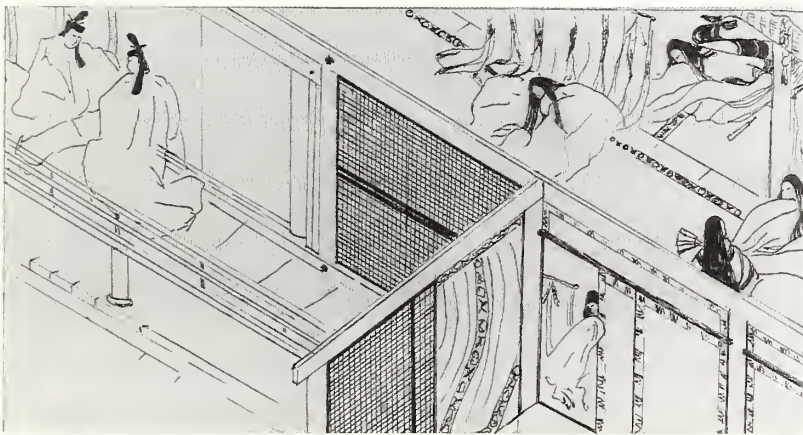


FIG. 5. (Drawing after) Anon., *Makura no sōshi e*, a (above): segment 2 (Sei Shōnagon winning applause for her erudition in Chinese literature); b (right): segment 3 (Retired Emperor Ichijō in and consort with *biwa* called *mumyō*).

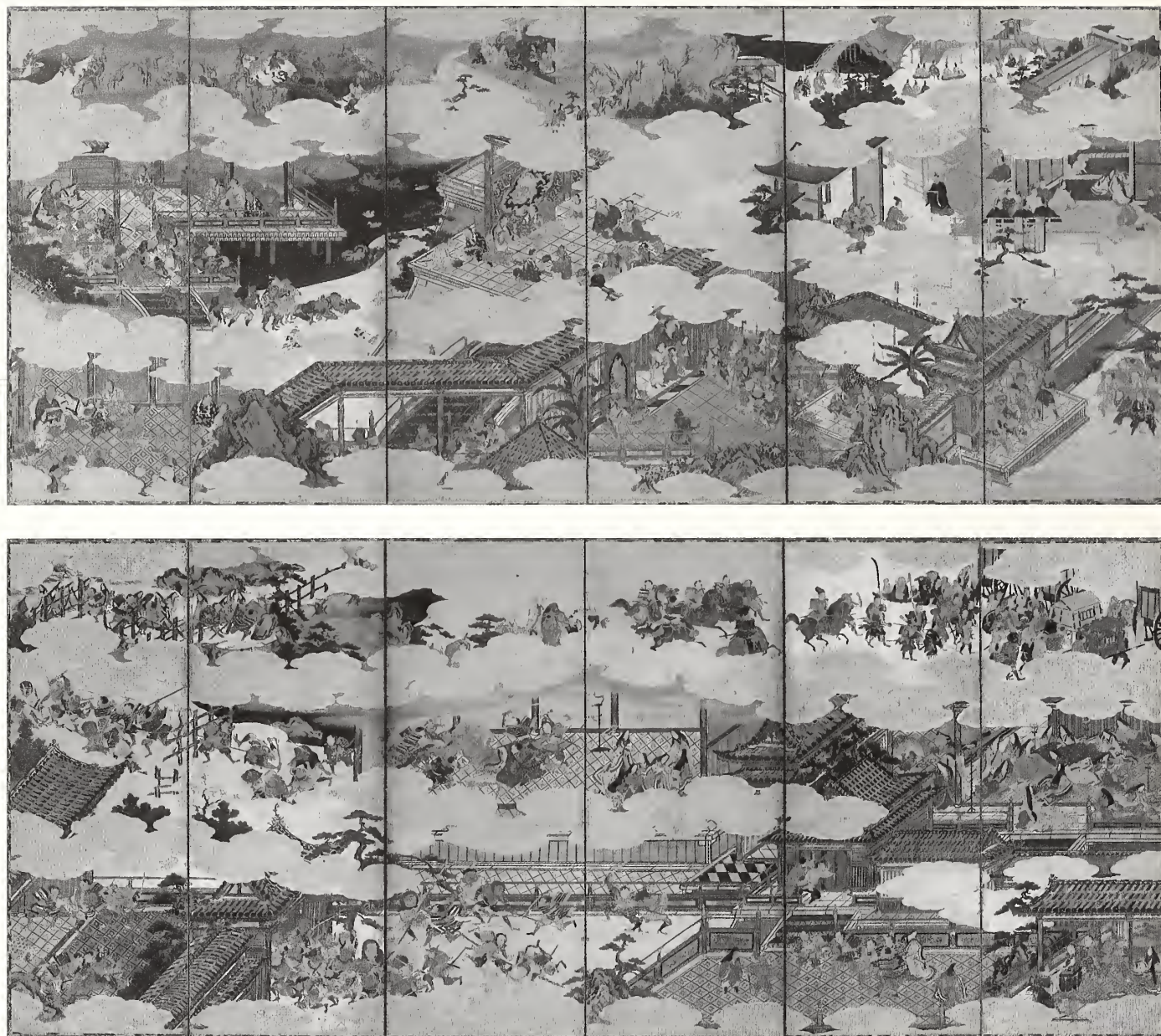


FIG. 6. Anonymous, *Shuten Dōji Ogre Tale*, Japan, mid-seventeenth century, right screen (top), left screen (bottom). Pair of six-fold screens, colors and gold on paper, each 155. 2 × 359 cm. Etsuko and Joe Price Collection. Photo courtesy of Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

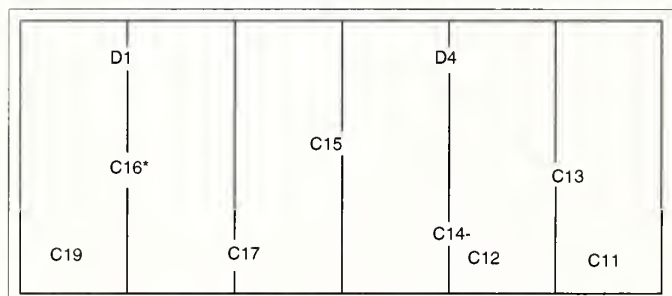


DIAGRAM 2. Scene arrangement of left Price *Shuten Dōji* screen.

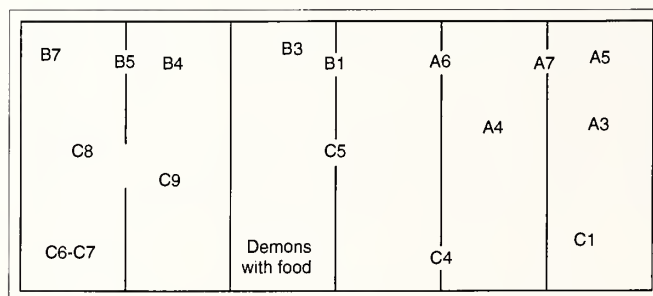
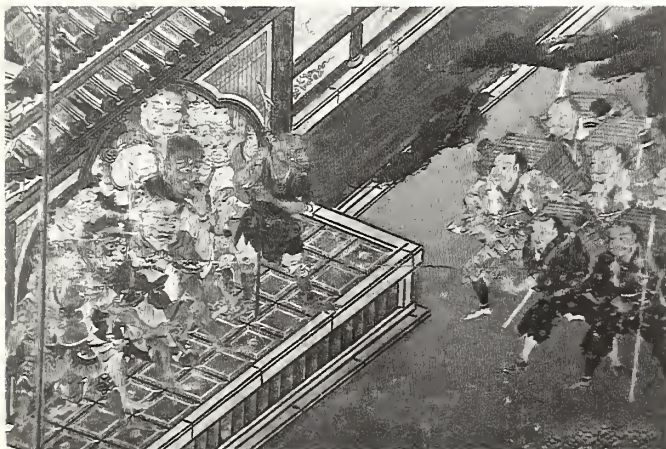
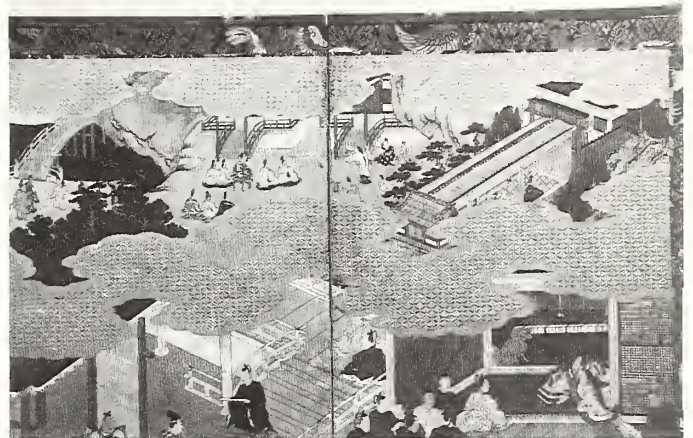


DIAGRAM 1. Scene arrangement of right Price *Shuten Dōji* screen.

remember, however, that most complex works shift radically in degree of sequentiality among their scenes.

This start toward a technical vocabulary in no way exhausts all that is worth considering in visual narratives. Rather, it supplements a large body of terms already in place for discussing pictures

and stories, and even then it does not directly address text/image relationships, a key concern to art historians with narratological interests. My goal is simply to lend some precision to descriptions of pictorial narrative structure and thereby to lay the foundation for more nuanced readings of multiscenic narrative pictures.



Details of fig. 6, right screen: 1 (top left), 2 (top right), 3 (middle left), 4 (middle right), 5 (bottom left), 6 (bottom right).



Details of fig. 6, right screen (*continued*): 7 (top left), 8 (top right), 9 (bottom left), 10 (bottom right).

Shuten Dōji: A Case Study

To illuminate the distinctive nature of individual visual narratives, I will examine two particularly fine examples of six-fold screens in American collections. The Price Collection of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (fig. 6) and the Sackler Gallery of the Smithsonian Institution (fig. 7) each owns an anonymous pair of Japanese screens bearing a multiscenic illustration of the popular tale *Shuten Dōji*, in which warriors from the capital conquer a demon. I will focus primarily on the Price screens, using the Sackler screens for comparison.

Stylistic evidence indicates that the painter of the Price screens was a member or student of an atelier in the Kano House. The chief Kano patriarch, Motonobu, established authoritative precedents for illustrating the tale when he and his assistants painted a handscroll version around 1522 (fig. 1).¹² Details of brushwork and spatial organization in the Price screens suggest

a dating of about a century later, just after the time of Motonobu's great-grandsons, Mitsunobu 狩野光信 (1565–1608) and Takanobu 狩野孝信 (1571–1618).¹³ The Sackler screens follow them by up to a half-century¹⁴ and do not follow Kano compositional prototypes closely.

The Shuten Dōji Story

Shuten Dōji belongs to a group of medieval narrative works known as *otogi zōshi* 御伽草子.¹⁵ The fairy-tale-like nature of many of the stories caused commentators earlier in this century to dismiss them as tales to amuse the unsophisticated. More recent scholars have taken the etymological connection between *otogi zōshi* and *otogi shū* 御伽衆 (intimate retainers of feudal lords) as a starting point for revising our understanding of the stories' historical function, suggesting that these tales were read by certain retainers to amuse and educate their feudal masters.¹⁶ As early as 1955, Ichiko

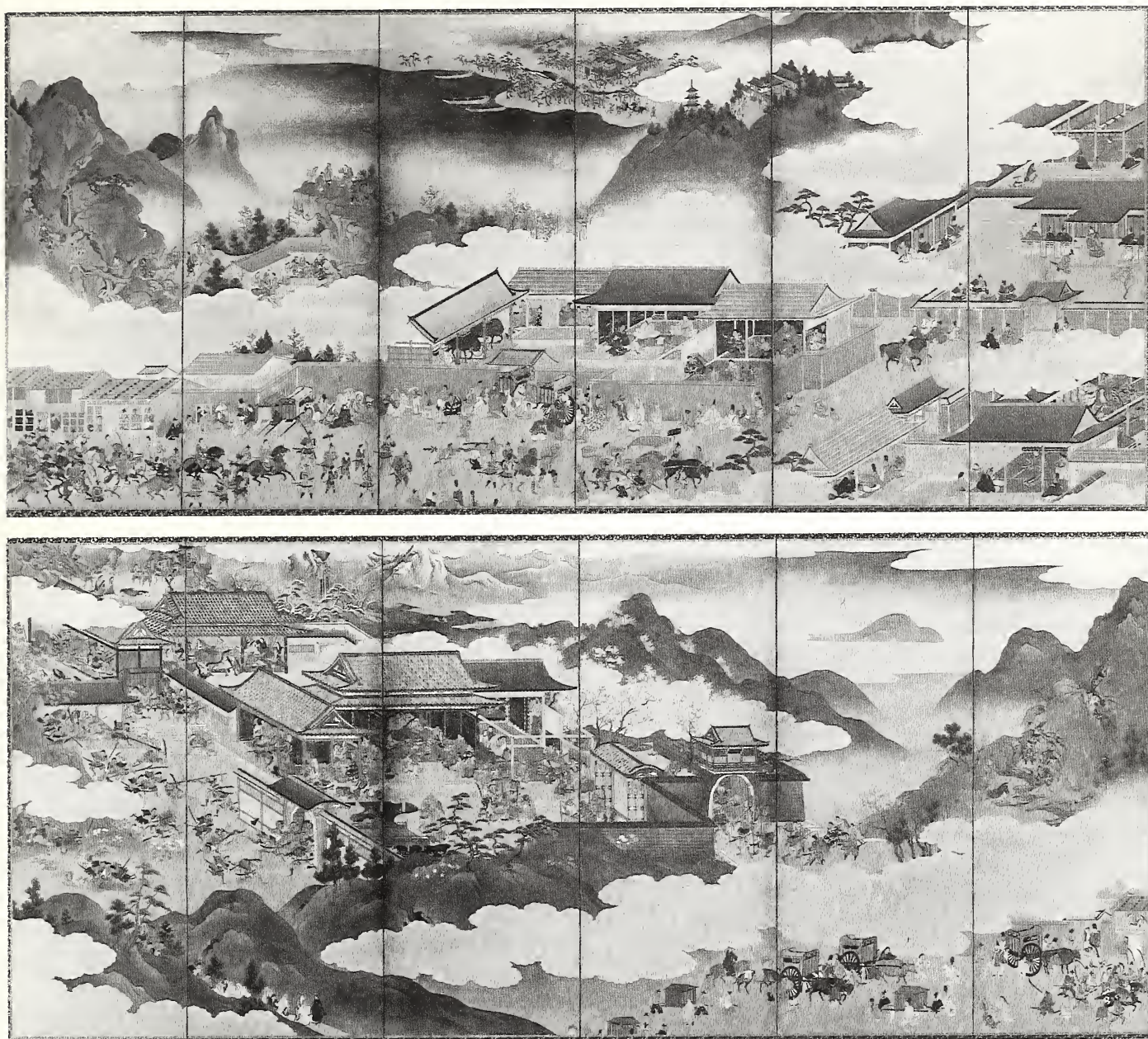


FIG. 7. Anon., *Shuten Dôji Ogre Tale*, seventeenth century, right screen (top), left screen (bottom). Pair of six-fold screens, colors and gold on paper, each 172 × 373 cm. Courtesy Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.

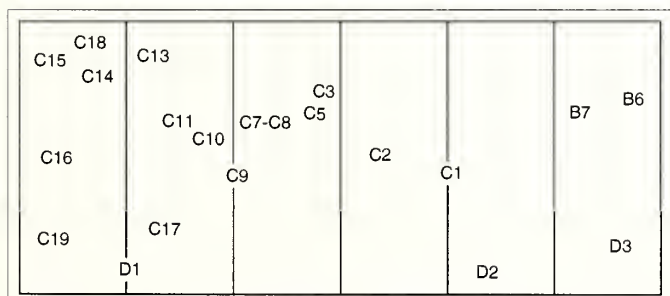


DIAGRAM 4. Scene arrangement of left Sackler *Shuten Dôji* screen.

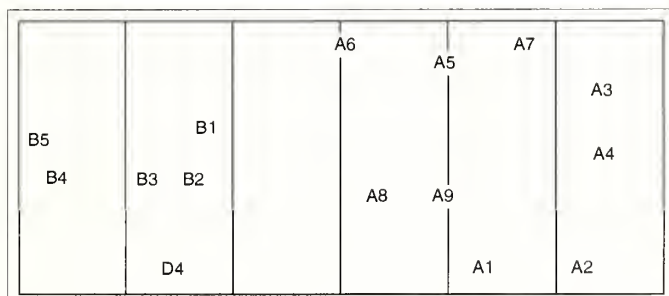


DIAGRAM 3. Scene arrangement of right Sackler *Shuten Dôji* screen.

Teiji 市古貞次 offered as evidence the fact that those who transcribed the tales were members of the nobility, educated samurai, intellectual recluses, and Buddhist monks. He suggested that authorship probably lay in the same classes.¹⁷ It does not necessarily follow, of course, that readers of the tales belonged to those same groups. The poverty of the court aristocracy during the middle and late medieval period frequently caused its members to put their calligraphic and literary talents to commercial use. The most one can say is that the *otogi zōshi* appear to have had a wide and varied audience.

The *Shuten Dōji* tale is often thought of as existing in two versions, *Ōeyama* 大江山 *Shuten Dōji* and *Ibukiyama* 伊吹山 *Shuten Dōji*.¹⁸ The situation is, however, somewhat more complicated. The name *Ibukiyama Shuten Dōji* actually denotes two very different sets of texts. One type recounts the origin of the ogre in Ibukiyama, relating how he wanders from place to place until settling down in Ōeyama. The other type is essentially the same as *Ōeyama Shuten Dōji*. Only names and certain details differ; most notably the name of the mountain where the ogre has his stronghold is Ibukiyama rather than Ōeyama. This second type of *Ibukiyama Shuten Dōji* text serves as the source for all of the Kano handscroll illustrations and is thus the basis for later Kano adaptations to the screen format without texts.¹⁹ A substantial summary of the story based on that textual tradition follows.²⁰ (In the summary episodes illustrated in Motonobu's handscrolls, the Price screens, and/or the Sackler screens are designated A1 to A9, B1 to B7, C1 to C19, and D1 to D5. The letters represent basic units of the narrative: A—preliminary events in the capital and environs, B—the journey through the mountains, C—events at the demon's stronghold, and D—the return. Diagrams 1–4 chart the episodes on the two screen versions.)

Japan was in a period of great prosperity, but a strange calamity threatened the capital. Young women were disappearing mysteriously. When the treasured daughter of Lord Middle Counselor Ikeda Kunikata 池田国方²¹ vanished, he called upon his diviner to find out what had happened to her. His diviner cast fortunes for seven days and seven nights (A1) and finally reported that a demon named Shuten Dōji (Drunken Acolyte) held her captive in his stronghold in Ibukiyama (A2). Kunikata immediately took the matter to the emperor and his advisors (A3). One advisor

noted that in the past, when such a problem had occurred, they had called upon the great Buddhist monk Kōbō Daishi 弘法大師 (Kūkai 空海, 774–835) to drive the demon away with incantations. Since no such monk was living, the advisors recommended turning to the military prowess of Minamoto no Yorimitsu 源の頼光 (Raikō 頼光, 994?–1075), so the emperor summoned Raikō to court and commissioned him to subjugate the demon (A4). At his mansion, Yorimitsu met with his four followers known as the Shitenno 四天王 (Four Heavenly Kings—so called after the powerful Buddhist deities who guard the four directions). Because they were to face a supernatural enemy, Yorimitsu divided the men into pairs and had them visit their ancestral shrines to pray for aid. Yorimitsu himself went alone to Iwashimizu Hachiman 岩清水八幡 (A5), Tsuna 綱 and Kintoki 公時 to Sumiyoshi 住吉 (A6), and Sadamitsu 貞光 and Suetake 末武 to Kumano 熊野 shrines (A7).

At Yorimitsu's suggestion, the five companions invited another warrior named Hōshō 保昌 to join them (A8). The six then took the guise of *yama-bushi* 山伏 (ascetic mountain priests) and hid their favored weapons and armor in their alms boxes (A9).²² They then proceeded into the mountains, where they lost their way and wandered for a time in a daze. Finally, they came upon a ravine, where they met three men (B1), whom they believed at first to be demons in disguise. At last convinced otherwise, the warriors accompanied the three to their dwelling place in the mountains. There Yorimitsu served the sake they had brought from the capital (B2). The three said that they too were there to take vengeance on the demon and would aid the warriors. The one who seemed oldest was the obvious leader. The three gave Yorimitsu a helmet that would prevent the demons from seeing his thoughts and poison sake that would incapacitate the chief demon and his demonic retinue (B3).

Yorimitsu realized that these three were neither demons nor ordinary men. The three volunteered to accompany the warriors on their quest and took the lead when the group set out. They leaped over an impassable crevasse and pushed over a great tree to make a bridge for the warriors to cross (B4). They climbed cliffs with superhuman skill as they led the way to a cavern entrance (B5). When they had reached a stream after passing through the cave, the three advised the warriors to follow it up and told them that

they would aid them again in the demon's castle (B6). Then they vanished in a puff of smoke, and the warriors then knew for sure that they were manifestations of the deities of the three shrines they had visited.

Going upstream, the warriors came upon a young woman washing bloodied garments in a stream (B7). She told them that she and many other ladies were captives of demons who resided further upstream in a great castle with stone walls, iron gates, and a garden with one season in each of the four directions. Included among the many demons were four known as the Shitennō and two others in the forms of huge acolytes, Kana-guma Dōji 金熊童子 (Iron Bear Acolyte) and Ishi-guma Dōji 石熊童子 (Stone Bear Acolyte). The powerful leader of all the demons was called Shuten Dōji (Drunken Acolyte). She also told them about the suffering of the captive women. With horrifying regularity, the demons would seize one of the captive ladies and take her to a place called the "jail," where they pressed her body for blood. This they then served, calling it "sake." A magic potion kept the woman from dying, so that they could press her several times, but eventually they butchered her and served her flesh, calling it "fish." The woman at the river identified herself as the daughter of Nakanomikado no Hanazono 中御門の花園.

The warriors left the woman and made their way up to the gate, where a number of demons rushed out, eager to devour them (C1). But one of the demons reminded the others that their leader had ordered them to report anything very unusual, so they sent him word of the visitors (C2). At his command, they brought the warriors to a room to wait for his appearance (C3). The demon lord, Shuten Dōji, came in the guise of a giant acolyte accompanied by two lesser acolytes. His fearsomeness was beyond words (C4).

Later, Shuten Dōji reclined before the warriors in a nearby room. The men tried to convince him that they were not his enemies, and Yorimitsu, Hōshō, and Tsuna drank human blood and ate human flesh from a limb cut from one of the captured ladies when it was offered to them (C5). This surprised the demon lord, and he was pleased when they offered him sake from the capital. He did not know that it was poison and drank prodigiously, with the other demons joining in. He even called in his favorite ladies, the daughters of Kunikata and Hanazono (C6). After becoming quite befuddled, he told something of his history and related his fear of the one called

Yorimitsu and his companions. As he spoke, he suddenly realized that the men before him seemed to be the very ones he feared most, but in his confused state the warriors convinced him that they were not. The party continued, and one of the demons danced and sang a song that suggested the men would be eaten (C7). Yorimitsu's follower, Kintoki, answered the taunt with his own dance and a song suggesting that the demons' castle would be destroyed (C8). The demons, however, could not decipher his meaning and merely enjoyed the voice and the steps. Shuten Dōji retired, but the party continued, with the men pressing the poison sake on the demons. The demons became completely incapacitated (C9), and the warriors spoke with the two ladies about themselves and the situation in the castle (C10).

Then they put on their armor (C11), and the two ladies showed them the way to the demon lord's chamber (C12). When they looked in, they saw Shuten Dōji, revealed in his huge demonic form, being soothed of his distress from the wine by a group of captives (C13). The companions could not open the door, but the three deities appeared once more and forced it open after giving the warriors magic chains to bind the demon (C14). The companions bound Shuten Dōji as he slept and proceeded to strike him with their weapons. He sprang awake, breaking two of the chains, but the others held. Yorimitsu attacked his neck and on the third stroke severed it. The demon's head flew up into the air and came back down to kill Yorimitsu, but his magic helmet protected him (C15). The warriors then fought and defeated the demonic Shitennō (C16) and later the demons at the gate who had not drunk the poison sake (C17).

With the death of Shuten Dōji and the defeat of his demons, a spell was broken, and the towers and gardens of the castle changed back to natural stone. When they investigated the ruins, they found the remains of thousands of people: some only skeletons and others dried or pickled. They also found the remains of the daughter of Horie no Nakatsukasa 堀江の中務, whose limbs had served as "fish" that evening (C18). Finally, they fought and captured the two great demons, who like their master had the forms of giant acolytes (C19).

The companions made their way out of the territory of Shuten Dōji with more than thirty ladies (D1). As they arrived in the capital, the families of the returning ladies greeted them with

joy (D2). Only the Horie family was distraught when they found that their daughter had been killed (D3). The capital received the warriors as heroes as they marched on into the city (D4). Later the Horie family invited the ladies who had been closest to their daughter to come and tell them all that had happened. The ladies had brought back a lock of her hair (D5).

The Composition of the Screens

A review of table 1 suggests some immediate areas of contrast among scenes on Motonobu's scrolls, the Price screens, and the Sackler screens. To begin with, the Sackler screens (fig. 7, diagrams 3 and 4) illustrate the story much more fully than the handscrolls or the Price screens (fig. 6, diagrams 1 and 2) do. The lower half of Sackler panel one, for example, depicts several scenes at the residence of Kunikata, including the standard scene of the diviner's report (A2), which is omitted in the Price version. It offers in addition depictions of the actual divining (A1) and the anguish suffered by the lord's wife and ladies. The middle of the fourth panel contains a similarly detailed treatment of events occurring at the home of Yorimitsu. Along with the standard scene of the warriors taking on the guise of *yamabushi*, it depicts Hōshō joining the group (A8).

The matter goes well beyond inclusion or omission of scenes established in the text, however. The Sackler screens depict details independent of textual sources. At the residence of Yorimitsu, servants tend horses, check arrows, and sharpen swords—activities not mentioned in the text. Of course, the preparation of weapons represents a logical preliminary to the lord's departure, but the horses play no role in the story since the warriors travel through the mountains on foot. In either case, it is important to note that the inclusion of such details represents less an elaboration of the narrative than an elaboration of the setting. The painters were following standard practices for representing warrior residences developed in the medieval period.²³ The Sackler settings, in general, owe much of their detail and spatial organization to practices aimed toward the composition of well-developed land- and cityscapes. Each Sackler screen is dominated by one or two broadly unified settings in which multiple scenes are placed according to *where* rather than

when they occurred. Scene arrangement in this case is dominated by concerns for geographical coherence.

The Price screen compositions operate differently. They offer a strongly two-dimensional (i.e., planar) arrangement of sharply partitioned and juxtaposed settings of varying size, complexity, and continuity. Horizontal bands of gold cloud serve as primary partitioning motifs along the vertical axis, while various elements of landscape and architecture articulate horizontal juxtapositions. Narrative sequence is one of several factors that determine the planar scene organization.

The Price and Sackler screens, in fact, represent strikingly different approaches to the coordination of scene and setting, and the treatment of iterative settings makes this fundamental difference even clearer. According to the text, for example, the scenes of eating and drinking with the demons (C6–C9) should all occur in the same room. In the handscroll illustrations, that setting is simply repeated three times as the viewer unrolls from scene to scene. On panels four and five of the left Sackler screen (fig. 7 bottom), in contrast, those scenes are set in a cluster of rooms within an architecturally continuous structure. This runs counter to the text and even to the logic of the story but preserves the geographical coherence of the unified setting. In contrast, the right Price screen (fig. 6 top) offers a compromise between narrative and geographic concerns in its depiction of the same sequence on panels five and six. The serving of poison sake (C6) and the taunting of the demons (C7) are conflated as one scene that takes place in the lower left corner (detail 9). The taunting of Kintoki (C8) and the incapacitation of the demons (C9) takes place above (detail 10). As in the Sackler screens, these take place in separate subsettings but not simply in different parts of a coherent architectural whole. While the pavilion above does link with the rest of the architecture of the stronghold, the room below does not. Since it should be the same room as that above, it is treated as an anomaly—presented in a different scale and its disjuncture articulated by the placement of a massive rock to the right. This type of articulation of a disjuncture in setting comes out of the handscroll painting tradition.²⁴

The fact that both the Price and Sackler screens illustrate the same story, but do so quite differently, presents an ideal opportunity to

TABLE 1. Corresponding Scenes on the Motonobu Scrolls, Price Screens, and Sackler Screens

<i>Motonobu Scrolls</i>	<i>Price Screens</i>	<i>Sackler Screens</i>		
–	–	Y	A1	The diviner casts fortunes.
Y	–	Y	A2	The diviner reports to Kunikata, and (Sackler) Kunikata's wife and her maids grieve.
Y	Y	Y	A3	The Lord Middle Counselor Ikeda Kunikata supplicates the emperor.
Y	Y	Y	A4	Yorimitsu receives an imperial commission to slay the demon, and (Sackler) attendants wait outside.
Y	Y	Y	A5	Yorimitsu visits (Iwashimizu) Hachiman Shrine.
Y	Y	Y	A6	Tsuna and Kintoki visit Sumiyoshi Shrine.
Y	Y	Y	A7	Sadamitsu and Suetake visit Kumano Shrine.
–	–	Y	A8	Hōshō joins Yorimitsu and the Shitennō.
Y	–	Y	A9	The warriors take the guise of <i>yamabushi</i> and hide their weapons in their packs.
Y	Y	Y	B1	The warriors meet the three gods in the mountains.
Y	–	Y	B2	Yorimitsu serves wine to the gods.
Y	Y	Y	B3	The warriors receive the magic helmet and wine.
Y	Y	Y	B4	The gods help the warriors cross a ravine.
Y	*	Y	B5	The gods help the warriors up the steep cliff and lead them into the cavern.
Y	–	Y	B6	The gods lead the warriors out of the cavern and point the way to the stream they must follow.
Y	Y	Y	B7	The warriors meet a woman washing at a stream.
Y	Y	Y	C1	The warriors arrive at the gate of Shuten Dōji.
Y	**	Y	C2	Demons run to inform their lord.
Y	***	Y	C3	The warriors wait to meet Shuten Dōji.
Y	Y	–	C4	The warriors first meet with the demon lord.
Y	Y	Y	C5	Yorimitsu, Hōshō, and Tsuna eat flesh and drink blood.
Y	–	–	C6	The warriors serve the poison wine and two ladies join the party.
Y	Y	Y	C7	A demon dances and chants a taunt.
Y	Y	Y	C8	Kintoki dances and chants a taunt.
Y	Y	Y	C9	The demons become incapacitated.
Y	–	Y	C10	The warriors consult with two captive ladies.
–	Y	Y	C11	The warriors change into their armor.
Y	****	–	C12	Two of the ladies show the way to Shuten Dōji's quarters.
Y	Y	Y	C13	Ladies soothe the demon lord as he lies revealed in his true form.
Y	Y	Y	C14	The gods help the warriors open the door to the demon lord's chamber and give them chains with which to bind him.
Y	Y	Y	C15	The warriors slay Shuten Dōji.
Y	*****	Y	C16	The warriors fight with the demonic Shitennō.
Y	*****	Y	C17	The warriors fight with the demons who come through the gate.
Y	–	Y	C18	The companions discover many human remains.
Y	*****	Y	C19	The warriors capture two demons.
Y	Y	Y	D1	The warriors take more than thirty ladies out of the realm of the demons.
–	–	Y	D2	The returning ladies are greeted with joy.
–	–	Y	D3	The Horie family grieves outside its gate.
Y	Y	Y	D4	The warriors parade triumphantly through the streets.
Y	–	–	D5	The Horie family mourns over their daughter's lock of hair.

"Y" indicates that the scene is included.

*Price has no indication of a cavern.

**Sackler instead depicts a demon returning with his orders.

***Sackler instead shows Shuten Dōji coming to meet the warriors.

****The Price scene is partially conflated with C4.

*****The scenes of battle on the Price screens do not actually illustrate discrete episodes from the tale.

examine the narrative problems and opportunities peculiar to screens and related formats. Unlike the straightforward geographic arrangement of scenes on the Sackler screens, the arrangement of the Price screens offers a puzzling complexity. What follows is a detailed analysis of the Price screens, aided by comparisons with the Sackler painting.

An Overview of the Price Screens

The densely painted Price screens measure 155.2 by 359 centimeters each. Two narrow bands of gold cloud extend horizontally across each screen, with their visual impact made even stronger by their scalloped contour, relief profile, and embossed surface patterns. The landscapes and architecture that provide the settings for the narrative scenes are rendered in gold, azurite blue, malachite green, and other rich, opaque pigments. The same pigments give color to the numerous often-repeated figures that occupy those settings. The visual impact of the screens is thus a combination of overall sumptuousness and abundance of detail within a firmly constructed, largely two-dimensional arrangement. As noted above, the individual scenes of the Price screens rely heavily on the handscroll compositions of Motonobu.²⁵

Although the screens offer a new pictorial structure for Motonobu's figure groups and other key motifs rather than a new illustration, the shift from the handscroll format to the screen format was no minor matter. Because of their linearity and the consequent stress on syntactic, chronological relationships, handscrolls are viewed by a process similar to the reading of texts. The format therefore well suits the chains of causality and temporality that structure much narrative. The same cannot be said of the large, synchronically accessible surfaces of screens, which cannot so easily propel the eye of the viewer along a predetermined path or limit viewing to a particular scene in a series.

The organization of scenes on the Price screens suggests an awareness of both the challenge and the opportunity inherent in the shift from handscroll to screen format. Areas of easy-to-follow linear organization exist at the tops of both screens (scenes A5–B7, details 2–3, and D1–D4). There, a sequence of scenes occupies what seems at first glance to be a continuous band of landscape but turns out to be a series of

juxtaposed settings instead.²⁶ The much larger areas below are more fully unified. While each scene takes place in a space marked off by clouds, rocks, and architecture as in a handscroll, few of these spaces are fully independent. Architectural continuity unifies most of the lower two-thirds of each screen, which can therefore be read as a single setting for multiple scenes (C4–C5; C8–C9 and C11–C12; C14–C19). What is more, the Price screens present suggestions of overall spatial unity. The right screen, for example, contains changes in scale from top to bottom that imply continuous spatial recession on the screen as a whole. Not only do the figures and other motifs increase in size, but the brushstrokes in the rocks vary from the softness of the distantly perceived to the sharp clarity of the near. Such ambiguity in unity of setting represents in part a compromise between the aesthetic and narrative model provided by Motonobu's handscrolls and various models for screen compositions in the repertoire of the Kano house. The ambiguity of the composition goes beyond simple formal compromise, however, as it encourages two alternate approaches to viewing the painting as a whole. As I shall demonstrate, these alternatives resonate with certain basic structures in Japanese culture.

More specifically, the composition of each screen reads simultaneously as three narrow registers and as two zones of unequal size. The alternate possibilities arise from a fundamental difference between the two prominent bands of gold cloud and their relation to the landscape and architectural motifs. The upper band forms an unbroken, thoroughly artificial partition across the width of each screen to separate landscape elements quite independent from those below. The lower band contains three discontinuous sections, which only partly partition the largely unified setting of the lower zone. In other words the band may actually be viewed as a line of clouds floating above Shuten Dōji's castle. Thus we can read the top register on each screen as a narrow zone and the two bottom registers together (except for the Imperial Palace scene on the far right) as a second, much broader one. The importance of this dual structure will become clearer below.

Registers

Richly colored Japanese screens frequently display bands of gold cloud that break up the

visual continuity of the broad surfaces. In screens depicting *Scenes in and around the Capital* (*Rakuchū rakugai zu* 洛中洛外図, fig. 8), for example, a unified, panoramic view of the city lies “beneath” such clouds, which serve a primarily decorative function. In very few cases do these clouds divide up the surface into handscroll-like registers for narrative purposes such as we see at the tops of the Price screens. In screens illustrating stories such as the *Tale of Genji*, gold clouds parti-

tion scenes and their settings but in almost every possible arrangement except simple horizontal rows.

A few exceptions exist. The upper third of the Price pair offers one, and a pair of six-fold screens in the Freer Gallery of Art depicting the story of Emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 and Yang Guifei 楊貴妃 (fig. 9)²⁷ offers another. In the latter case, architectural continuity suggests spatial unity, but bands of clouds create two distinct registers. The

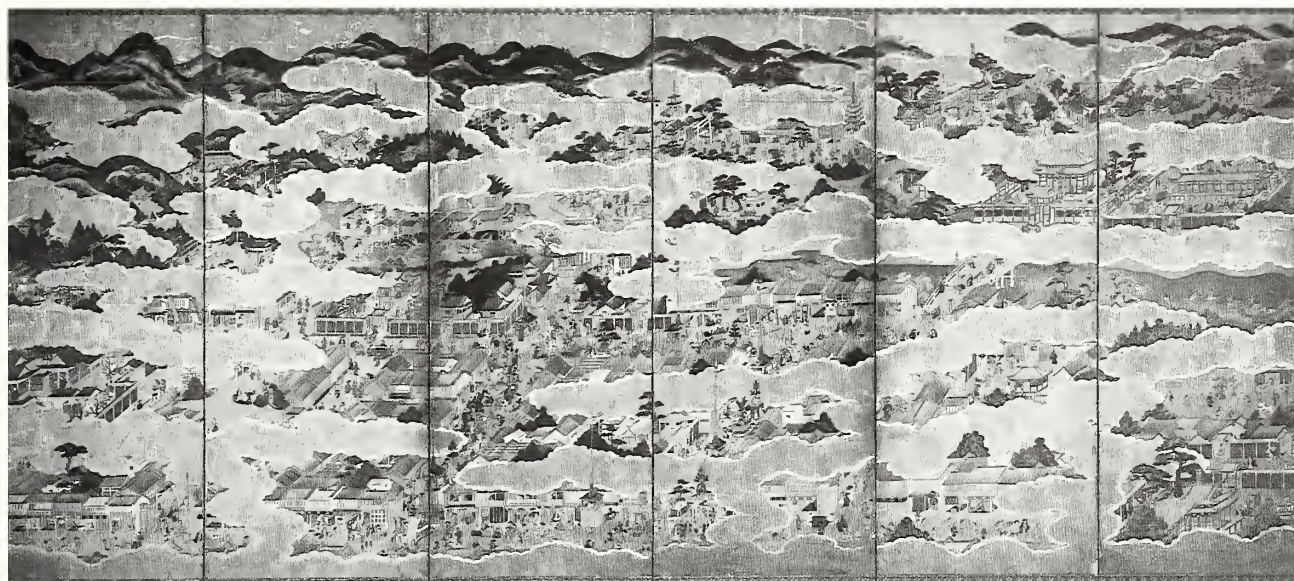


FIG. 8. Anon., *Rakuchū rakugai zu*, late seventeenth century. Six-fold screen, colors and gold on paper, 150.5 × 348 cm. Courtesy Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.



FIG. 9. Kano Mitsunobu, attr., *Xuanzong and Yang Guifei*, late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, left screen. Pair of six-fold screens, colors and gold on paper, 158.1 × 365.9 cm. Courtesy Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.

scene arrangement is linear within those two registers and proceeds in a clockwise direction.

The narrow bands of linearity at the top of the Price screens (fig. 6 top, details 2–4) frame the whole painting as prologue and epilogue, presenting obvious reminders of the linear structure of text and handscrolls upon which the screens are based. They also provide a means of representing travel over long distances. Such travel scenes figure prominently in not only adventure but religious tales, with physical journeys symbolizing spiritual ones. Likewise, in the Price screens, the travel scenes represent an important trial for the warriors and at the same time suggest the cultural and spiritual gulf between the capital and the land of the demons.

The Sackler screens include the travel scenes as well but incorporate them in a very different way. (The difference can be seen in the scenes and settings in the “B” series.) The more richly three-dimensional settings of the Sackler screens provide a deeply recessed mountain vista as a sub-setting for the journey without creating a handscroll-like register.

Scenes of confrontation and battle in the land of the demons dominate the middle and bottom registers of the Price screens (fig. 6 top, details 5–10). On both right and left, the lower-zone scenes proceed from right to left but jump back and forth in sequence between the two registers. The composition of the lower zone therefore offers no clear indication of an exact viewing order, and the arrangement must be described as more planar than linear. That does not mean, however, that it can be dismissed as arbitrary or that to be nonlinear means to be without logic. One alternative interpretation would be that the design is based on aesthetic conventions of the Kano House. In this particular case, hierarchical ordering offers a more compelling explanation, with the middle register having the dominant place.

That hierarchy, like so much else in the screens, derives from precedents set by Moto-nobu’s handscrolls. In that work, most scenes are composed discretely on single sheets of paper with clouds articulating otherwise abrupt juxtapositions of scenes and settings. Some individual scenes, however, are composed on two sheets of paper rather than one. The criteria for such emphasis and elaboration appear to have been twofold: 1) a scene’s significance in the narrative and 2) a setting’s potential for visual

enhancement of the work. Except for one battle scene, those two-sheet compositions all became middle-register scenes on the Price screens, while the one-sheet compositions were relegated to the top and bottom.

The hierarchy plays a more readily apparent role on the right screen. In the middle of panels one and two (fig. 6 top, detail 1) is a tight juxtaposition of the two scenes in which the emperor receives the petition from Kunikata (A3) and commissions Yorimitsu to slay the demon (A4).²⁸ This two-part sequence initiates the active human response to the depredations of the demons. On panels three through six, two high palace buildings face each other across a body of water (fig. 6 top, details 7 and 10). The building on the right is the setting for the test of eating flesh and drinking blood (C5), and the building on the left is the setting for a conflated scene in which Kintoki dances (C8) and the demon lord and his retainers drink the wine that incapacitates them (C9). The passing of the test on the right represents the critical stage in the warriors’ successful strategy of deceiving the demons; the taunting and poisoning of the demons climaxes the action of the first screen and sets up the triumph of the second. Thus, the middle register of the right screen is devoted to only two double scenes of major narrative importance, presented in an uncluttered arrangement. It provides a lucid condensation of the narrative, which can be read from right to left without reference to the subsidiary scenes below.

The more architecturally cluttered bottom register bears those scenes of secondary importance: the arrival of the warriors at Shuten Dōji’s gate (fig. 6 top, detail 5), their first encounter with the demon lord (fig. 6 top, detail 6), demons bringing food and drink (fig. 6 top, detail 8),²⁹ and a subsidiary party scene in which a demon dances and sings (fig. 6 top, detail 9). As pairs, the scenes in the bottom register lead into each of the two scenes with Shuten Dōji above. The warriors’ arrival (C1) and first meeting with Shuten Dōji (C4) precede the test of eating flesh (C5); the carrying of food (unnumbered) and the beginning of the party (C6–C7) lead to the dancing and drunkenness above (C8–C9).

Thus, narrative issues pertain to even the non-linear organization of scenes on the right screen, but the matter does not end there. The right screen, normally the first to be viewed, can structure the reading of the work as a whole, and we

should reconsider its three registers in that light. The top contains all the scenes of prayer at the shrines and the initial encounters with the gods of those shrines. It therefore depicts a realm in which the human and the divine interact. Below, the middle register presents scenes of positive human action: the emperor commissions Yorimitsu to destroy the demon; Yoritomo and his followers pass the test of eating flesh and drinking blood; and Kintoki dances a taunt of the demons as they drink the poisoned wine. At the bottom, the lowest register shows the human companions facing demons from weaker positions: the demons stand ready to slay them at the gate; they face Shuten Dôji in awe for the first time, uncertain of his reaction; and a demon dances and taunts them. The three registers thus define three levels of being in hierarchical order: that of the gods above, that of men in the middle, and that of demons below. Such spiritual stratigraphy underlay much Buddhist and Shinto cosmology. Interestingly, the scene of commissioning at the Imperial Palace does not belong only to the middle register and the realm of men. Its isolation by the only diagonal partition of gold clouds allows it to be associated equally well with the divine realm above. This reading concurs with the Japanese conception of Japan as the "land of the gods" and the emperor as divine.

In general, the composition of the left screen (fig. 6 bottom) follows that of the right but with important differences. As with the right, its middle register contains a synopsis of major events. On panels one and two, Shuten Dôji lies revealed in his demonic form for the first time, surrounded by a number of attentive ladies in colorful court dress (C13). On panels three and four, the story climaxes with the slaying of the demon lord (C15).³⁰ On panels five and six, the warriors appear to rout the demons (based on Motonobu C16 but expanded).³¹ As on the right screen, the register reads from right to left and summarizes the successes of the human protagonists. In this case, however, only the central scene of the slaying of Shuten Dôji stands out strongly as a key moment in the narrative. In addition, the bands of cloud above and below constrict the middle register, which is also cluttered with architectural motifs. The scenes of battle below actually receive more space. The design of this screen balances the concerns for scene hierarchy and narrative continuity that dominate the right screen with a conceptual emphasis on battle. This

emphasis can be better examined by looking at zones rather than registers.

Zones

As noted above, an alternate way to read the structure of the screens is as two zones. The top registers of both screens along with the commissioning scene in the middle register on the far right comprise the upper zone. The lower zone is all the rest. This two-zone composition is a somewhat schematized version of a Kano battle-screen composition and serves as a means of articulating concepts embedded in the story.

Battle screens were a significant genre of Kano painting. The most common subject of such screens in the seventeenth century was the pairing of the Ichinotani and Yashima 屋島 battles of *Tale of the Heike* (*Heike monogatari* 平家物語). Screens in the Saitama Prefectural Museum of Art are particularly close to the Price screens in composition, especially in the use of bands of gold cloud. The right, "Ichinotani" screen (fig. 2) is the more complex of the two and serves as a good illustration of the principles involved.³² Although action is spread out over the screen, a centrally located set of buildings serves as a focal point. In the upper part of the screen, a mountainous landscape set off by clouds provides a setting for the preliminary scenes before the actual battle. In fact, it depicts from right to left three stages of the journey of the hero Minamoto no Yoshitsune 源の義経 to Ichinotani: 1) using an old horse to find the way, 2) seeking help from a "mountain man," and 3) coming down the cliff that "only deer can descend" (the deer at the bottom illustrate the point). This is the only part of the large composition that takes its inspiration from handscrolls by developing a linear narrative sequence along a horizontal. The much larger unified setting below presents a geographic organization of all the major subscenes, which is, as I have noted above, the more typical tendency in battle screens.

Something of this tendency also appears in the Price screens, especially the left with its scenes of combat. Even there it is heavily modified, of course. The upper, mountainous registers are more separate geographical entities than usual, and the setting below is only partly unified. The clouds that run through the lower zone of the Price screens are bold enough to deemphasize

its immediate visual unity, and numerous individual events take place throughout the screens in little arenas that are more distinct as units than is normal on battle screens.

In the Price screens, the two-zone “battle-screen” composition supports the presentation of two distinct, oppositional realms. The rendering of landscape and architecture in the upper zone, set off by a solid band of clouds, mark it as Japanese. The mountains through which the warriors travel have soft, rounded contours even though the texts describe them (and Motonobu painted them) as jagged and towering. By the seventeenth century, that softer style of landscape painting was firmly associated with native traditions and called *yamato-e* 大和絵, or Japanese painting.³³ The buildings in the upper zone also strongly suggest Japaneseness, laid as they are with thick Japanese straw mats (*tatami* 畳). In contrast, the lower zone is a Chinese realm. The garden’s harshly angular rocks were associated in the seventeenth century with *kanga* 漢画 (Chinese painting), as were its plants, such as the banana palm. The architecture is that of Chinese palaces replete with gold tile on the floors.

The choice of Chinese characteristics to signify the demons’ realm was suggested by descriptive passages in the text and common to all illustrations. In one sense, it was inevitable. Given the limited experience of the Japanese with the rest of the world, especially at the time when many of the precedents for the Kano style were being set, that which was not Japanese had no visual expression other than as Chinese. A perfect example of this is a “Southern Barbarian Screen” (*Nanban byōbu* 南蛮屏風) in the Suntory Museum of Art attributed to Kano Sanraku 狩野山楽 (1559–1635).³⁴ The buildings on the left screen, which depicts the Portuguese at home, are entirely Chinese.

All illustrations of the Shuten Dōji story use Chinese architectural motifs to depict the demon’s realm, but neither Motonobu’s nor those by his descendants carry the Chinese-Japanese distinction as far as do the Price screens. In Motonobu’s scrolls and on the Sackler screens (fig. 7), for example, many interiors in Shuten Dōji’s palace are floored Japanese-style in *tatami*. Nor is such a strong distinction between Japanese and “Other” made through differentiation in landscape

motifs in those two works. Why then do the Price screens depict the two realms in such unusually striking contrast? One explanation lies in the particular nature of their composition. In the handscroll format used by Motonobu and his followers, the viewer experiences spatial, cultural, and temporal distance in the process of unrolling the painting from right to left. On screens, the entirety of the painted surface is at once visible, and other aspects of the design must suggest conceptual distance. The Sackler screens achieve this distancing by isolating the two realms almost exclusively on separate screens. Thus, when Raikō and his followers leave the capital and its environs, they leave the right screen altogether, and when they return, they go back to it. On the Price screens, the two realms share each screen, and the distinction between the “land of the gods” and “the land of demons” must be emphasized by visual distinction. Gold cloud partitions work partly to achieve this, but more important is the division of space into Japanese and Chinese arenas.

Conclusion

The preceding examination of the pictorial structure of the Price Shuten Dōji screens should demonstrate the danger inherent in any taxonomic enterprise. Categories such as “narrative networks,” which may serve certain expedient ends, may also mask a host of subtle distinctions, nuances that actually make a work worthy of contemplation. Even so general a category as “narrative” poses that danger if construed too strictly. Analyses of the pictorial structure of the Price screens reveal a concern not only for the cause-and-effect, linear relationships critical to narration but also for numerous other sorts of relationships. Their composition incorporated devices from narrative handscrolls and from landscape screens. It also stressed hierarchical arrangements that are not readily found in pictorial precedents and that no doubt reflect larger intellectual tendencies. Future research might further examine such links with larger cultural patterns within the work’s particular historical circumstances.

Notes

1. Vidya Dehejia, "On Modes of Visual Narration in Early Buddhist Art," *Art Bulletin* 72, 3 (September 1990): 374–92.
2. The major studies in English noted in Dehejia, "On Modes of Visual Narration," are: *Narration in Ancient Art*, special issue of the *American Journal of Archaeology* 61 (1957); Richard Brilliant, *Visual Narratives: Storytelling in Roman and Etruscan Art* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984); Meyer Schapiro, *Words and Pictures: On the Literal and Symbolic in the Interpretation of a Text* (The Hague: Mouton, 1973); A. M. Snodgrass, *Narration and Allusion in Archaic Greek Art* (London: Leopard's Head Press, 1982); Otto Pächt, *The Rise of Pictorial Narrative in Twelfth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962). Basic texts that might be added to this list include: Kurt Weitzmann, *Ancient Book Illumination* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959); *Problems in the Relation between Text and Illustration*, *Studium Artium Orientalis et Occidentalis* 5.1 (1982); and *Pictorial Narrative in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, *Studies in the History of Art* 16 (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1985). The second and third of these contain Yoshiaki Shimizu's articles on Japanese handscrolls, which introduce basic issues regarding Japanese pictorial narration and text-image relationships.
3. In East Asia, pictures with or without written texts often served as illustrations for storytellers, who would guide their audience through the narratives. Such *etoki* (picture explainers) are mentioned in numerous Japanese documents.
4. A more direct rendering might be *Tale of Rice-Wine-Drinking Acolyte (or Boy)*. The demon referred to as Shuten Dōji appears in the text in the form of a huge acolyte (*dōji*) and is very fond of rice wine (*shu*), so his name obviously originates as a reference to two of his primary attributes.
5. For a detailed discussion of these narrative techniques and their implications, see Chino Kaori, "Emaki no jikan hyōgen" (The depiction of time in handscroll painting), *Nihon no Bigaku* 1, 2 (1984): 74–90.
6. This is not intended as a general truth about all handscrolls in all periods.
7. The most common examples are illustrations of *The Tale of Genji*. The Idemitsu Museum of Art in Tokyo owns some of the oldest such screens, including a pair from the early to mid-sixteenth century bearing one scene on each screen. See Tokyo National Museum, *Muromachi jidai no byōbu-e* (Screen paintings of the Muromachi period) (Tokyo: Asahi Shimbunsha, 1989), no. 21 for illustrations. A seventeenth-century pair with two scenes on each screen is owned by the Asian Art Museum in San Francisco. See Yoshiko Kakudo, *The Art of Japan: Masterworks of the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco* (San Francisco: Asian Art Museum and Chronicle Books, 1991), no. 64 for illustrations.
8. Illustrations of the *Tale of Genji* once again provide the best examples. One such pair of screens is owned by the Ōkura Museum in Tokyo. I had planned to illustrate it here, but the publication charge demanded was prohibitive. For an illustration, see Yamane Yūzō et al., ed., *Jimbutsuga—yamato-e kei jimbutsu* (Figure painting: Figures in the native painting tradition), *Nihon byōbu-e shūsei*, vol. 5 (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1979).
9. An example better known in the United States is *Scenes from the Hōgen and Heiji Insurrections* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Illustrations and commentary on these screens are available in several studies, including Miyeko Murase, "Japanese Screen Paintings of the Hogen and Heiji Insurrections," *Artibus Asiae* 29, 2/3 (January 1967): 193–228, and Julia Meech-Pekarik, *The Hogen and Heiji Battle Screens in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (Jacksonville: Jacksonville Art Museum Inc., 1984).
10. Dehejia herself discusses her modes as if they represented distinct "options" in the minds of artists, who would choose among them ("On Modes of Visual Narration," 374).
11. The varying relationship between the two in Japanese narrative handscroll paintings is discussed in depth by Takio Kimiko in "Emaki in okeru 'bamen' to 'kei'" ('Scene' and 'setting' in narrative handscroll paintings), *Bijutsushi* 111 (1981): 15–25.
12. The groundbreaking work of Sakakibara Satoru has firmly established this attribution. Sakakibara Satoru, "Santorii Bijutsukan bon Shuten Dōji emaki o megutte" (part 1), *Kokka* 1076 (1984): 7–26. Motonobu was not actually the first to create illustrations for the *Shuten Dōji* story. As a tale filled with action and adventure, it found its way into *emaki* at an early date. It is, in fact, an *emaki* of the second half of the fourteenth century that gives us our earliest extant text. See Okudaira Hideo, *Otogizōshi emaki* (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1982), 42. Though Motonobu does seem to have borrowed some motifs from these scrolls, he borrowed from a great number of other unrelated works as well, creating from them an entirely new series of

- compositions. For a fuller account of Motonobu's borrowings, see Sakakibara Satoru, "Shuten Dōji emaki" (part 2), *Kokka* 1077 (1984): 33–56.
13. The clearest evidence lies in the long, regular "axe-cut" strokes in the large rocks at the bottom of the right screen. These compare particularly well with those seen in the fusuma panels owned by the Seattle Art Museum and attributed to Takano-bu.
 14. I have come to no firm conclusions regarding the dating of these screens, but the treatment of the mountains and sky at the top of the screens, the sense of depth, the varieties of cloud motifs are similar to the later works of Kano Tan'yū, starting with his fusuma panels at Nagoya Castle in 1633.
 15. There is still considerable controversy among literary scholars as to the proper usage of the term *otogi zōshi*. Some hold that it should be reserved to designate only those twenty-three tales published in Osaka around 1716 by one Shibukawa Seiemon, while others apply it to any of the several hundred popular short stories written throughout the Muromachi and the early Edo periods. *Shuten Dōji* qualifies on either count. For a brief discussion of such issues see Chieko Irie Mulhern, "Otogi-zōshi: Short Stories of the Muromachi Period," *Monumenta Nipponica* 29, 2 (Summer 1974): 181–84.
 16. T. Araki, "Otogi-zōshi and Nara-ehon: A Field in Flux," *Monumenta Nipponica* 36, 1 (Spring 1981): 4–8. This article briefly surveys the major controversies in the field and introduces the ideas contained in a selected group of the major studies. It is thus very helpful as a guide to the Japanese scholarship up to that time.
 17. Ichiko Teiji, *Chūsei shosetsu no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Daigaku Shuppankai, 1985), 383–402.
 18. For a brief discussion of the Ibukiyama texts and examples, see Yokoyama Shigeru and Matsumoto Takanobu, eds., *Muromachi jidai monogatari taisei*, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1974), 357–426. The Iwase Bunko text is particularly close to the Motonobu text in its heavy use of Chinese characters. For a similar treatment of the Ōeyama texts see vol. 3, pp. 123–220.
 19. It is irrelevant to this study exactly how these textual differences came about or even which version preceded which. The situation bears mention, however, because scholars often categorize narrative paintings according to their base texts, and at least once the existence of two types of Ibukiyama texts has created confusion. See, for example, Miyeko Murase, *Tales of Japan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 125–29. In this catalogue of the Spencer Collection of Japanese scrolls and prints, Murase discusses a set of three handscrolls by Kaihō Yūchiku titled *Ōeyama Shuten Dōji*. She contrasts it to the Kano renditions based on the Ibukiyama version, in which "greater emphasis is placed on the ancestry and upbringing of the giant ogre." The Kano paintings, of course, have nothing to do with Ibukiyama texts of that sort. In fact, I seriously doubt that there is any textual basis for a contrast at all. One set of Kano *emaki* in the Tokyo National Museum, for example, still bears the title *Ōeyama ekotoba*, even though the text is in fact an Ibukiyama text. I have not yet had an opportunity to view the scrolls by Yūchiku, but the two scenes reproduced by Murase in the catalogue clearly derive closely from the Kano Ibukiyama illustrations, and Yūchiku worked closely with the Kano. This makes it highly likely that the rest of the scrolls, both illustrations and text, follow the Kano models. If the Spencer text actually is of the Ōeyama sort, it would demonstrate a relative interchangeability of the two texts in the minds of those involved.
 20. This summary is based on the Ibukiyama text of a set of handscrolls in the Iwase Bunko transcribed in Yokoyama Shigeru and Matsumoto Takanobu, eds., *Muromachi jidai monogatari taisei* (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1974), 379–426. I also made use of the notes to an Ōeyama text belonging to a Tosa picture book in the Dai Tōkyū Kinen Bunko in Ichiko Teiji and Noma Kōshin, *Nihon koten kanshō kōza*, vol. 16 (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1963), 444–75.
 21. In most versions, including the Tosa picture book (see n. 20 above), the name is written out in *hiragana* as Kunitaka. In the handscrolls at the Iwase Bunko (see n. 20), the Chinese characters appear to call for the pronunciation Kunikata.
 22. All versions of the text go on at some length describing the weapons and armor, many of which have names.
 23. See, for example, the first picture segment of the first scroll of *Obusuma Saburō emaki*, illustrated in Umezu Jirō, *Nihon emakimono zenshū*, vol. 22 (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1968).
 24. On the left Price screen, scenes C13 and C15, which the story describes as occurring in the same room, are simply depicted in separate, nearby rooms. This handling is more like that in the Sackler and typical battle screens. But we see suggestions of some discomfort with this solution in the

- lack of real architectural continuity in the Shinen'kan example.
25. The same could be said of all Kano paintings of the subject. Even when Motonobu's great-grandson Takanobu and Takanobu's son, the illustrious Tan'yū (1602–74), produced handscroll variants, they did not deviate very far from Motonobu's original decisions on scene composition. The designer of the Price screens need not have seen any actual scrolls, since the Kano ateliers often worked from *funpon* (copies preserved as models).
 26. The discontinuity acknowledges the nonsequential nature of the visual narration—that the shrine visits (A5–A7) on the right screen, for example, are simultaneous events and do not directly precede the journey. Only among scenes B3–B7, in which scene interrelation is tightly sequential, does the setting also read as reasonably continuous though somewhat abbreviated. On the left screen, an even stronger sense of abbreviated continuity indicates the speed of the journey home (D1, D4).
 27. These screens are attributed to Kano Mitsunobu on stylistic grounds and certainly came from a workshop connected to his, if not his very own. See Takeda Tsuneo, ed., *Zaigai Nihon no shihō*, vol. 4 (Tokyo: Mainichi Shimbunsha, 1980), nos. 29–30.
 28. The single scene on the screens is well composed and works visually as a unified composition. It is also the first event in the narrative sequence and might be said properly to belong to the top register. Yet it has particular narrative importance as the opening to the story and high decorative value as a Japanese imperial palace scene. Therefore, it “qualifies” for placement on this register.
 29. This is not so much a scene as part of the setting.
 30. It derives not from known illustrations of the story but from depictions of Chinese palace life. Compare it, for example, to the scene of serving ladies bearing refreshments on the Freer screens (fig. 9, panel 6, center).
 31. This illustration of the tale is unique among the published works of any school in omitting the demon lord's decapitation, potentially a scene of striking visual power. This omission is consistent with the treatment of the battle below, in which Motonobu's various depictions of severed torsoes and necks are omitted. Overall, the screen emphasizes armed struggle rather than slaughter.
 32. Like the battle scenes below, this one borrows figures from various scenes in Motonobu's handscrolls without clearly illustrating individual episodes described in the text. Purely visual evidence suggests this represents a point in the fighting when the heroes rout the demons and drive them off. In addition, this fighting occurs outside the architecture of the demon's castle, just below the scene of escape, signaling that the warriors are already close to success in their mission.
 33. For a “guide” to such screens, see Yamane Yūzō et al., ed., *Jimbutsuga—yamato-e kei jimbutsu*, in *Nihon byōbu-e shūsei*, vol. 5 (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1979), 178–79.
 34. This does not contradict the previous explanation for such a rendering as an attempt to suggest near and far. Formal elements may serve more than one purpose, and in this case the distinction focuses more narrowly on types of brushwork.
 35. Suntory Museum of Art, Tokyo. Reproduced in Takeda Tsuneo, *Momoyama shōheiga meisaku ten* (Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Shimbunsha, 1969), no. 15.

INCARNATIONS OF THE BLOSSOMING PLUM

BY GINGER CHENG-CHI HSÜ

IN 1759, THE ARTIST JIN NONG 金農 (1687–1764) painted a picture of blossoming plum and dedicated it to his patron Jiang Chun 江春 (1721–89). The painting is now in the collection of the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, DC (fig. 1 left). On a narrow hanging scroll measuring slightly more than four feet high, two flowering plum tree branches stretch upward from the bottom of the picture, executed in both monochromatic ink and a light pink wash, with side branches trailing to the edges of the painting. A wide variety of brushwork and ink tonality adds to the busy composition. The main branch on the left is executed in the heaviest ink wash, which gradually lightens as it reaches the upper part of the painting. With no outlines, the branch appears smooth and flat, but dabs of ink added rhythmically from the lower end of the branch break up the evenness, suggesting texture and three-dimensionality. The same technique is applied to the branch on the right. Thinner in shape and lighter in shade, this branch turns and twists upward, meeting with the branch on the left. The two branches interlock in a geometric shape near the center of the hanging scroll. Offshoots and twigs executed in delicate brushwork extend in various directions, weaving in and out among the main branches, continuing their interplay in the upper part of the painting. With its similar tonality and lack of dominating branches, the upper part of this painting is difficult to read in terms of spatial and depth arrangement.

Enhancing the exuberant effect of the pictorial surface are the blooming flowers, formed by small clusters of rounded dots connected by short brushstrokes. While ink monochrome flowers sprout from the branch on the right, blossoms with a light pink tinge grow from the main branch on the left. The ink monochrome flowers, which resemble paw tracks covering the pictorial surface, seem to assume a dominant position. Yet the eagerly blooming pink flowers do not yield completely, sometimes seeming to serve as background to the ink monochrome flowers, at other times emerging to the surface, catching the viewer's attention. This push and pull interplay of the flowers creates an interesting visual effect.

Along with the interweaving of the twigs, it generates a certain sense of commotion that seems to spread from the flowering plum across the entire pictorial surface. The image shimmers as if it were a panel of lacy beads glittering in the breeze. While the translucent pink lightens the pictorial surface, it also lends the painting a sensuous charm. What the artist presents here is a picture of beautiful flowers executed so meticulously that he seems deliberately to have created a festive mood. Yet, just as the viewer is ready to embrace this pleasant aesthetic experience, a certain unsettling feeling arises.

As if to balance the composition, the artist inscribed five lines in the upper left corner (fig. 1 right). The inscription, however, appears too long for the already busy composition, and its block-style calligraphy seems to clash with the lacy, translucent quality of the rest of the picture. Yet the architectonic style of Jin's handwriting at the same time presents a shimmering quality similar to that of his painting. Each stroke is executed with even weight and often tapers at both the beginning and the end, as if it were an individual blade. While each character consists of a deliberate naive arrangement of these shining lacquer-black blades, the fluctuating size of the characters and the uneven length of the lines contribute to the colophon's decorative yet unsettling effect.

The positioning of the inscription gives rise to the speculation that it was added to the finished painting, as with many of Jin's works. Nevertheless, it reveals important information about the circumstances of the creation and dedication of this painting. This scroll also offers one of the rare cases in Chinese painting history in which both the artist and the recipient of an art work are not only identifiable but well recorded. The inscription can be translated as follows:

"Inside the jade maiden's window, there is someone to share the dream;
Dreaming of [wandering around] the woods by the water."

This is a line I inscribed five years ago for Mr. Shen Wotian 沃田 of Huating 華亭 on a plum blossom canopy I painted. At that time Mr. Shen had acquired a new concubine and housed her in a golden chamber.



FIG. 1. Jin Nong, *Blossoming Plum*, inscription dated 1759 (left); detail (right). Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, 130.2 × 28.2 cm. Courtesy Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, DC.

Poems were composed to commemorate the occasion.
And he was the envy of all his friends and colleagues.
[part 1]

Now I apply the rouge and black pigments [from a lady's cosmetic box] to paint this small hanging scroll
and inscribe the same verse. [part 2]

How about presenting this to those who have ten *hu* of
shining pearls in their possession? [part 3]

On the third day of the twelfth month in 1759, I respectfully send this to Mr. Heting 鹤亭, the grand official, for his generous elegant appreciation. Signed by the seventy-three-year-old man, Jin Nong, from Hangzhou 杭州.¹ [part 4]

The inscription can be read in four parts. The first part consists of the two-line verse originally composed and inscribed five years earlier (presumably in 1754) on a bed canopy decorated with blossoming plum.² Its purpose is to congratulate Shen Dacheng 沈大成 (1710–81), a scholar friend of the painter, on the occasion of acquiring a new concubine. The second part refers to the present time (1759), when this painting was made and the same verse inscribed on it. In the third part the artist specifies that the future recipient of the painting should be a rich person with many precious goods such as pearls. The last part is the actual dedication, which identifies the recipient, Jiang Chun, an extremely wealthy salt merchant of Yangzhou. Jin Nong deliberately links two artistic events separated by five years, blending them into each other by repeating the same verse and the same subject matter—blossoming plum.

Gender-Crossing of the Blossoming Plum

Upon a first reading, this scroll appears to be a painting of a traditional literary theme, dedicated in December 1759 by a literati painter to a notable merchant patron. Yet the artist reveals a certain degree of playfulness, disclosing the source of his pigments as a lady's cosmetic box. And he promotes camaraderie by teasing the future recipient in a rather casual and vulgar tone with "how about?" In other words, the artist seems to have deliberately created qualities that undermine the elegant literary theme of blossoming plum, instilling certain elements of conflict and unrest. Most notably, female imagery appears repeatedly in the inscription. While Mr. Shen's beautiful concubine is explicitly mentioned, an

anonymous woman who owns the cosmetic box in the second part is subtly implied.

In Chinese painting history, the plum blossom was one of the standard subjects for amateur scholar painters in the Yuan dynasty.³ This plant had long been viewed as an auspicious sign, announcing the approaching end of winter and the imminent arrival of spring. Because it was the first flower to bloom in late winter and early spring when snow and ice still cover the ground, the qualities of withstanding cold and loneliness and not yielding in harsh environments were singled out.⁴ It was then grouped with two other evergreen plants, bamboo and pine, both of which had a long tradition of representing the straightness and incorruptibility of the ideal gentleman or virtuous man (*junzi* 君子) advocated in the Confucian classics.⁵ Given this association of the blossoming plum with the ideal gentleman, it seems contradictory that it should also be associated with an image of woman.

In fact, the blossoming plum had been associated with women much longer than with men, especially in classical literature before the Tang dynasty. For example, in the earliest anthology of poems, *Shijing* 詩經 (Classic of poetry, dated from the eleventh to the sixth century B.C.), the fruit of the plum tree symbolizes the youth of woman. The falling plum therefore was used to describe the transience of beauty and youth.⁶ In Six Dynasties literary works, such as Xiao Gang's 蕭綱 *Meihua fu* 梅花賦 (Plum blossom prose), the flower instead of the fruit of the plum tree personified palace ladies.⁷ Beautiful and precious though such ladies may have been, they were also associated with melancholic thoughts of loneliness and transience, as well as with tinges of nostalgia. Evolving along the lines of sadness and misfortune, the blossoming plum also came to represent the lonely recluse withdrawn in his solitude and lamenting his own unappreciated talent, mocking his inexpedience. It was this dual identification of the blossoming plum, with both beauty and recluses, that Song (960–1279) writers and later generations emphasized.⁸

The feminine aspect of the blossoming plum seems to have faded into the background when Chinese literati painters used it as the subject matter for their works. For instance, under the foreign rule of the Yuan dynasty, the plum blossom rendered in calligraphic brushwork was considered an effective vehicle for scholar painters to express their own feelings.⁹ The unyielding character of the plum during difficult times was

extolled and used to indicate the resilience of recluses, subjects left over (*yimin* 遺民) from the previous Song dynasty who remained faithful to their Confucian convictions.¹⁰ In the late Ming–early Qing period, the male persona of the blossoming plum seems to have been reconfirmed when painters’ manuals such as *Jieziyuan hua-zhuan* 芥子園畫傳 (Mustard seed garden painting manual, first published in 1679) not only included blossoming plum as subject matter but also grouped it with bamboo, orchids, and chrysanthemum as “Four Gentlemen” (*sijunzi* 四君子).¹¹ In short, gender-crossing from female to male can first be discerned in literature and was later elaborated in painting. This long process, involving interactions among literature, painting, and aesthetic theory, was completed in the seventeenth century. By Jin Nong’s time, the blossoming plum had become well established as an emblem of the ideal man, and its male association had come to dominate, especially in the writings and paintings of scholar painters, such as Wang Shishen 汪士慎 (1686–1759), who specialized in blossoming plum.¹²

By juxtaposing an image of woman with man in his blossoming plum painting, Jin seems to have inverted the established trend, venturing into wider literary sources. In playing with the gender of the blossoming plum, he prompts layers of reading not only through formal pictorial means but also through his writings. It is the purpose of this essay to provide possible interpretations of this painting. I shall first analyze the literary allusions that Jin Nong presents in his inscription, then interpret this work in the context of his own artistic career and his time. Finally, I shall review how he manipulated the subject matter of blossoming plum, using plum painting as a commodity as well as a vehicle for self-representation. Such issues as the exchange of paintings and cultural patronage in eighteenth-century China will be briefly treated, illuminating how a well-educated Confucian scholar could pursue an artist’s career, how private patronage could serve as an alternative to civil service, and how a member of the highly privileged elite copes with such downward social mobility.

The Divine Woman in a Dream

The inscription starts with a fourteen-character verse that can be read in two parts. The first

line of the verse—“Inside the jade maiden’s window, there is someone to share the dream”—poetically congratulates someone on a special occasion equivalent to a wedding. In this case a reputable scholar, Shen Dacheng (style name Wotian), from Huating (the vicinity of modern Shanghai), has announced his relationship with a new concubine. In eighteenth-century China, since polygamy was still a common practice, the well-to-do often acquired a second wife, particularly when the first wife did not produce a male heir.¹³ And traveling scholar(-official)s frequently took their concubines with them on their journeys while their first wives stayed home to manage the family affairs.

From Jin Nong’s inscription we learn that Shen’s concubine was housed in a “golden chamber” (*jinwu* 金屋), a rhetorical device indicating a special arrangement for a beloved woman. The term is derived from an anecdote concerning Emperor Wu 武 of the Han dynasty. According to an unofficial account, as a small child Emperor Wu was so fond of his cousin that he expressed the naive intention of marrying her and housing her in a “golden chamber.”¹⁴ Since then the expression has been used repeatedly to indicate that a woman is so treasured that an exquisite separate residence is established especially for her. When Jin Nong chose to use the word *ji* 姬, a charming and beautiful woman, instead of the more generic term *qie* 妾 to designate his scholar friend’s new concubine, he was elegantly complimenting her. Combining this use with “golden chamber,” Jin seems to have romanticized the relationship, which may have been no more than a practical move toward acquiring a male heir since Shen was then a traveling scholar in his mid-forties.

Jin seems to compliment the concubine not only for her beauty and youth but also for her chastity by using the word *jade* (“maiden”), a precious stone that has symbolized mythical powers and served ritualistic functions since early antiquity in China. In fact, Chinese writers and poets have used *jade* as an adjective in compounds such as “jade slave” (*yunu* 玉奴), “jade consort” (*yufei* 玉妃), “jade powder” (*yufen* 玉粉), “jade snow” (*yuxue* 玉雪), and “jade bones” (*yugu* 玉骨) to emphasize the purity, fragility, and vulnerability of the blossoming plum. “Rows of jade” (*zhuiyu* 綴玉) was a poetic substitution for the budding plum blossom. “Jade maiden” (*yunü* 玉女) may therefore be Jin’s literary substitute for the

blossoming plum. In this context, the first line can be read as “inside the window of the blossoming plum.” Thus Jin creates a poetic, picturesque image: a window with a view of blossoming plum or with the shadows of plum branches on a moonlit night. In the latter case, one is reminded of the phrase “sparse shadows” (*shuying* 疏影), which was often coupled with “hidden fragrance” (*anxiang* 暗香). The phrase *anxiang shuying* was adopted as a poetic substitute for blossoming plum first by Chinese writers,¹⁵ then by painters.¹⁶

In Tang Daoist texts and poetry, the Jade Maiden is the personification of a luminous star, a female transcendent.¹⁷ She is most commonly referred to as the attendant of the Queen Mother of the West, functioning also as her messenger, mediating between the realms of humans and deities. She therefore personifies the unseen supernatural force and is a giver of power, wisdom, and endless life.¹⁸ For instance, in a poem by the famous Tang poet Li Bo 李白 (699–762), “Wandering on Mount Tai 泰,” four or five “jade maidens” descended from heaven and greeted him with a cup of divine liquor, *liuxia* 流霞 (fluid aurora), a drink reportedly containing solar energy, which was said not only to banish all hunger and thirst but to confer upon the drinker such supernatural power as the ability to travel airborne through the vault of the sky.¹⁹

“Jade maiden” therefore clearly indicates a woman of divine nature, whose ability to cross between the worlds of the human and the divine was elaborated in all genres of literature. For instance, in a Yuan drama entitled “The Golden Lad and the Jade Maiden” (*Jintongyunü* 金童玉女), she is paired with the “golden lad.” They are the virgin demigods who lost their divinity for breaking the practice of celibacy and, as a result of their disgrace, were sent to the human realm as an ordinary man and wife.²⁰ In a short story collected in the “female transcents” (*nüxian lei* 女仙類) category of *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 (published 977), a forty-five-year-old woman named Yunü (jade maiden) from a temple on Marchmount Hua 華 (the sacred mountain of the West) was deserted in the wilderness because of an incurable disease but was reportedly rescued by a mysterious Daoist monk. Recovered from her illness and rejuvenated by eating wild fungi in the mountain area, Yunü resumed the appearance of a beautiful young maiden and lived like a demigod in the wilderness for many years. Ironically, however, a tragic rape transformed her back into

a woman of her true age overnight. Only then could the people from the temple identify her as the former Yunü, who was then more than one hundred years old and consequently died within a month.²¹ The messages are clear in this mythical account. First, Yunü, as her name implies, was deified by a Daoist immortal. Second, as soon as she lost her virginity, she lost her divinity and resumed the form of a mortal human being.

If we read Jin’s first line with these notions in mind, the jade maiden has to be the beautiful concubine of Mr. Shen. She was not only endowed with all possible celestial beauty and power but was also enshrined in a precious chamber made of gold. Using gold and jade as adjectives, Jin grants the couple a rare luxury and celebrates their union by designating it as enduring as gold, as chaste as jade. Only the most exalted human beings were entitled to enjoy the privilege of having such a divine woman.²²

In the second part of the first line, “there is someone to share the dream,” Jin adopts the expression *tongmeng* 同夢, “sharing the dream” or “dreaming with,” to indicate the intimate relationship between man and woman. The term appears in works as early as the *Shijing*, where it occurs in a love song describing an intimate scene before daybreak.²³ In Jin’s times, *tongmeng* was used when a high official, Zhao Zhixin 趙執信 (1662–1744), spent the night with a famous courtesan.²⁴ In addition to the carnal dimension of this expression, it connotes a certain spiritual communion with the ancient. “Sharing a dream with Zhuangzi 莊子” was a line Jin inscribed on his self-portrait to convey a sense of his free-spiritedness in old age.²⁵ Read in this context, Jin’s line, “Inside the jade maiden’s window there is someone to share the dream,” becomes clear. It elegantly suggests the physical intimacy as well as spiritual union of man and woman, the harmonious union of Mr. Shen and his concubine.

In the following line, Jin describes the content of the dream: “dreaming of woods by the water.” He fills the dream with landscape elements—trees, bushes, rivers, lakes, and other water areas—thus delineating the dream of a high-minded scholar who enjoys sitting or walking in a landscape setting, chanting poems or contemplating the world. In works as early as the Confucian classics writers point out that people of both wisdom and humanity enjoy nature and that humans and nature are harmonious. The notion that the solitude found in nature is not only

inspiring but purifying can be found in literature since the Six Dynasties, as well as in painting, especially landscapes. With this graceful line, Jin Nong was essentially complimenting the lofty and unworldly temperament that allowed Mr. Shen to reveal his true love of nature in a dream.

The phrase *shuibian linxia* 水邊林下, "trees by the water" or "woods by the water," appears more than once in Jin's recorded inscriptions on plum blossom paintings. In most cases it simply points to where the blossoming plum trees can be found. Jin may have used the phrase in the same context here, intending to imply that his friend was a great connoisseur of blossoming plums. Since searching for and appreciating blossoming plums in early spring was an elegant activity of the lofty-minded, Jin compliments and felicitates his friend for pursuing such elegant enjoyment in his dream.

A further reading of the phrase *shuibian linxia* adds yet another dimension to it, invoking a set of literary conventions in which activities other than searching for plums occurred. As the phrase *shuibian linxia* suggests an outdoor setting, it could designate an enclosed garden area or an open pastoral place. In Chinese literature, especially fiction and drama, gardens most often serve as meeting places for men and women, despite their other microcosmological and symbolic functions.²⁶ In one often-cited example from the *Story of the West Chamber* (*Xixiangji* 西廂記), the sub-lunar garden meeting of the aspiring scholar Zhang Junrue 張君瑞 and the vulnerable heroine Cui Yingying 崔鶯鶯 leads to more intimate sexual relations later. Garden meetings, serving as a prelude to later developments in the story, therefore come to typify works in the "talented scholar and beautiful woman" (*caizi jiaren* 才子佳人) genre in the Ming-Qing period. Ming woodblock prints of garden meetings between a man and a woman in a dream, such as that illustrating the Ming drama *Mudanting* 牡丹亭 (The peony pavilion), exemplify the perpetuation and popularity of this motif in both literature and pictorial presentation (fig. 2).²⁷ Furthermore, garden settings could be the very stage for sexual play. For example, in the sixteenth-century novel *Jinpingmei cihua* 金瓶梅詞話 (The golden lotus), lovemaking frequently occurs in the garden compound, with the notorious sexual escapade of the hero Ximen Qing 西門慶 and his concubine Pan Jinlian 潘金蓮 set under a grape arbor.²⁸

If "trees by the water," especially when

combined with the elements of the dream and the divine woman, is read as an open-air pastoral or even remote rural setting, then a different set of literary conventions follows. The phrase recalls the early *fu* 賦, or prose-poem, tradition, in which one common motif was the meeting in a rural setting of a divine woman and man in a dream. A prime example of this common motif occurs in *Luoshen fu* 洛神賦 (Rhapsody of the Luo River nymph): Mifei 宓妃, the nymph of the Luo River, emerges from behind a cliff and travels above the ripples of the Luo River, appearing while the hero rests by the riverbank during his long journey. Struck by her beauty and aristocratic appearance, the hero falls in love with her yet hesitates to accept her invitation to take vows after they exchange jade pendants as a pledge of love.²⁹ Consequently, the story ends in tragedy. Mifei departs with all her celestial attendants and fantastic animals, leaving the despondent poet mourning by the riverbank, soaked by dew through the sleepless night. Written in the third century A.D., *Luoshen fu* was actually a pastiche of many earlier works in the *fu* tradition. Motifs such as encounters with celestial women, short-lived romances, pendants as pledges of love, the unpredictable departures of divine women, and dejected human heroes can be traced, for instance, to *Gaotang fu* 高唐賦 (Rhapsody of Gaotang) and *Shennü fu* 神女賦 (Rhapsody of the divine woman) of the Warring States period.

In *Gaotang fu*, the ancient monarch of Chu 楚 meets a celestial woman in his dream. This woman, named Rainbow Consort (Yaoji 瑤姬), claims to be the youngest daughter of the ancient emperor Yu 禹 and to have been deified as the goddess of Shaman Mountain (Mt. Wu 巫) from the time of her youthful death. The prose-poem clearly indicates sexual intercourse between the monarch and the woman, who, as she departs, informs her human lover that she is transforming herself into the morning clouds and evening rain lingering around the site called Yangtai 陽臺. Although anthropologists may interpret the union of the sage king with the rainbow consort as symbolic of the ancient rite of praying for rain,³⁰ proper place names such as Mt. Wu, Gaotang, and Yangtai have, since the time of this prose-poem, designated erotic encounters. "Morning clouds and evening rain" or even "clouds and rain" came to represent sexual intercourse in later Chinese literature. Expressions such as "we meet like clouds and rain by the mountain gorges" or "the meeting at Mt.

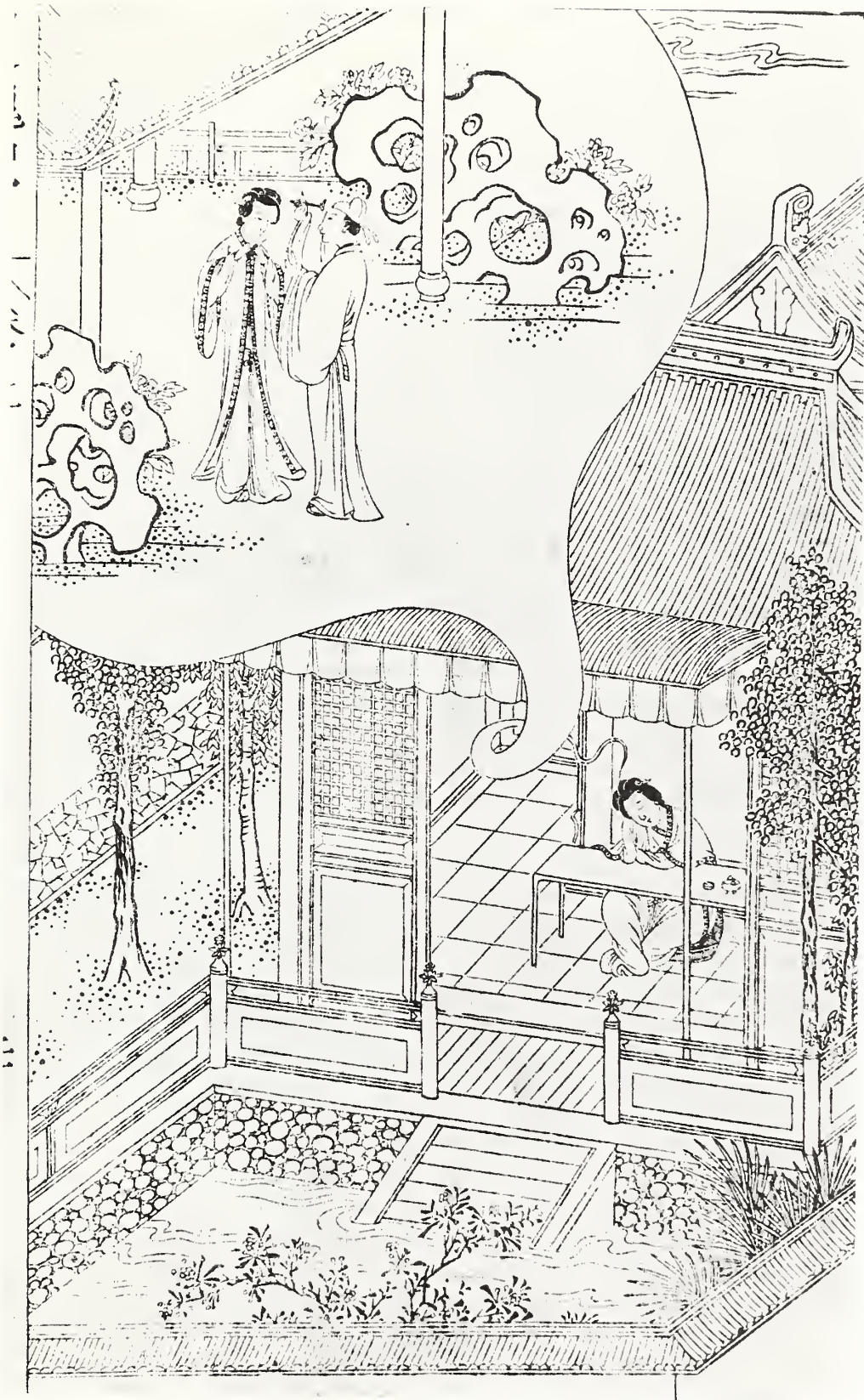


FIG. 2. Anon., Ming dynasty, woodblock illustration of a scene from
The Peony Pavilion (1617 ed.). Source: *Mingdai banhuaxuan* 1:7.

Wu" have become classic idioms denoting sexual play.

The poet Song Yu 宋玉 recorded similar ventures in his *Shennü fu*, written as a sequel to *Gaotang fu*. In *Shennü fu*, the poet himself reportedly has a sexual encounter with a beautiful woman in a dream. Apparently, the dream was a prerequisite psychological state for erotic encounters between human men and celestial women in this type of literature.³¹ The nymph of the Luo River appears while the poet is in a state of semiconsciousness. In other words, the divine woman is tangible only in a dream.

It is not an accident that the author of *Luo-shen fu* plotted the encounter of the poet and the fairy by the riverbank. This theme has its origin in Chinese mythology as well as history. The nymph of the Luo River is one of the many goddesses associated with the great rivers and lakes of China.³² When history, legend, and folklore were mixed together in later periods, river goddesses or divine women by the water were romanticized.³³ And the quest for the divine woman by the water became another established motif in literature. Many heroes of romance, be they ancient monarch, prince, poet, aspiring scholar, or lonely fisherman, search for or long for a beautiful woman by the water. A poem by the Tang poet Meng Haoran 孟浩然 (689–740) demonstrates the resonance of such a legend as well as the perpetuation of this motif:

On a flat stone I sit and fish.
The water is clear, my mind at ease.
Fish swim beneath the pool's trees,
Apes hang among the island's vines.
Wandering maidens once took off their pendants,
Tradition says it was in these mountains,
I seek them but cannot find them.
Following the moon and chanting a boat song I return.³⁴

Simultaneously separating and fusing the past and the present in this poem, the poet dwells on the longing of the fisherman. And he ends the poem with unfulfilled yearning, accentuating his disappointment and loneliness by picturing a man in a vast pastoral setting. By using "wandering maidens" (*younü* 游女), the poet seems to diffuse the divinity of the women.

Thus we return to the love songs in *Shijing*, in which the lovers most often yearn and court in pastoral settings, especially by rivers. The *Guofeng* 國風 section of *Shijing*, the collection of ballads

and songs from various regions, provides numerous examples. The following love song from the Hanguang 漢廣 region is typical:

In the South there are tall trees,
One cannot rest under them.
At the Han River there are wandering maidens (*younü*),
One cannot seek them.³⁵

As a Confucian scholar who studied for civil service examinations, Jin must have familiarized himself with the four books and the five classics, including *Shijing*. Since he was also known as a poet well versed in old idioms, it would not be surprising for him to use a phrase or two from the love songs in *Shijing* for this auspicious occasion. And, scrupulous as usual, Jin also chose his diction carefully, creating layers of implication.

Whether culling examples from ancient love songs, medieval poems, or drama and fiction of the recent past, whether the jade maiden is truly a celestial woman or a secularized divine woman, Jin alludes in his verse to the harmonious encounter of his scholar friend with his new concubine. Essentially he congratulates his friend on the fulfillment of romantic love instead of the futile quest that had haunted generations.³⁶ Inscribing the lines on a bed canopy decorated with blossoming plum, Jin on the surface seems to have presented his friend with an elegant greeting associated with the blossoming plum. On a different level, he could be expressing the wish that his friend have an amorous dream equal to that of heroes in classical literature. Not only is the image of a woman indicated in the initial line "inside the jade maiden's window," but the intimate relationship between men and women is metaphorically described. In other words, Jin intended to commingle the male and female image in his auspicious verse.

The notion of commingling can also be observed in the pictorial design of the painting. Jin painted two intertwined plum tree branches, one with monochromatic ink flowers, the other with translucent pink. On these two main branches the darkest ink dots were applied, giving them a relatively heavy and masculine quality. Compared to the side branches and twigs executed in much lighter ink tones, and the more delicate brushwork in the background, these two main branches dominate the lower half of the painting. Also noteworthy is the placement of the flowers. All

of the ink monochrome flowers seem to grow on the main branches, while the pink flowers grow on the side twigs and assume a much less prominent position, as if they were subordinated to the main branches and the ink monochrome flowers. A certain tension seems to exist between the two main branches, as well as between the main branches and side twigs, between the ink monochrome and the pink flowering plum. On the other hand, they intermingle with each other on the pictorial surface.

This quality is especially obvious in the upper part of the painting. What starts as separate in the lower part intertwines in the upper part. The ink flowers and the colored flowers seem to have merged at, or to have met on, the same pictorial plane. Instead of any one feature dominating, the flowers, twigs, and branches commingle, achieving a certain quality of harmony. There is no foreground, no background, no dominant motif but a beautiful picture of varied brushwork, ink, and colors.

We have no clue thus far as to the occasion for this painting. Nor do we have for comparison the image of the plum blossom canopy that Jin Nong painted for his friend Mr. Shen, but it seems logical to speculate that a similar festive occasion was implied.³⁷ In greeting the future recipient, Jin Nong uses the ink monochrome flowers to symbolize the man and the colored flowers to represent the woman, the main branches representing the male and the masculine and the side twigs the female and the feminine, or the main branch on the left male and the one on the right female. The notions of masculinity and femininity, the dominant and subordinate, seem to contrast yet complement each other in Jin's pictorial design. The tension and harmony were intended simultaneously; two contrasting elements mingle harmoniously³⁸ in the visual tangle of the plum blossoms.

In fact, Jin Nong is not the first to explore the erotic element of the blossoming plum. In a Song anecdote improvising on Su Shi's 蘇軾 poem praising the beauty of the plum blossom at the foothill of Mt. Luofu 羅浮 (in modern Guangdong 廣東 Province), the lonely and unworldly plum blossom beauty is turned into a bewitched fairy in a man's licentious dream.³⁹ One of Chen Yuyi's 陳與義 (1090–1138) many famous poems on blossoming plum likens a woman entering a wedding chamber to the red and white plum blossom awaiting the arrival of spring to bloom.⁴⁰

Viewing the branches of blossoming plum in Jin's painting, one realizes that the artist has adopted an established literary convention that had not previously been explicitly presented in the tradition of ink monochrome plum.⁴¹ In this light, the mixing of pink and monochromatic ink flower branches in this painting seems even more deliberate.⁴²

The Plum Blossom Canopy: A Deliberate Inversion

Jin's plum blossom canopy elaborates his deliberate play with the notion of contrast and harmony. In *Shanjia qingshi* 山家清事 (The mountaineer's pure pursuits), the Song recluse Lin Hong 林洪 (act. thirteenth century) elucidates the original spirit behind the making of a *meihua zhizhang* 梅花紙帳 (plum blossom paper canopy):

The method employs a single bed.

At the sides plant four black-lacquered pillars.

From each hang a tin vase and insert several branches of flowering plum.

Behind the bed, set a black-lacquered post—about two *chi* 尺 [20 Chinese inches] from the ground to roof—to provide support for pure sitting [*qingzuo* 清坐].

At the left and the right [of the bed], set a horizontal pole from which you may hang clothing.

At the corner place a small spotted bamboo bookcase to hold three or four sets of books.

Hang a white flywhisk.

On top, make a wide-mesh open-work roof.

Use fine white mulberry bark cloth to make a canopy covering it.

In front [of the bed], place a small footstool.

To the left, plant a small green-lacquer lotus leaf, place an incense tripod, and burn wisteria scent.

Inside, use only a thin sheet, a coverlet of bark cloth, a pillow stuffed with dried chrysanthemums, and a mattress stuffed with bulrushes, in order to complement each other, according to the idea of:

"The Daoist having paid his connubial debt,

Deeply dreams among plum blossoms in his paper tent."

The ancients said:

"A thousand mornings of taking [Daoist] drugs

Are not worth a single night of sleeping alone."

If one is unable to take this as his rule, he must urgently remove the flowering plum blossoms! Let there be no staining of them!⁴³

According to Lin Hong, the making of a plum blossom paper canopy is one of the pure

pursuits of a mountain dweller, grouped with other elegant leisure pastimes such as studying the physiognomy of cranes, planting bamboo, and making bamboo containers for sending poems. In the first line of instructions the author specifies that the canopy should be made for a single bed. The furnishings of the bed include an arrangement of blossoming plum, a bookcase made of mottled bamboo, an incense burner, pure white linen, and pillows stuffed with dry chrysanthemums, displaying a simple, rustic, and elegant taste. The activities proposed to take place around the plum blossom canopied bed—pure sitting, incense burning, and reading—all converge on the notion of purification and cultivation in solitude. Toward the end of the instruction Lin dictates that such a canopied bed is intended as a place to sleep alone and have purifying dreams inspired by the blossoming plum, especially after payment of the “connubial debt” (*yuanyang zhai* 鴛鴦債), a phrase indicating the unavoidability of love and sexual affairs.⁴⁴ Lin Hong emphasizes this solitary purpose when at the end of his instruction he quotes the Daoist teaching that the single ingredient for longevity is to “sleep alone.” He maintains that anyone who cannot sleep alone inside the plum blossom canopy is guilty of defiling and misusing the blossoming plum. In such a case, according to Lin Hong, the flower should be promptly removed.

In this record Lin Hong seems to have invented the association of a canopied bed with plum blossom, but in fact *zhizhang* 紙帳 (paper tent or paper canopy) appeared in the writings of Song poets before Lin. For instance, the famous female poet Li Qingzhao 李清照 (1084–after 1151) delineates rustic simplicity, as well as the lonely and celibate life after her husband’s death, by pairing a rattan bed with a paper canopy in her *ci* 詞 (lyric songs or cantos).⁴⁵ The paper canopy seems to have been linked with blossoming plum around the turn of the thirteenth century, when the blossoming plum surged in popularity and became a symbol of cultural refinement. In his essay on the blossoming plum, Zhang Zi 張鎰 (1153–after 1211), a contemporary of Lin Hong who exemplifies the graceful leisure life of the elite in late Song Hangzhou, lists paper canopies as one of the most fitting matches for the flower among twenty-five other objects and solitary activities.⁴⁶ *Zhizhang* and *meihua* also appeared as a matching pair in Xin Qiji’s 辛棄疾 (1140–1207)

ci, referring to a sober state after drinking.⁴⁷ The recluse-poet Dai Fugu 戴復古 (1167–after 1247), another contemporary of Lin Hong, actually likened a plum blossom canopy (*meihua zhang* 梅花帳) to a dish of vegetables in his poem referring to the frugal life of a recluse.⁴⁸

Thus Jin’s 1754 plum blossom canopy for Mr. Shen alludes to an elegant pursuit from the past. But he diverges radically from the original idea in his use of the canopy, for he uses it to celebrate a couple’s marital harmony. His implication of possible love play inside the canopied bed further inverts the puritanism associated with the plum blossom canopy. In this sense, Jin violates the original spirit of the canopy—an overt challenge to the old masters and a subtle one to his contemporaries, for it would have disturbed only those who were cultivated enough to know the original symbolism. For those unaware of the original meaning,⁴⁹ it would have seemed appropriate to grace a bed for two with a canopy of beautiful flowers symbolizing spring, the source of life.

Colors from a Woman’s Cosmetic Box: Constructing the Image of an Amateur Artist

After elegantly explaining the circumstances in which the poem was originally composed, Jin describes the conditions under which the present work was made. The colors of the painting, he reports, were the red pigment used for lips and the black for eyebrows from a woman’s cosmetic box. Whether these elements were what Jin actually used or merely a poetic conceit, the artist here conveys, first of all, his amateur status. Except for brush and ink, two indispensable items for a scholar’s studio, he was not equipped with the most important materials of a professional painter, pigments. Secondly, this description implies that the painting was created spontaneously, its colors taken from materials at hand. Whether the cosmetic box belonged to a woman in his own household or a woman encountered socially, such a description reinforces the idea that the painting was not created in his studio and was very possibly produced during a social event.

In Chinese art history, paintings were often produced at social occasions. The creative process became one of the themes of these gatherings, similar to performances of music and dance or the recitation of poetry. While artists on such

occasions may have been motivated by artistic creativity, the product could well have been used as a token to discharge social obligations or to repay the hospitality of the host.⁵⁰ This practice was especially common among painters with literary backgrounds who considered it demeaning to sell their own paintings, for in this reciprocal social system the painting changed hands with no indication of monetary value. Such an exchange did not violate painters' amateur status, which saved them from sinking to the lower social class of artisans or specialized professionals. The social status of these painters therefore remained different from that of professional painters summoned to the same gathering to make quasi-photographic records of the event or that of artists who sold ready-made paintings in the open market.

The dichotomy amateur/professional has always been sensitive among Chinese painters, especially those with literary backgrounds. The literati painting theory introduced in the Northern Song period can be viewed as a declaration of the superiority of paintings by the literati. It values qualities such as plainness, spontaneity, and amateurish awkwardness in painting. When in the early seventeenth century Dong Qichang 董其昌 (1555–1636) advocated his literati painting theory, he actually perpetuated traditional values and reinforced the association of style with social status developed from the time of the Yuan dynasty. In other words, Dong not only defined the proper style and subject matter for literati painters like him but devalued paintings executed in fine lines and heavy colors, qualities associated with the professional artist. Even though Dong's theory or the literati painting theory of the late Ming period appears partial, it was definitely based on the Confucian value system, and it had a profound impact.

In eighteenth-century Yangzhou, no matter how iconoclastic or eccentric the Yangzhou masters were, or how blurred the line between amateurs and professionals, or how relaxed the attitude toward the sale of paintings by the literati, the superior status of amateur over professional artists was still a deep-rooted ideology among the educated. This attitude is evident in many kinds of texts defending or justifying the professionalization of the literati painters. Zheng Xie's 鄭燮 (1693–1765) price list is one such document, produced in 1759, the same year as the painting presently under discussion.⁵¹ In other words, in

eighteenth-century China, book learning was a deep-rooted value, and careers in the civil service were still the ultimate goal for the educated,⁵² even though factors such as population increase and quota restrictions had narrowed the road to officialdom. Painting was seen as an occupation for professionals, although many highly educated literati adopted it as a source of income. As a member of the elite class, Jin conformed to traditional values, on the one hand. But on the other hand, as a pragmatic person for whom the road to officialdom had been closed, he carved out a niche for himself selling and dealing in literary products for a living in the commercialized economic system of eighteenth-century China.⁵³ By constructing a casual or social occasion for the creation of this painting, Jin presents himself as an amateur artist. Further investigation of Jin's career as a painter reveals the intention of his efforts to stress amateurishness and spontaneity in creating his art.

Although Jin made a name as one of the most renowned artists in Chinese painting history, he did not focus on painting as a personal pursuit until his later years. He was forced to switch to painting from various other artistic and economic activities when he could no longer continue his life as an income-generating sojourner because of an illness that almost killed him in the mid-1740s. According to his own account, at age sixty-one (1747) he settled in his hometown, Hangzhou, and made bamboo painting a leisure pastime as well as a source of income. He adopted the motif of the blossoming plum, which became his most popular subject matter, after he moved to Yangzhou in 1750. According to Jin, he depended on painting as a source of income during his years of retirement in Yangzhou and also devoted his energies to various other activities, such as art dealing and publishing. It is likely that plum blossom paintings became a standard stock-in-trade product and that the production process resembled that of a workshop. In other words, instead of individualized work created under the influence of artistic inspiration, Jin's plum blossom paintings may have been ready-made with standardized compositions and repeated inscriptions or with his signature added later. This method of production is evident from the repeated compositions and inscriptions among Jin's extant plum blossom paintings.

Aside from the repetitiveness of Jin's plum blossom paintings, their uneven quality has long

disturbed art historians and connoisseurs. This unevenness has led to the conjecture that some of Jin's plum blossom paintings were actually executed by ghost painters. Various sources support this argument. Jin himself reveals that he acquired two disciples during the year 1754–55: Luo Pin 羅聘 and Xiang Yun 項均, who also perfected the skill of painting blossoming plum after having studied poetry with Jin. Reportedly, they were both capable of imitating Jin's style. One of them, Xiang Yun, confessed that his own paintings of blossoming plum would not sell unless they were inscribed or autographed by the master. Other sources maintain that Jin depended on more than two ghost painters. Thus Jin's active roles as a go-between for contemporary artists and their clients, as coordinator of an art dealing operation, and as master of a painter's workshop become clear.⁵⁴

In fact, in his earlier life, Jin had been involved in such handicrafts as ink-stone and lantern production. In other words, as a literatus, a well-educated member of a social elite, he had engaged at various stages of his life in professions associated with those of lower social stations. Yet upon occasion he felt obligated to justify such activities, thus demonstrating the uneasiness and insecurity evoked by being a professional. In the painting under discussion—dedicated to an important patron, Jiang Chun—Jin denies having adopted the practice of a professional painter or simply covers up his involvement in commercial activities by fabricating a casual occasion for his stock-in-trade product. In other words, a playful dab into a woman's cosmetic box for colors was a gesture to signal his spontaneity and amateurishness in the production of the present painting. Seemingly lightheartedly but in fact painstakingly, Jin was constructing a self-image of an aloof scholar who dabbles in art on social occasions.

Jiang Chun: A Powerful Patron

Eighteenth-century Yangzhou was a city of wealth and extravagance. It was the headquarters of salt merchants, who were granted a monopoly on the production and transportation of one-quarter of the nation's salt supply⁵⁵ and whose capital exceeded that of all other eighteenth-century commercial groups. When compared with established cultural and commercial cities in the

Yangzi Delta such as Suzhou, Hangzhou, and Nanking, however, Yangzhou was considered relatively lacking in cultural refinement. It has been described as a city of vulgarity and as an uncritical follower of the fashion and fad of the northern capital or nearby Suzhou. This attitude is evident in the writings and commentaries of contemporaries as well as later generations. The combination of accumulated capital and the urge to acquire cultural refinement made the private patrons of Yangzhou the most eager and generous in Chinese history. They were the most powerful patrons of Evidential Studies (*kaozheng* 考證) in the Qianlong 乾隆 (1736–96) and Jiaqing 嘉慶 (1796–1820) periods and owned excellent rare book collections.⁵⁶ They also sponsored many kinds of literary activity, such as poetry gatherings, drama performances, antique collecting, and book publishing. In other words, as a relatively new commercial center, Yangzhou vied with the more established urban cultural centers in the Jiangnan area.

The glamor of the urban life and the opportunity it offered made eighteenth-century Yangzhou a necessary stop for tourists and sojourners from all walks of life. Emperor Qianlong visited the city three times during his six trips to the Yangzi Delta region. On the other end of the social-class spectrum, the professional painter Huang Shen 黃慎 (1687–after 1768) from Fujian 福建 Province stayed in Yangzhou regularly and ran a workshop operation there.⁵⁷ Yangzhou was especially alluring for those seeking recognition and employment. Men of letters—poets, scholars, officials, writers, artists—found it attractive because, like other qualities and skills they possessed, cultural refinement was a valuable commodity there.

From this perspective it is not difficult to understand why Jin Nong, a member of a landowning family of Hangzhou, a renowned poet, a reputable scholar, a nominee for the special metropolitan examination of 1736, had frequented the city in his youth and chose to retire there. In addition to being a member of the elite and having national acclaim, Jin also excelled in various literati pursuits such as calligraphy, music, seal carving, and connoisseurship of antiques. Most importantly, he seemed to be willing to accommodate or to entertain audiences of various classes. When, according to an oft-quoted anecdote, Jin saved his merchant host from embarrassment by fabricating a literary source for the ridiculed verse the merchant produced under the

pressure of public performance,⁵⁸ he showed himself to be a witty, well-versed, yet accommodating guest. Thus like many of his contemporaries, Jin was desirable and popular among wealthy patron hosts. For the rich and the less educated who recognized the values for which Jin stood, he served to connect them to the refined, literary world that was otherwise distant from them.

The relationship between Jin Nong and Jiang Chun typifies a high-level social exchange in eighteenth-century Yangzhou. As the fourth generation of a prominent salt merchant family, Jiang Chun inherited the position of head merchant from his father.⁵⁹ This position gave him not only a leading role among his fellow merchants but also a close relationship with the political power center in the northern capital. His effort to raise money to finance military campaigns during the Qianlong era won him an actual official title of the second rank, higher than any academic degree holder could have immediately obtained. He was granted the privilege of entertaining the emperor in his own garden estate during Emperor Qianlong's southern tours. Aside from being a man of both economic and political power, Jiang is also assured a place in Chinese history as one of the most generous cultural patrons of the eighteenth century.

Educated and capable of writing poetry, Jiang loved literary associations. Men of letters, including scholars of national repute, poets from all over the country, were invited to his household and became dependent on his support. Reportedly, literary gatherings frequently filled his hall, which could accommodate more than a hundred guests. Though Jin Nong's name did not appear among Jiang's list of regular household guests, their relationship can be dated back to at least 1750, when Jiang published Jin's anthology.⁶⁰ A painting dedicated in December to this powerful patron may indicate their long-term relationship, serving as an annual token of appreciation for favors Jin had received during the calendar year.

Jin made a single subject flexible and versatile in order to cope with the commercialization of his paintings and the demands of a wide audience. He used plum blossom paintings on various occasions and dedicated them to many different recipients. They could be sentimental gifts for old friends, tokens to repay favors received, or expressions of consolation for sick

acquaintances. Admirers of his plum paintings ranged from high officials and wealthy merchants to scholars, monks, students, and unidentifiable others.⁶¹ Similar strategies can be observed in the work of other Yangzhou masters. For instance, the scholar-official painter Zheng Xie used paintings of another literary subject, ink monochrome orchids, as congratulatory gifts to wish recipients many children on such festive occasions as New Year's, birthdays, and weddings or as farewell gifts for scholar-officials traveling to or departing from their official posts.⁶²

Bushels of Pearls: Dirge for Unappreciated Talents

After explaining how the poem on the present painting was first composed, Jin Nong suddenly shifts to a rather casual, if not banal, tone: "How about presenting this to those who have ten *hu* of shining pearls in their possession?" "Shining pearls" could function as a pun in this case, suggesting beautiful young ladies as well as the literal meaning. *Hu* 斛 is the unit of measure for rice, equal to half a bushel (*shi* 石). By referring to the possession of both many jewels and many women, Jin Nong indicates that the dedicatee of his painting is someone with both wealth and virility. A man of Jiang's social station would be more than qualified to accept such a compliment.

The image of woman is again implied. But her status is radically changed, especially when compared with the enshrined woman, Shen's celestial concubine. Here Jin forges yet another contrast. Five years ago there had been one precious woman; now there are many—so many, in fact, that they cannot be counted but must instead be measured by the bushel as if they were rice, a common commodity whose price fluctuated around one tael of silver per bushel in the eighteenth century.⁶³ Jin Nong thus articulates a strong sense of the devaluation of women. He is probably referring to the women around Jiang Chun, including concubines, courtesans, maid servants, and singing and dancing girls around the household.⁶⁴

By using the expression "bushels of pearls," Jin commands yet another dimension of emotion. The phrase "bushels of pearls" must have been derived from "a bushel of pearls" (*yihuzhu* 一斛珠), alleged to have been the title of a song originating in the Tang court. According to a

fictitious biographical account, a Tang imperial consort named Meifei 梅妃 (Blossoming Plum Consort) lost her place as the favorite of Emperor Minghuang 明皇 (Xuanzong 宣宗, r. 712–56) to her rival, Consort Yang Guifei 楊貴妃. As a result of her plea through a long prose-poem, the emperor sent her “a bushel of pearls” as a token of consolation. Disappointed and humiliated, she rejected the pearls with a poem comparing herself to the disfavored Han court lady Chen 陳, who reportedly regained the emperor’s favor by sending him a long prose-poem, *Changmen fu* 長門賦 (Rhapsody of the Tall-Gate Palace), after being removed to the remote Tall-Gate Palace. Blossoming Plum Consort lamented her misery bitterly, ending the poem with a futile plea: “In Tall-Gate Palace there is no purpose even in combing and washing, so what need have I for pearls to console my solitude?”⁶⁵ This poem apparently did not restore her to Minghuang’s favor as the Tall-Gate prose-poem had the Han court lady. The remorseful Minghuang reportedly instead ordered the poem set to music and named the tune “A Bushel of Pearls.” Incorporating the title of a dirge for disfavored women into his inscription, Jin dwells on the grief of unwanted women. Discreetly, he incorporates the contrast between a bushel and bushels, one unwanted woman and many ignored in anonymity.⁶⁶

In Chinese literature, the social marginality of women was often used as a metaphor for male frustration. Women’s subordination to and dependency on their male counterparts—as wives, for instance—served as an analogy for the relationship of subjects to the sovereign. A disfavored woman therefore was most often a metaphor for unappreciated talents. Just as a palace lady who fails to attract the attention of the emperor falls into misery, a talented man not recognized by the ruling monarch is left out of the political scene, thus losing his centrality in traditional Chinese society. Qu Yuan’s 屈原 (343–277 B.C.) famous *Encountering Sorrow* (*Lisao* 離騷), which refers to disfavored women and falling flowers as emblems of unappreciated men, may have served as a prototype.⁶⁷ Prominent poets of the Song dynasty, such as Lu You 陸游 (1125–1210) and Xin Qiji, frequently used the same metaphor to express their frustration during difficult political times. The tradition was perpetuated in Ming-Qing times, with abundant examples in short stories and novels.⁶⁸ Lamenting wasted youth and misfortune became a popular motif in Chinese

literature with political themes. Plum blossom poems, in this context, can be viewed as one of this genre’s subcategories. Wang Anshi’s 王安石 (1021–86) poem “The Flowering Plums on Lone Hill” is typical:

The flowering plums on Lone Hill, what are they like,
Half blossoming, half fading, midst briars and thorns?
A lovely woman, desolate, among grasses and trees?
A high-minded gentleman, thwarted, amidst brambles
and weeds?
Straight upright, their forsaken beauty carries the win-
try sun;
Quiet and silent, their fragrance spreads through the
wilds with the wind.
They missed their chance to be transplanted, now their
roots are aging;
They turn their heads toward the Imperial Park—their
beauty wasted.⁶⁹

Blossoming plums in remote areas—failing to gain attention, withering in loneliness like an unappreciated recluse who misses the chance to enter government service—became a shared motif among politically frustrated literati.⁷⁰ In his own writing Jin Nong often lamented the desolation of wasted talent—nowhere more compellingly than in an inscription on a blossoming plum painting that dwells on the image of falling petals in the wind, damaged even before they reach full bloom:

[The branch of blossoming plum] reflects [its shade]
on the mottled wall in the setting sun.
Blossoming plum were yet to reach full bloom.
In the ruthless wind from the East.
The flowers, falling, dispersing, become muddy.⁷¹

Incarnations of the Blossoming Plum: Portrait of a Gentleman

In painting plum blossoms, Jin emphasized both his fondness for the plant and his spiritual association with the old masters who excelled in painting or writing about this subject. Repeatedly, he projected himself as Lin Bu 林逋 (967–1028), a native Hangzhou recluse-poet of the Song dynasty who was famous for his plum poems and was considered an “untrammelled recluse” (*yinyi* 隱逸) in Song history. “Painting blossoming plum under the moonlight, there is only a crane to accompany me. The dance of the crane has purified my soul”: thus Jin inscribed a plum painting for his lifelong friend Ding Jing 丁敬 in

Hangzhou.⁷² Borrowing Lin Bu's line and reenacting Lin's reclusive activities by West Lake, Jin identified himself with the ancient hermit from his hometown Hangzhou who was referred to as the personification of the blossoming plum.

In another plum painting also dated to 1759, branches of up-springing monochromatic blossoming plum represent "self-portraits" of both Jin Nong and Lin Bu, an image accepted by both Jin Nong and his patron Wang Youzeng 王又曾 (1706–62), a prominent court official (fig. 3).⁷³ This use of the blossoming plum as "self-portrait" is evident in the second inscription on the left. Reportedly, Wang Youzeng had written a seven-character poem requesting a painting from Jin Nong and ending with: "In this world no one can depict its [blossoming plum's] charm with brush, but we still must ask Lin Bu for his self-portrait (zixiezhen 自寫真)."⁷⁴ Although the poem mentions no plum blossom, Jin responded with this picture of the blossoming plum. In presenting a "self-portrait" to a person close to the center of government who appreciated and understood his work, Jin supplied a most revealing inscription. After reiterating the well-known story about two Song plum painters, Yang Wujiu 楊無咎 (1097–1169) and Ding Yetang 丁野堂 (act. mid-thirteenth century), whose talents were recognized and praised by two Song emperors, Jin ended his inscription, somewhat enviously:

The two old gentlemen had the good fortune to be admired at two imperial courts, and their works were studied and classified, so that throughout the centuries artistic circles have considered them legendary. Now, I too have done a likeness of latticed branches and sparse shadows [plum blossom]. How could it also enter the Nine Enclosures [the Palace] and be submitted to imperial view?⁷⁵

Jin then added an apologetic and self-deprecating line: "After having completed the painting, I inscribe these jesting words in order to present to you, the honorable assistant secretary Mr. Guyuan 穀原, for a laugh." Comparing himself to plum painters of the past, Jin, in his old age, had not given up hope of public recognition and was still negotiating a place for his name in history books. His identification with Lin Bu assumes another association, since Lin Bu was honored with an imperial pension by Song Emperor Zhenzong 真宗 (r. 997–1022) and granted a posthumous title by Emperor Renzong 仁宗 (r. 1022–63).⁷⁶



FIG. 3. Jin Nong, *Blossoming Plum*, dated 1759. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 124.1 × 42.9 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Collection of John M. Crawford, Jr.

The painting of blossoming plum dedicated to Jiang Chun, a high-ranking merchant-official, thus cannot be dismissed without viewing its political implications. Was Jin likening himself to a talented man waiting to be appreciated and Jiang to a representative of the government? Or, in a different vein, was he a traveling literatus soliciting the recognition of a merchant patron? In any case, both the painted flower and the artist, the personification of the flower, are waiting to be appreciated. Jin's reference to Jiang by his official title, *shangqing* 上卿,⁷⁷ in the inscription inevitably reveals a bitter contrast between the two men. Despite all his literary attainments and his nomination to sit in the special examination of 1736, Jin never won an official title. He referred to himself as a "common citizen" (*buyi* 布衣) all his life. In his late years, he lived modestly and alone in a Yangzhou temple hostel. In addition to power and wealth, the contrast expressed in the inscription is also that of age. At the end of the dedication, Jin Nong refers to himself as a seventy-three-year-old man, while Jiang was at his peak at age thirty-nine (Chinese *sui* 歲) in 1759.

Jin's bitterness may have come from yet another source. Not only did he fail to compete with Jiang despite his personal merits, but he also had to subject himself to the whims of a cultural patron. Financially, Jin was decidedly vulnerable and subordinate to Jiang. In late imperial China, when the competition to obtain government appointments was fierce, an increasing number of educated men turned to private patronage as an alternative to public service. Private patrons provided them not only with financial support but with opportunities for self-realization that were not possible in official posts. Both Jin Nong and his scholar friend Shen Dacheng depended on private patronage. The special circumstances in Yangzhou made merchant patrons such as Jiang Chun not only economically and politically prominent but also culturally dominant. They were the new social elite who set the cultural trends in Yangzhou. Nevertheless, from a traditional point of view, cultivated though they might be, they still belonged to the merchant class, the least respected according to traditional Confucian social norms. In ancient times, it was probably considered improper for members of the literary elite to associate so closely with those of such social standing, not to mention entertaining them openly.⁷⁸ The reality of eighteenth-century China,

however, was quite the opposite. In Yangzhou, not only could merchants and literati be a homogeneous group, but a number of salt merchants actually functioned as government officials. Their political status has been referred to by historians as quasi-governmental.⁷⁹ In Jiang Chun's case, an official title was actually conferred.

In such an era Jin and other contemporary literati were too vulnerable to be independent or to remain in reclusion. In ancient times they would have been repeatedly and respectfully (*sangu maolu* 三顧茅廬) asked by the ruling monarch to join the government, as in the legend of Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮 (191–234) of the Three Kingdoms. Ironically, instead of being invited by the government, these latterday literati had to promote themselves and solicit recognition, commercializing their scholarly product.⁸⁰ It is not difficult therefore to understand why Jin expresses a nostalgic sense of loss and longing for the old order.

As an eighteenth-century man of letters, Jin had to assume various roles: from an aspiring young prodigy of poetry to a nominee for metropolitan examinations; from an amateur antique connoisseur to a professional art dealer; from a landowning gentleman of national fame to a recipient of private patronage; from a flamboyant young man to a lonely old lay Buddhist monk; from a lofty scholar to a shrewd businessman. In his old age, painting seemed to become an effective vehicle for projecting a sense of his interior self. "I am old and incapable. I am also too lazy to write poems. . . . However, my lofty temperament still exists, displayed only when I finish a bamboo painting." So Jin claimed as he started his painting career in Hangzhou, painting bamboo before he switched to plum blossoms.⁸¹

Taking painting as an extension of poetry, Jin was following in the footsteps of generations of scholars who had adopted painting as a vehicle of self-expression. And the suitability of the plum blossom theme was clearly stated in a plum painting manual dated to the Yuan dynasty:

Sketching plum blossoms and making poems are essentially the same: in other words, as the ancient said, "Painting is soundless poetry and poetry, painting with sound." Thus a painting's success in conveying ideas is comparable to a poem's having excellent verses. Whether they come from happiness and joy or worry and sorrow, whether they come from excitement and agitation or resentment and anger, they are all occasioned by the feelings of a moment. There are thirteen genres

of painting, but blossoming plum is not in this list because its air of rising above the world is beyond the scope of common people.⁸²

It then continues by describing how form can convey mood:

When it comes from happiness and joy, the [plum blossom] branches are clear-cut and slender and the flowers, poised and charming; when it comes from worry and sorrow, the branches are sparse and bare and the flowers, haggard and chilled. When it comes from excitement and agitation, the branches are twisting and strong and the flowers, unfettered and unbridled; when it comes from resentment and anger, the branches are antique and eccentric and the flowers wild and vigorous.⁸³

The intertwining branches and the paw-print-like flowers in Jin's plum painting dated to 1759 seem to articulate Jin's excited and ambivalent mood. On the other hand, the festivity and harmony already observed in this painting seem to indicate that Jin's self-projection has yielded to another immediate purpose, that of dedicating the painting to a powerful patron. Unlimited self-expression was limited by an authority.

Indeed, Jin's relationship with Jiang Chun, best characterized as interdependent, was probably not without a certain tension. While Jiang acted as a client, Jin supplied him with culturally refined literary products, one of the few valuable commodities that could be added to Jiang's wealth and power. On the other hand, Jin could not but insist on his pride as a true scholar, a man of virtue in the traditional sense, while he was dealing with a man of mere wealth, a new player on the cultural scene. The tension we witness in Jin's Freer painting may have been rooted in this deeply felt emotion. Nevertheless, this sentiment seems to dissolve iconographically and symbolically when the competing elements in the picture eventually reach the sense of harmony that marks the viewer's initial impression of the painting. Jin compromises. He submits himself to the practical reality of the situation as he had always done.

Conclusion

In a painting with the classical theme of plum blossom, Jin probes various established literary conventions, illuminating many facets of the

subject. He seems to broaden and multiply the symbolic meanings of the blossoming plum. While constantly presenting contrasting elements, such as male and female, past and present, Jin weaves his assorted strands of thread into the fabric of an artfully calculated verse and pictorial image. At each turn, the viewer is reminded not only of the image of woman but of the voice of the artist as well, through which Jin's aspirations, frustrations, and anxieties are heard. While on the surface this painting presents a practical response to the artist's audience, it also provides a self-representation of Jin Nong.

The artist creates a complex fabric with strong overtones of economic value interwoven throughout. A house made of a precious metal, "gold," and expensive jewels, "pearls," measured by the bushel underlies the first and third parts of the inscription. In addition, the painting itself was actually a present for a very rich man, and Jin's plum paintings themselves were commodities in high demand at the time. While Jin's lines are charged with economic value, however, a strong sense of devaluation can also be detected between the lines, especially when he refers to women and compares their image in the past with that in the present. The celestial woman of the past is contrasted with a group of anonymous contemporary women who could be concubines, courtesans, household maids, entertaining girls, or even manual laborers. In eighteenth-century China women were not only subordinate to men but were often exchanged as commodities.⁸⁴

A downward movement can also be observed in the inscription. There is, for instance, a decided change in tone in the third part, moving the verse from a gracious and light-hearted description to a rather banal, even sarcastic passage of inquiry and negotiation. The self-image of a high-minded scholar and amateur artist that Jin had carefully constructed in the first half of the inscription is transformed into an image of a lower being whose function is to serve a merchant patron. The value of an ideal gentleman thus declines when he is appreciated only for his ability to provide cultural services, such as painting and writing for social occasions, inscribing tablets for merchants' lavishly built gardens, or simply functioning as an emblem of cultural refinement for merchant families. The value of the literati is no longer to be found in their ingenuousness, pure and unworldly like the blossoming plum, nor in their determined pursuit of "sagehood,"

unyielding as plum flowers blooming in the cold. They have compromised themselves in front of authorities, whether in the social, economic, or political sphere of their time. In the commercialized economic system of late imperial China, men of letters such as Jin Nong were forced to sell not only their literary products but their cultural refinement. Prostituting themselves, they lost their independence and subjected themselves to the whims and wishes of their patrons, just as women submitted to male authority in traditional society.

In his effort to maintain the dignity of a traditional man of letters in the changing world of the mid-Qing period, Jin struggled to reconcile traditional values with reality and could not help but comment with sad sarcasm on the downward movement of the literati as well as the commoditization and vulgarization of an elegant culture. Contemplating the image of the blossoming plum in such a time and place, Jin lamented the loss of a glorious past.

Notes

1. The same inscription, without the dedication, is recorded in Jin Nong's anthology of plum painting inscriptions compiled by Luo Pin, *Dongxin huamei tiji* 冬心畫梅題記, in Deng Shi 鄧實 and Huang Binghong 黃賓虹, comps., *Meishu congshu* 美術叢書 (rpt. Taipei: Yiwen, 1975), 2:90–91.
2. Plum blossom canopies, *meihua zhangzi* 梅花帳子, can be fabric canopies decorated with painted images of blossoming plum made to be placed over beds. For an illustration of a canopied bed decorated with branches of flower, see *Sancai tuhui* 三才圖會 (Wanli edition), *qiyong* 器用 (daily utensil) section, entry for bed and canopy, *juan* 12, p. 17a. If this is the case, the painted blossoming plum is equivalent to the inscribed poems on *shizhang* 詩帳—poetry canopies, which were fairly popular among the literati from the seventeenth century. For poetry canopies, see Xu Ke 徐珂, *Qingbai leichao* 清稗類鈔 (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1916), *juan* 89, pp. 54–55. But this type of bed canopy decorated with the flowering plum as auspicious emblem could have been confused with the so-called plum-blossoming paper canopy, *meihua zhizhang*. See the later part of this essay for a full account.
3. Susan Bush, *The Chinese Literati on Painting: From Su Shih (1037–1101) to Tung Ch'ü-ch'ang (1555–1636)* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971), 97–110.
4. For a discussion of the symbolic meaning of the blossoming plum see Maggie Bickford, "The Flowering Plum: Literary and Cultural Traditions," in Maggie Bickford et al., *Bones of Jade, Soul of Ice: The Flowering Plum in Chinese Art* (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1985), 17–44. Also Bush, *Chinese Literati*, 103–4.
5. This grouping of plum, bamboo, and pine, later called "Three Friends of the Cold Season (*suihan sanyou* 歲寒三友)," can be traced back to various sources. A poem by Zhu Qingyu 朱慶餘 (*jinshi* 進士 of 826) probably was the earliest document to associate plum with bamboo and pine. Hans Frankel, "The Plum Tree in Chinese Poetry," *Asiatische Studien* 6 (1952): 113, n. 84. Bickford et al., *Bones of Jade*, 160–62 and n. 2. The grouping became popular during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Bush, *Chinese Literati*, 104, and Ho Wai-kam, "The Three Religions and the 'Three Friends'," in *Chinese Art under the Mongols: The Yüan Dynasty (1279–1368)*, ed. Sherman Lee and Wai-kam Ho (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1968), 97–98.
6. Qu Wanli 屈萬里, *Shijing Quanshi* 詩經詮釋, in *Qu Wanli quanji* 屈萬里全集, vol. 6 (Taipei: Lianjing, 1983), 33. For a discussion of various dimensions of the blossoming plum in Chinese literature, see Frankel, "Plum Tree," 88–115.
7. Frankel, "Plum Tree," 88–90, 99–102. Bickford et al., *Bones of Jade*, 154–57.
8. Bickford (*Bones of Jade*, 18–26) also identifies this dual persona of the blossoming plum: plum-blossom beauty and plum-blossom hermit.
9. For a discussion of the interaction between literati painting theory and the establishment of literati painting style in the Yuan dynasty, see Ho, "Three Religions," 96–112, and Bush, *Chinese Literati*, 118–45. For a discussion of specific subject matter such as bamboo, see James Cahill, *Hills beyond a River* (New York: Weatherhill, 1978), 158–59.
10. Ho ("Three Religions," 97) suggests that "Three Friends of the Wintry Seasons" can be considered synonymous with *yimin* recluses during the Yuan dynasty.
11. According to Aoki Masaru 青木正兒, Chen Jiru 陳繼儒 (1558–1639) was the first to use the term "Four Gentlemen." It appears in his preface for the painter's manual *Meilan zhuju sipu* 梅蘭竹菊四譜 (Four manuals of plum, orchid, bamboo, and chrysanthemum), dated 1620. Aoki Masaru, "Sui-bokuga shikunshi no yurai 水墨畫四君子の由来," in *Shina bungaku geijutsu kô* 支那文學藝術考 (Tokyo: Kobundo, 1948), 336. In the introduction of *Mustard Seed Garden Painting Manual*, the author clearly identifies the blossoming plum with the Song recluse-poet Lin Bu. See Bush's translation of the introduction in Bush, *Chinese Literati*, 102.
12. Wang Shishen, *Chaolin ji* 巢林集, in *Yangzhou baguai shiwenji* 揚州八怪詩文集, ed. Bian Xiaoxuan 卞孝萱 et al. (Zhenjiang: Jiangsu meishu chubanshe, 1985), 23–133.
13. According to Susan Naquin and Evelyn Rawski's study of eighteenth-century Chinese society, polygamy was encouraged and occurred in about 10 percent of marriages. Susan Naquin and Evelyn S. Rawski, *Chinese Society in the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press), 108.
14. See Bickford et al., *Bones of Jade*, 191, n. 9.
15. The couplet seems to have first appeared in Lin Bu's plum poem. Bickford et al., *Bones of Jade*, 165. For a later quotation of the couplet, see Jiang Kui's

- 姜夔 poem, translated by Frankel, "Plum Tree," 187–89.
16. Jin Nong, *Dongxin Huamei tiji*, 91.
 17. Edward Schafer, *Pacing the Void: T'ang Approaches to the Stars* (Berkeley: University of California, 1977), 133.
 18. Schafer, *Pacing the Void*, 132–36. Also Suzanne Cahill, *Transcendence and Divine Passion: The Queen Mother of the West in Medieval China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), 91, 99, 147.
 19. For *liuxia* liquor, see Paul Kroll, "Li Po's Transcendent Diction," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 106, 1 (January/March 1986): 104. In the same set of six poems recording his climbing trip to Mt. Tai, the sacred mountain of the East, Li also mentions his encounters with other Daoist celestial beings, including a feather man and a blue lad. *Li Taibo wenji* 李太白文集, in *Taibo wenji congbian* 太白文集叢編, ed. Song Minqiu 宋敏求 et al. (rpt. Chengdu: Bashu, 1986), *juan* 17, p. 6b.
 20. *Qulai zongmu tiyao* 曲海總目提要, comp., Huang Wenyang 黃文陽 (b. 1735), (rpt. Beijing: Renmin, 1959), 3:128–32.
 21. Li Fang 李昉, comp., *Taiping guangji* (rpt. Taipei: Xinxing, 1963), *juan* 63, p. 5.
 22. Schafer, *Pacing the Void*, 133.
 23. *Shijing*, "Qifeng 齊風," "jiming 雞鳴." See Qu Wanli, *Shijing Quanshi*, 164. Qu Wanli interprets *tongmeng* simply as "sleeping together." The complete song is translated by James Legge with a moral overtone, and it is read as "a model marchioness stimulating her husband to rise early, and attend to his duties at court." James Legge, *The She King: The Book of Ancient Poetry* (London: Trübner & Co., 1876), 132.
 24. Xu Ke, *Qingbai leichao*, *juan* 80, p. 51.
 25. The inscription on his portrait entitled "Noon Nap beneath the Banana Palm" is painted by Luo Pin. See Richard Vinograd's discussion of this painting in *Boundaries of the Self: Chinese Paintings, 1600–1900* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 92–93.
 26. For a discussion of the garden in Chinese literature, see Andrew Plaks, *Archetype and Allegory in the Dream of the Red Chamber* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), 146–77.
 27. This is a picture illustrating the tenth episode of *Mudanting* by the famous playwright Tang Xianzu 湯顯祖 (1550–1616) in which the heroine, Du Liniang 杜麗娘, dreamed of the hero, Liu Mengmei 柳夢梅, coming to meet her in the garden where she napped. The meeting was followed by their sexual intercourse inside the garden. Published in *Mingdai banhuaxuan* 明代版畫選 (Taipei: National Central Library, 1969), 1:7. See also other woodblock-print illustrations such as those illustrating *Xixiangji*, *Taixia Xinzou* 太霞新奏, and *Mudanting ji* published in Zhou Wu 周蕪, *Zhongguo guben xiqu chatuxuan* 中國古本戲曲插圖選 (Selected illustrations of old Chinese dramatic plays) (Tianjin: Renmin meishu, 1985), 114–15, 102, 272–73.
 28. Lanling xiaoxiaosheng 蘭陵笑笑生, *Jinpingmei cihua* (rpt. Taipei: Lianjing, 1980), chap. 27.
 29. Removal of the pendants from the girdle implies disrobing, an obvious sexual connotation. Hans Frankel, *The Flowering Plum and the Palace Lady: Interpretations of Chinese Poetry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976), 219.
 30. Wen Yiduo 聞一多, "Gaotang shennü chuanshuo zhi fenxi 高唐神女傳說之分析" (Analysis of the legend of the divine woman at Gaotang), *Tsinghua Hsüeh-pao* 10 (1935): 837–65.
 31. The same scenario and common poetic language of this genre can also be observed in medieval *ci* in the pattern of *Linjiangxian* 臨江仙. Suzanne Cahill, "Sex and the Supernatural in Medieval China: Cantos on the Transcendent Who Presides over the River," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 105, 2 (April–June 1985): 197–220.
 32. See Edward H. Schafer, *The Divine Woman: Dragon Ladies and Rain Maidens in T'ang Literature* (Berkeley: University of California, 1973), sections concerning the Luo River goddess, 53–55, 88–91, 132–37.
 33. According to Schafer (*Divine Woman*, 104–14) there is a tendency to secularize the divine woman from her legendary or historical origins. For instance, the divine woman could appear in the guise of a palace lady or a beautiful prostitute.
 34. The poem is translated by Frankel, *Flowering Plum*, 128.
 35. Quoted and translated by Frankel, *Flowering Plum*, 129.
 36. The quest could bear multiple meanings, including the search for a political ideal. Wai-yeet Li,

- Enchantment and Disenchantment: Love and Illusion in Chinese Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 6–8.
37. This painting is recorded in catalogues such as *The Freer Gallery of Art*, vol. 1 (China), comp. The Freer Gallery of Art, Washington DC (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1972), cat. no. 72 and p. 170. *Kin Nō* 金農, ed. Hironobu Kohara 古原宏伸, in *Bunjinga suihen* 文人畫粹編 series (Tokyo: Chuō Kōronsha, 1986), vol. 9, cat. no. 18, pl. 20. Although detailed research has not been done on this painting, there is a general belief about its purpose. For instance, in her study, Bickford (*Bones of Jade*, 136 and 289, n. 154) mentions that this painting is to commemorate a friend's acquisition of a concubine.
 38. In Chinese, *jiaojie* 交接 (unite or join), was used in both *Luoshen fu* and *Shennü fu* to indicate sexual intercourse. In fact, *jiaojie* can also generally be used to describe the fusion, mingling, or encountering of two or more objects and is thus also suitable for describing the interplay of the plum branches in Jin's painting. Other Chinese terms for sexual intercourse such as *jiaohuan* 交歡, *jiaohu* 交合 all imply mixing and mingling.
 39. See Frankel's discussion ("Plum Tree," 107–10) of the origin and dating of this anecdote. Phrases such as "dream of Luofu" (*luofu meng* 羅浮夢) in later writings about the plum therefore add erotic connotations.
 40. Zheng Qian, *Chen Jianzhai shiji hejiao huizhu* 陳簡齋詩集校會注 (Taipei: Lianjing, 1975), 60–61.
 41. The plum blossom has been used as a decorative motif in various art forms, such as ceramics and textiles, as discussed in Mary Gardner Niell's study, "The Flowering Plum in the Decorative Arts," in Bickford et al., *Bones of Jade*, 193–243. It is probably in these art forms that the erotic connotation of the blossoming plum has most often been connected or explored.
 42. Jin seems to have produced more than one painting with the same motif. For instance, in one section of a plum blossom handscroll Jin not only presents the same theme of two intertwined branches of ink and pink plum blossoms but also inscribes the same verse as that on the Freer painting. *Kin Nō*, p. 18, pl. 16. Another painting of plum trees with pink flowers, dated to 1760, in the collection of the Tokyo National Museum bears an inscription maintaining that the red pigment was taken from a woman's cosmetic box. *Kin Nō*, p. 17, pl. 15. It is possible that Jin had developed a scheme relating colored plums to women, but further research in this area is needed.
 43. Lin Hong (act. thirteenth century), *Shanjia qingshi*, in Tao Zongyi 陶宗儀, *Shuofu* 說郛 (rpt. Taipei: Xinxing, 1963), *juan* 22, pp. 28–30. Translation taken from Bickford et al., *Bones of Jade*, 32. Apparently, this is a canopy made not of paper but of thin and crispy white linen that is "paperlike."
 44. The line is quoted from Zhu Dunru's 朱敦儒 (1181–1259) *ci*, *Zhegutian* 鷓鴣天 *Jiaxuan ci bian* 稼軒詞編年箋注, compiled and annotated by Deng Guangming (Shanghai: Guji, 1978), 274.
 45. Li's *Guyan'er* 孤雁兒 is a *ci* about blossoming plum. Yet no direct association is made between the canopied bed and the flower. Ping Huishan 平慧善, *Li Qingzhao shiwenci xuanyi* 李清照詩文詞選譯 (Chengdu: Bashu, 1988), 73–76.
 46. For a translation of Zhang Zi's list of fitting matches, dislikes, the glories and disgraces of the blossoming plum, see Bickford et al., *Bones of Jade*, 34. For a discussion of late Southern Song Hangzhou elite culture, see Shuen-fu Lin, *The Transformation of the Chinese Lyrical Tradition: Chiang K'uei and Southern Sung Tz'u Poetry* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 1–41.
 47. Xin Qiji, *Manjianghong* 滿江紅, in Deng Guangming, *Jiaxuan ci*, 273.
 48. Quoted in *Peiwen yunfu* 佩文韻府, under the entries for *meihua zhang*. *Peiwen yunfu* (Taipei: Commercial Press, 1967), 4:3224.1. But the author cannot find this poem in Dai's anthology, *Shipin shiji* (Taipei: Commercial Press, 1983), vol. 1165. For a brief account of Dai Fugu see Shuen-fu Lin, *Transformation*, 34.
 49. It is very possible that in eighteenth-century Yangzhou the art of making plum blossom paper canopies was lost, judging from a widely recorded literary gathering, hosted by the two Ma brothers, famous merchant patrons of Yangzhou, to re-create from imagination the plum blossom paper canopy. Gao Xiang 高翔 (act. 1724–48) and Wang Shishen (1686–1759), two Yangzhou painters famous for their plum paintings, were invited to decorate the canopy. Apparently, more convenient painted flowers were employed in completing the canopy rather than live floral arrangements. Ma Yueguan 馬曰琯, *Shahe yilao xiaogao* 沙河逸老小稿, *juan* 2, p. 15b–16a and Ma Yuelu 馬曰璐, *Nanzhaiji* 南齋集, both in *Yueyatang congshu* 粵雅堂叢書 (preface dated 1752), *juan* 2, p. 2a.

50. For types of transaction and implications of the reciprocal social system see Cheng-chi Hsü, "Patronage and Economic Life of the Artist in Eighteenth Century Yangchow Painting" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1987), 7–13. See also James Cahill "Types of Artist-Patron Transactions in Chinese Painting," in *Artists and Patrons: Some Social and Economic Aspects of Chinese Painting*, ed. Chu-tsing Li (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1989), 7–22.
51. For a discussion of the implications of Zheng Xie's price list, see Ginger Cheng-chi Hsü, "Zheng Xie's Price List: Painting as a Source of Income in Yangzhou," *Phoebus* 6, 2 (1991): 261–71.
52. See also the discussion of values and beliefs in eighteenth-century China by Naquin and Rawski, *Chinese Society*, 93.
53. For a discussion of the professionalization of painters in the eighteenth century, see Ginger Cheng-chi Hsü, "Merchant Patronage of the Eighteenth Century Yangzhou Painting," in *Artists and Patrons*, ed. Chu-tsing Li, 219–20. See also Benjamin Elman's definition of "professionalization" of scholars in late imperial China, in Benjamin Elman, *From Philosophy to Philology: Intellectual and Social Aspects of Change in Late Imperial China* (Cambridge: Harvard East Asian Monographs, 1984), 96–100.
54. For a discussion of Jin's economic life, see Hsü, "Patronage and Economic Life," 166–71, 174–87. See also Ginger Cheng-chi Hsü, "Scholar, Artist, and Art Dealer: Jin Nong in Yangzhou," in *The Eccentric Painters of Yangzhou*, ed. Vito Giacalone (New York: China House Gallery, China Institute in America, 1990), 23–27.
55. Ho Ping-ti, "The Salt Merchants of Yang-chow: A Study of Commercial Capitalism in Eighteenth-Century China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 17 (1954): 145.
56. See Benjamin Elman's discussion (*From Philosophy*, 100–129) on patronage of Evidential Studies.
57. For Huang Shen's workshop practice see Hsü, "Patronage and Economic Life," 137–42.
58. The event is recorded in Gu Linwen 顧麟文, ed., *Yangzhou bajia shiliao* 揚州八家史料 (Shanghai: Renmin meishu, 1962), 46–47.
59. For a biographical account of Jiang Chun, see Ho Ping-ti, *The Ladder of Success in Imperial China: Aspects of Social Mobility, 1368–1911* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962), 287–89.
60. See Jin's preface to *Dongxin huazhu tiji* 冬心畫竹題記 (1750), in Deng and Huang, *Meishu congshu*, 2:61.
61. For a discussion of the adaptability of the plum blossom painting, see Hsü, "Patronage and Economic Life," 188–95.
62. Hsü, "Patronage and Economic Life," 244–51.
63. For instance, the price of rice in Jiangsu Province from 1723 to 1735 fluctuated between 0.80 and 1.40 tael per bushel, *shi*. Han-sheng Chüan and Richard A. Kraus, *Mid-Ch'ing Rice Markets and Trade: An Essay in Price History* (Cambridge, Mass.: East Asian Research Center, Harvard University, 1975), 144–49, table D7.
64. Jiang was a major patron for theatrical troupes in Yangzhou. Hsü, "Patronage and Economic Life," 76–78.
65. See Frankel's translation and discussion on the dating and authorship of *Meifei zhuan* in Bickford et al., *Bones of Jade*, 176–79.
66. In a seventeenth-century poem about a famous courtesan, Chen Yuanyuan 陳圓圓, the expression "a bushel of pearls" was used to evoke the emotion of great sorrow: "'One hu of pearls' was sung with ten thousand hu of sorrow." Cited by Li Waiyee, "The Late-Ming Courtesan: Invention of a Cultural Ideal," unpublished paper presented at the Conference on Women and Literature in Ming-Qing China, Yale University, 22–26 June 1993, p. 23.
67. Wang Li 王力, *Gudai Hanyu* 古代漢語 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1962–64), 516–17.
68. The papers, included in a panel entitled "Male Anxiety and the Representation of the Female in Ming-Qing Fiction" chaired by Robert E. Hegel at the 45th annual meeting of the Association for Asian Studies (25–28 March 1993, Los Angeles, California), focused on the allegorical use of female figures by male writers to relieve their own male anxiety in Ming-Qing fiction and short stories; various expressions of this anxiety were identified. See *The Association for Asian Studies: Abstracts of the 1993 Meeting* (Ann Arbor: Association for Asian Studies, 1993), 28–30.
69. Translated by Frankel in Bickford et al., *Bones of Jade*, 167.
70. The same set of metaphors was also extended to another flowering plant, orchids. Examples can

- be drawn from Zheng Xie's painting and inscriptions. Orchids were perceived as growing in remote areas, spreading their fragrance quietly, failing to gain attention, and therefore losing the opportunity to be transplanted in the soil of the imperial garden. See Hsü, "Patronage and Economic Life," 244–51.
71. Jin Nong, *Dongxin huamei tiji*, 90.
 72. Jin Nong, *Dongxin huamei tiji*, 87. The inscription is dated 1756. For a biographical account of Lin Bu and his plum blossom poems, see Bickford et al., *Bones of Jade*, 22–26.
 73. The painting is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, collection of John M. Crawford, Jr. Translation taken (with modification) from *Chinese Calligraphy and Painting in the Collection of John M. Crawford, Jr.*, ed. Laurence Sickman et al. (New York: The Pierpont Morgan Library, 1962), 166. The painting is also reproduced and discussed in Chou Ju-hsi and Claudia Brown, *The Elegant Brush: Chinese Painting under the Qianlong Emperor (1735–1795)* (Phoenix: Phoenix Art Museum, 1985), 199–200.
 74. Translation adopted with slight modification from Laurence Sickman et al., *Chinese Calligraphy*, 166.
 75. The inscription is also recorded in Jin's anthology, Deng and Huang, *Meishu congshu*, 85–86.
 76. Bickford et al., *Bones of Jade*, 23.
 77. Jiang Chun is often referred to by his contemporaries as *yuanqing* 苑卿, financial commissioner.
 78. This deep-rooted social distinction is illustrated by the case of a famous Yangzhou literary gathering in which the high official who hosted the event insisted that salt merchants not be allowed to participate. Li Dou 李斗, *Yangzhou haufanglu* 揚州畫舫錄 (preface dated 1795) (rpt. Taipei: Xuesheng, 1969), *juan* 10, p. 14a.
 79. William Rowe, discussing the salt merchants of both the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, adopted a concept proposed by Hou Wailu 侯外廬, *yi shang yi guan* 亦商亦官 (both merchants and officials), with regard to the political status of salt merchants. He also maintains that the salt merchants of the Lianghuai district, especially those 200 or so who controlled the transportation of salt to such inland areas as Hankow, were essentially functioning as government officials. William Rowe, *Hankow, Commerce and Society in a Chinese City, 1796–1889* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1984), 99.
 80. For a discussion of the commercialization of literati painting in eighteenth-century Yangzhou, see Hsü, "Merchant Patronage," 219–20.
 81. Jin Nong, preface to *Dongxin huamei tiji*, 69.
 82. Wu Taisu 吳太素, *Songzhai meipu* 松齋梅譜 (dated mid-fourteenth century). Quoted and translated by Bush, *Chinese Literati*, 144.
 83. Bush, *Chinese Literati*, 144.
 84. For a general view of women's role in Chinese society, see Patricia Ebrey, "Women, Marriage, and the Family in Chinese History," in *Heritage of China*, ed. Paul S. Ropp (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 197–223. For a discussion of the commodification of woman in the economic context of late imperial China, see Hill Gates, "The Commoditization of Chinese Women," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 14 (Summer 1989): 799–832. For men's view of women, their comments and opposition to the subordinate role of woman in eighteenth-century Jiangnan, see Paul R. Ropp, *Dissent in Early Modern China: Ju-lin wai-shih and Ch'ing Social Criticism* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1981), 120–51.

ECONOMIC CHANGE IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY CHINA AND INNOVATIONS AT THE JINGDEZHEN KILNS

BY STEPHEN LITTLE

THE CHINESE PORCELAIN KILNS AT JINGDEZHEN 景德鎮, Jiangxi Province, provide an opportunity to examine the response of a highly organized workshop-centered industry to profound economic, social, and political changes. This upheaval occurred on a dramatic scale in the seventeenth century, a period that witnessed the collapse of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) and the founding of the Qing dynasty (1644–1911).

Jingdezhen, located just east of Boyang Lake 波陽湖 in northern Jiangxi Province, was first active as a ceramic center in the Han dynasty (202 B.C. –A.D. 220) and provided ceramics as tribute to the court of the Southern Chen dynasty in the late sixth century.¹ During the Mongol occupation of the Yuan dynasty (1260–1368) and with the invention of blue-and-white porcelain at Jingdezhen, this city of kilns became a large industrial complex. A key factor in this development was an abundance of the raw materials for porcelain production in the hills around Jingdezhen. The establishment of kilns to produce porcelains commissioned by the imperial household in the early Ming (late fourteenth century) led to a period of economic growth that reached its first peak in the sixteenth century, during the reign of Jiajing 嘉靖 (1522–66). Jingdezhen became the primary center of high-fired blue-and-white porcelain production. Its level of production was a response to both the domestic and foreign (Middle Eastern, Indian, and Southeast Asian) demand for blue-and-white porcelain.

Michael Dillon and others have documented the increase in blue-and-white porcelain production at Jingdezhen through the Ming dynasty during the sixteenth century, a period of enormous growth in the Chinese economy.² Imperial orders alone, for instance, jumped from 2,570 pieces in 1529 to 105,770 pieces in 1571.³ The location of Jingdezhen near waterways allowed for the convenient transportation of large numbers of ceramics to distant parts of China (for example, Beijing, located over one thousand kilometers to the north) and markets in Southeast Asia, India, and the Middle East.

The overseas ceramic trade was well established in China by the Tang dynasty, as evidenced

by the thousands of Chinese ceramic shards deposited in ninth- and tenth-century levels at Fustat, near Cairo in Egypt, discovered in the early part of this century.⁴ The ceramic export trade also flourished during the Song dynasty (960–1279), as can be seen from the extensive finds of Chinese celadons and other wares of the Song period in the Philippines and in Indonesia. The discovery in 1976 of a Chinese junk that sank in 1323 near Sinan on the South Korean coast, with its load of 16,800 early Yuan dynasty ceramics bound for Japan, further demonstrates the advanced state of the overseas ceramic trade by the time blue-and-white porcelain first appeared at Jingdezhen in about 1319.⁵

The pattern of production of blue-and-white porcelain at the ceramic workshops of Jingdezhen was established by the fourteenth century. During the Ming dynasty, patterns for orders for the imperial court were delivered by an official from the Board of Works in Beijing to the Imperial Porcelain Depot (*Yuqichang* 御器場) at Jingdezhen.⁶ During the first Ming reign of Hongwu 洪武 (1368–98), twenty kilns at Jingdezhen were commissioned to produce porcelain for the imperial household; by the Xuande 宣德 reign (1426–35), fifty-eight kilns were creating porcelains for the palace. Between 1506 and 1530 the official kilns were overseen by a eunuch official from Beijing; after 1530 the same kilns were overseen by local officials. In 1593 eunuch control was reestablished and lasted until the cessation of imperial Ming patronage in 1620.

A considerable amount of information survives regarding the organization of the ceramic industry at Jingdezhen from the late Ming dynasty (late sixteenth–early seventeenth century) and the succeeding early Qing dynasty (late seventeenth–early eighteenth century). These were periods of extensive imperial patronage of the Jingdezhen kilns, coinciding with periods of great economic growth in China. The period between the late Ming and the early Qing is known today as the Transitional Period (1620–83), corresponding to the period at Jingdezhen from the cessation of imperial Ming patronage in 1620 to the final consolidation of control under the Manchu regime

of the Qing Kangxi 康熙 emperor (r. 1662–1722) in 1683.⁷

This essay examines the nature of the response of the Jingdezhen porcelain workshops to the political and economic conditions of the decades after 1620. Two aspects of the Transitional ceramic industry that reflect this response are the development of new export markets outside China (specifically Europe and Japan) and the proliferation of narrative illustrations borrowed from late Ming woodblock-printed books in the painted decoration of Jingdezhen porcelains.

The Late Ming and Early Qing Dynasties

At any given time in the Ming and Qing dynasties, Jingdezhen was a city of hundreds of kilns, only some of which produced wares for the imperial household (one early eighteenth-century account mentions 3,000 kilns). Before 1620, designs for the palace were delivered to Jingdezhen and the commissioned wares made by a selected group of kilns. The organization of the Jingdezhen ceramic workshops was complex, with production increased by a meticulously planned division of labor, just as in other late Ming industries, such as salt, iron, and cotton. At Jingdezhen, many individual workers could be involved in the production of a single vessel:

By the sixteenth century there was a very fine division of labor in Jingdezhen. Kilns and workshops specialized in firing and making specific wares. Within a workshop of any size there were specialists mixing the paste for the [porcelain] body, throwing, “mold-tapping” to ensure uniform size, trimming on the wheel, decorating, and glazing. Other individuals took specialist responsibility for loading and firing the kilns. Such a highly specialized division of labor permitted the improvement in quality demanded by the court and by wealthy private buyers, and also permitted an increase in production as individuals became expert in finishing their tasks speedily.⁸

This degree of organization is confirmed by several contemporary sources. An excellent study by Margaret Medley of the *Jiangxi sheng dazhi* 江西省大志 (1556, with supplements dating to 1595) documents in detail the mechanics of the imperial orders of different types of porcelain during the Wanli 萬曆 reign (1573–1620) of the late Ming.⁹ Since no archaeological excavations have yet been undertaken of late Ming and early Qing kiln sites at Jingdezhen, current knowledge

of the ceramic industry relies on Ming and Qing literary sources and surviving examples of Chinese porcelain of the period.¹⁰ Another document that is germane to understanding the ceramic industry is the section of the *Da Ming huidian* 大明會典 comprising the handbook for civil servants in the Board of Public Works (*Gongbu* 工部), especially the sections on canals and transportation. According to the *Jiangxi sheng dazhi*, a typical official kiln in the late sixteenth century had four supervisors, sixteen master potters, twenty-three painters or decorators, five inscribers of marks or reign titles, and eighty-six other laborers and craftsmen.¹¹ In addition, the kiln and transport middlemen would employ shipwrights, basketmakers, and other peripheral but critical craftsmen.

More precise information on the organization of the Jingdezhen kilns comes from the early eighteenth century, during the reign of Kangxi (r. 1662–1722), in the form of two letters, dated 1 September 1712 and 25 January 1722, written by the French Jesuit Père d'Entrecolles to his superiors in Paris. The Kangxi reign witnessed superior accomplishments in kiln design and firing technology that led to such achievements as the brilliant red monochrome known as *langyao* 郎窯 in Chinese and *sang-de-boeuf* (oxblood) in the West, the peachbloom glaze, and the brilliant *famille verte* overglaze enamel palette. In discussing the organization of the kilns at Jingdezhen, Père d'Entrecolles mentions that each piece of porcelain could pass through the hands of up to seventy workmen. He writes as follows on the decoration of the porcelains in the workshops:

The painting is distributed in the same workshop among a great number of workmen. One workman does nothing but draw the first color line beneath the rims of the pieces; another traces flowers, which a third one paints; this man is painting water and mountains, and that one either birds or other animals. Human figures are generally treated the worst.¹²

Tang Ying's 唐英 *Taoye tushou* 陶冶圖說 of the early Qianlong 乾隆 reign (1743) elaborates on the organization of the porcelain painters. This description could probably equally describe the large workshops of the late Ming:

The different kinds of round ware painted in blue are each numbered by the hundred and thousand, and if the painted decoration upon every piece is not exactly alike, the set will be irregular and spoiled. For this

reason the men who sketch the outlines learn sketching, but not painting; those who paint study only painting, not sketching; by this means their hands acquire skill in their own particular branch of work, and their minds are not distracted. In order to secure a certain uniformity in their work the sketchers and painters, although kept distinct, occupy the same house. As to other branches of work—embossing, engraving, and carving in openwork—they are treated in the same way and each is entrusted to its own special workmen. The branch of decorating in underglaze red, although really distinct, is allied to that of painting. With regard to the rings round the borders of the pieces and the encircling blue bands, these are executed by the workmen who finish the pieces on the polishing wheel; while the marks on the foot underneath, and the written inscriptions, are the work of the writers who attach the seals. . . .

Clever artists of proved skill are selected to paint the decoration. The different materials of the colors having been previously finely ground and properly combined, the artist first paints with them upon a slab of white porcelain, which is fired to test the properties of the colors and the length of firing they require. He is gradually promoted from coarse work to fine and acquires skill by constant practice; a good eye, an attentive mind, and an exact hand being required to attain excellence.¹³

Some of the difficulties in controlling the firing of the large kilns and in catering to European merchants are expressed in the following passage by Père d'Entrecolles:

Some one hundred and eighty loads of pine fuel (of a hundred and thirty-three pounds weight each) are consumed at every firing, and it is surprising that no ashes even are left. It is not surprising that porcelain is so dear in Europe, for, apart from the large gains of the European merchants, and of their Chinese agents, it is rare for a furnace to succeed completely; often everything is lost, and on opening it the porcelain and the cases [saggars] will be found converted into a solid mass as hard as rock. Moreover, the porcelain that is exported to Europe is fashioned almost always after new models, often of bizarre character, and difficult to reproduce; for the least fault they are refused, and remain in the hands of the potters, because they are not in the taste of the Chinese and cannot be sold to them. Some of the elaborate designs sent are quite impracticable, although they may produce for themselves some things which astonish strangers, who will not believe in their possibility.¹⁴

The kilns that did not produce wares for the palace were known in the late Ming as *min yao* 民窯, or “peoples’ kilns” (as opposed to the *guan*

yao 官陶, or “government kilns”). These kilns generally copied or were inspired by the designs provided each year to the government kilns from the Board of Works; consequently, Ming and Qing porcelains made in a given emperor’s reign are remarkably consistent in style and technique. Those wares made at the government kilns but not deemed of sufficient quality for the palace were sold to dealers, who in turn sold them on the open market.¹⁵ The *min yao* made wares for the domestic market as well as wares for foreign clients—those in Southeast Asia, the Middle East, Japan, and Europe.¹⁶

As Medley has shown, with the introduction of the “Single Whip” taxation system in the sixteenth century, the old system of corvée labor was replaced with a silver cash tax, so that artisans and owners of workshops could be more flexible with their allocation of time and labor. The date of the introduction of the “Single Whip” system into Jiangxi, 1570, corresponds roughly to the arrival of the first Portuguese in China.¹⁷ Simultaneously, the entry in the late sixteenth century of large amounts of silver into China from Spanish mines in Mexico (via Manila) and mines in Japan had an enormous impact on all craft industries, including ceramics, furniture, and silk.¹⁸

Both the official and nonofficial kilns at Jingdezhen hired labor as the need arose, and in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Jiangxi had an extensive labor pool upon which to draw in times of need.¹⁹ The degree to which labor was available is suggested by Père d'Entrecolles:

Living is much more expensive at Jingdezhen than at [nearby] Raozhou 饒州, because everything consumed there has to be brought from elsewhere, even the wood burned in the furnaces. Nevertheless, it is an asylum for numberless poor families, who can not subsist in the neighboring towns, and employment is found there for the young as well as for the less robust; even the blind and maimed can make a living by grinding colors.²⁰

As Dillon has shown, the large pool of available labor in Jiangxi meant that the owners of kilns at Jingdezhen could respond to the varying demands for porcelain with great flexibility.

What has been said thus far concerns the organization of ceramic workshops at Jingdezhen in the last decades of the Ming dynasty before 1620 as well as after 1683 in the reign of the early Qing Kangxi emperor. With the cessation of imperial patronage at Jingdezhen after 1620, and

the subsequent preoccupation of the Ming emperors with official corruption and the increasingly bellicose incursions of the Manchus along China's northeast frontier, the Jingdezhen kilns were thrown into a considerably more uncertain economic situation. This declining economy was exacerbated by the coeval droughts, famines, plagues, urban riots that spread through China, increasing lawlessness, emergence of armies of dispossessed peasants in northern China, and the paralysis of the Beijing court in dealing with the depletion of the imperial treasury at the hands of such eunuchs as the infamous Wei Zhongxian 魏忠賢. All these conditions hastened the decline of the Ming dynasty.²¹

The end of the Ming came when the highest-ranking court officials abandoned the last Ming emperor (Sizong 思宗; reign title Chongzhen 崇禎) during the siege of Beijing by the rebel leader Li Zicheng 李自成. After a night of heavy drinking Sizong hanged himself on Prospect Hill above the Forbidden City in April 1644. The Manchu army under Dorgon subsequently put Li Zicheng to flight and marched into the Forbidden City in June 1644; not until 1911 did the Manchus abandon the throne.

The Transitional Period

The Jingdezhen kilns responded to the economic decline of the 1620s primarily by searching for new markets. When imperial influence ended at Jingdezhen in 1620, the kilns and the complex ceramic industry as a whole were thrust into the position of seeking patronage overseas. With few exceptions, the end of imperial patronage, which had contributed regular economic support and artistic direction for the design of ceramics at Jingdezhen, led to a wide-scale diminution of the technical and artistic quality of the ceramics themselves. Judging from the paucity of surviving examples from this period, the end of imperial patronage in 1620 clearly had a profound impact not only on the kilns that had produced porcelains for the imperial household but on many other porcelain-producing kilns at Jingdezhen. In contrast to the thousands of surviving porcelains bearing authentic reign marks from the late Wanli reign (ca. 1600–1620), marked examples of Taichang 泰昌 (1620) and Tianqi 天啟 (1621–27) porcelains made for the domestic Chinese market are extremely rare.

The reorientation of the ceramic trade is exemplified in the abundance of Chinese blue-and-white porcelains that were made expressly for the Japanese market during the six years of the Tianqi reign. Indeed, the *kosometsuke* 古染村 (Japanese, “old blue-and-white”) wares, custom ordered for use in the tea ceremony, are among the most astonishing artistic products of the short and strange Tianqi reign, for they often violate the traditional canons of good taste in Chinese ceramics, revealing, for example, purposefully asymmetrical shapes and designs of the types that were enjoying great popularity in Japan during the Momoyama and early Edo periods.²² The *kosometsuke* wares and their counterparts made for the domestic Chinese market are characterized by a pronounced decline of technical standards, showing such defects as poor levigation of the clay, carelessly cleaned bases that exhibit clumps of sand from the floor of the kiln and radial “chatter marks” (evidence of the potter’s trimming tool), bleeding of the cobalt oxide pigment under the transparent glaze, and glazes that chip easily along edges and rims. With the exception of the contemporaneous Swatow 汕頭 wares made for export to Southeast Asia, these features are rare among surviving examples of porcelain from the preceding Wanli (1573–1620) and succeeding Chongzhen (1628–44) reigns.

At precisely this time the Dutch, having by 1605 successfully replaced the Portuguese as the primary European power in the Far East, were expanding their colonial and trade network in Asia. Batavia (Djakarta), on the northwest coast of Java, was established as the primary base of commercial activity beyond India, and Fort Zeelandia, on the southern coast of Formosa (Taiwan), was established as the overseeing depot of the porcelain trade with China. Ceramics arriving from China on Chinese merchant junks were unloaded at Zeelandia, then shipped on Dutch ships to Batavia and thence to Amsterdam, where they were dispersed throughout Europe.

T. Volker’s exhaustive research on the records of the Dutch East India Company in the National Archives in The Hague details the shipments recorded by the company between 1610 and 1656 (see table 1). It is likely that larger numbers were actually shipped abroad each year than are indicated by the table.

According to Dillon, close to three million pieces of Chinese porcelain were shipped to Europe between 1602 and 1657, the year that marks

TABLE 1. Numbers of Porcelain Pieces Recorded Shipped by the Dutch East India Company, 1610–56

year	no. of pieces	year	no. of pieces
1610	9,227	1635	216,618
1612	38,641	1636	698,044
1614	69,057	1637	835,188
1615	24,000	1639	1,329,491
1622	31,661	1640	446,250
1623	74,776	1643	697,604
1625	9,790	1644	348,896
1626	12,814	1645	276,766
1627	40,451	1646	145,506
1628	15,200	1647	195,595
1629	5,230	1649–52 [missing records]	
1631	45,041	1654	24,549
1633	46,005	1655	0
1634	30,983	1656	0

Data from T. Volker, *Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company as Recorded in the Dagb Registers of Batavia Castle, Those of Hirado and Deshima, and Other Contemporary Papers, 1602–1682* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1954), 24–64.

the end of the porcelain trade with Holland after the Ming defeat in 1644.²³ The figures cited by Volker suggest that the Dutch trade in Chinese porcelain built steadily between 1605 and 1644, reaching over one million pieces shipped in 1639 alone. Within three years of the Manchu capture of the north in 1644 the ceramic trade came temporarily to a halt. In 1644, the first year of the Qing conquest, the Dutch in Formosa write of Jiangxi (where Jingdezhen is located) being “full of war,” commenting specifically on “the great mortality among the porcelain makers.”²⁴ The Manchus’ struggle to consolidate their grip on south China lasted for many years, ending only in 1681 with the defeat of the Rebellion of the Three Feudatories. A letter written in 1652 by a Dutch official at Zeelandia complains again of the battles raging in China; in 1654 another letter speaks of the hope that “the war does not form an obstacle” to the trade.²⁵

While little is known about the organization of the Jingdezhen kilns during the early Transitional Period (1620–44), physical comparisons of porcelains made for export to Holland and Japan in the Chongzhen period (1628–44) indicate that wares for both markets were made in the same ceramic workshops at Jingdezhen.

This is evident from a close comparison of the structure (body and glaze), finishing, and painting styles of the Shonzui 祥瑞 wares made for export to Japan in the 1630s with Chinese blue-and-white porcelains made in European shapes, which are known after 1635 to have been based on wooden models supplied to the workshops at Jingdezhen from Zeelandia on Formosa. Volker’s tabulations suggest that the provision of these precisely crafted wooden models stimulated levels of production at Jingdezhen between 1635 and 1644. Even in the period 1643–45, immediately before and after the Qing conquest of the north, the Dutch trade continued, primarily on Chinese carriers. The vitality of this trade is reflected in the 25,000 pieces of porcelain excavated by the salvage diver Michael Hatcher in the early 1980s from the wreck of the now-famous “Hatcher junk” at an undisclosed location in the South China Sea.²⁶

After a period of economic uncertainty in the 1620s, the Jingdezhen kilns readjusted to the exigencies of the ceramic trade. As a result by 1630 a high level of technical quality and artistic invention had reappeared among Jingdezhen porcelains, to the extent that levels of production approached those of the Wanli period before 1620. This readjustment would have depended to a large degree on the restructuring of the ceramic trade networks in China itself.²⁷

The involvement of the powerful merchant guilds in Anhui Province (an immediate neighbor to the northeast of Jiangxi) in the ceramic trade has been studied in depth.²⁸ By the late Ming, wealthy Anhui merchants had a virtual monopoly on the salt industry in China and were making inroads into the elite social worlds of the literati and scholar-officials.²⁹ Patronage of painting and antique collecting by these merchant guilds of Anhui evidently had a significant impact on the development of the Anhui School of painting in the mid-seventeenth century.³⁰

In the early seventeenth century the Anhui merchant guilds controlled much of the shipment of porcelain from Jingdezhen to other parts of China. Anhui was at the time the leading center of woodblock printing in China. Ceramics with painted decoration borrowed from books printed in Anhui proliferated on Jingdezhen porcelains after 1620, as can be seen from the many surviving porcelains with designs based on illustrated late Ming editions of such novels as the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* and the *Water*

Margin, such dramas as *Romance of the Western Chamber* and *The Palace of Eternal Youth*, compendia of myths such as the *Dabei duizong* 大備對宗, and manuals on painting and poetry.³¹ One of the earliest examples of this type of borrowing can be seen on a series of polychrome-enameled dishes from Jingdezhen made in about 1630; their design is borrowed from the *Caoben shipu* 草本詩譜, a compendium of paintings and poems first published in Anhui in the Tianqi period (1621–27).³²

Significantly, designs of this type are rarely seen on Ming porcelains before 1620. The thematic content of decorative motifs was carefully monitored by the imperial and local authorities, for numerous narrative themes could be interpreted as criticisms of the imperial government. Even during the Transitional Period, for example, the novel entitled *Water Margin* (*Shuihu zhuan* 水滸傳) was banned in 1642 because many rebel leaders were in the habit of taking their nicknames from its outlaw heroes.³³ Similarly, the Daoist tales in which emperors give away their thrones to hermits and farmers, often seen on Jingdezhen porcelains after 1630, are unknown from before the death of the Wanli emperor (and, for that matter, in the Kangxi period after 1683).

Narrative decoration that conveyed multiple layers of meaning flourished during the period when imperial patronage of the Jingdezhen kilns was moribund but came to a veritable halt in the early Qing dynasty. As Robert Hegel has shown in his study of the novel in the late Ming, the fine woodblock-illustrated books of Xin'an 新安 (in Anhui) were luxury commodities designed for an affluent and exceedingly literate audience.³⁴ As Cahill has shown as well, such masterpieces of woodblock printing as the *Ten Bamboo Studio Manual of Calligraphy and Painting* were "beyond the means and appreciation of the ordinary buyer."³⁵

In the absence of written evidence one can only speculate, but it is likely that the merchants of Anhui who had a critical interest in the distribution of Jingdezhen porcelains in the late Ming

may have been instrumental in introducing images from the finest woodblock-printed books of their home province to the ceramic decorators of Jingdezhen. In this they would have had to work in conjunction with the owners of the kilns, some of whom may have resembled the early Qing kiln master Wu Lin 吳麟, who became enormously wealthy and retired to Yangzhou, where "he indulged in painting and literature."³⁶

Under these circumstances and the prevailing degree of artistic license of the times, narrative decoration of considerable sophistication emerged on porcelains made at Jingdezhen and, judging from surviving numbers of such wares, was very popular. The vogue for designs from the *Water Margin*, even after publication of the book was banned by the last Ming emperor, testifies to the lack of centralized authority and the increasing catering of the ceramic workshops to the literati class.³⁷

In conclusion, the resilience of the ceramic industry at Jingdezhen during the Transitional Period can be credited to the fluid economy of the late Ming, the highly organized division of labor at Jingdezhen, and the coordination of ceramic distribution throughout China and overseas, involving action in concert by kiln owners, brokers, and shippers. The appearance on the scene of European clients with an unending appetite for porcelain aided the economic plight of the potters and further complicated the ceramic industry through the extensive custom ordering of different shapes, many of them altogether foreign to the Chinese experience. Indeed, the only times during the seventeenth century when the Jingdezhen ceramic workshops were in severe straights were immediately after the death of the Wanli emperor in 1620 and intermittently during the military disturbances that accompanied the Manchu conquest after 1644. By the middle Kangxi period (1700) the kilns were producing record numbers of wares for both the domestic and foreign market. This renaissance led to a host of new technological developments, particularly in glaze technology, which have yet to be matched in Chinese porcelains.

Notes

1. Michael Dillon, "Jingdezhen as a Ming Industrial Center," *Ming Studies* 6 (Spring 1978): 37. For a more extensive study of Jingdezhen as an industrial center, see Michael Dillon, "History of the Porcelain Industry in Jingdezhen" (Ph.D. dissertation, Leeds University, 1976).
2. Dillon, "History of the Porcelain Industry." See also Tsing Yuan, "The Porcelain Industry at Ching-techen, 1550–1700," *Ming Studies* 6 (Spring 1978): 45–53.
3. Dillon, "Jingdezhen," 38.
4. For an extensive discussion of the Fustat excavations, see *The Inter-Influence of Ceramic Art in East and West* [Exh. cat.] (Tokyo: Idemitsu Museum of Arts, 1984), 55–105.
5. The Sinan shipwreck can be dated to 1323 on the basis of inscribed packing slips found on the wreck; for a full report, see *Sinan haejō munmul* (Special exhibition of cultural relics found off Sinan coast) [Exh. cat.] (Seoul: National Museum of Korea, 1977). On the earliest appearance of blue-and-white porcelain, see Suzanne G. Valenstein, *A Handbook of Chinese Ceramics*, rev. ed. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1989), 126–33.
6. The information that follows in this paragraph is based on Dillon, "Jingdezhen"; Yuan, "The Porcelain Industry"; and Margaret Medley, "Organisation and Production at Jingdezhen in the Sixteenth Century," in *The Porcelains of Jingdezhen: Colloquies on Art & Archaeology in Asia*, no. 16 (London: Percival David Foundation, 1992), 69–82.
7. According to one account, a form of imperial supervision was established as early as 1656, during the first Qing reign of Shunzhi; see, for example, the description of the visit to Jingdezhen in 1656 by John Nieuhoff, steward to the Dutch embassy to the Shunzhi emperor (r. 1644–61), transcribed in T. Volker, *Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company as Recorded in the Dagb Registers of Batavia Castle, Those of Hirado and Deshima, and other Contemporary Papers, 1602–1682* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1954), 58; see also Stephen Little, *Chinese Ceramics of the Transitional Period: 1620–1683* [Exh. cat.] (New York: China Institute, 1983), 16.
8. Dillon, "Jingdezhen," 41.
9. Medley, "Organisation and Production at Jingdezhen," 69–82. See also Medley, "Trade, Craftsmanship, and Decoration," in Sir Michael Butler et al., *Seventeenth-Century Chinese Porcelain from the Butler Family Collection* [Exh. cat.] (Alexandria: Art Services International, 1990), 11–20.
10. On recent excavations of early Ming kiln sites at Jingdezhen, see *Imperial Porcelain of the Yongle and Xuande Periods Excavated from the Site of the Ming Imperial Factory at Jingdezhen* [Exh. cat.] (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Museum of Art, 1989); Yuba Tadanori, "Advances in Jingdezhen Research," in *In Pursuit of the Dragon: Traditions and Transitions in Ming Ceramics, An Exhibition from the Idemitsu Museum of Arts* [Exh. cat.] (Seattle: Seattle Art Museum, 1988), 43–53; *A Legacy of Chenghua: Imperial Porcelain of the Chenghua Reign Excavated from Zhushan, Jingdezhen* [Exh. cat.] (Hong Kong: The Tsui Museum of Art, 1993); and Regina Krahll, ed., *The Emperor's Broken China: Reconstructing Chenghua Porcelain* [Exh. cat.] (London: Sotheby's, 1995).
11. Medley, "Organisation and Production at Jingdezhen," 75–78.
12. Quoted in Soame Jenyns, *Later Chinese Porcelain*, 4th ed. (London: Faber & Faber, 1971), 7. For a good discussion of this and other texts on Jingdezhen, see Rose Kerr, *Chinese Ceramics: Porcelain of the Qing Dynasty, 1644–1911* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1986), 29–38.
13. Jenyns, *Later Chinese Porcelain*, 7–8.
14. Jenyns, *Later Chinese Porcelain*, 8.
15. Jenyns, *Later Chinese Porcelain*, 12.
16. As Medley has shown, the foreign ceramics trade in the Ming dynasty was technically illegal until 1567; see Medley, "Trade," 16.
17. Medley, "Trade," 12. On the activities of the Portuguese in the sixteenth-century porcelain export trade, see John Ayers, "Porcelain Exports to the West during the Ming Dynasty," *International Symposium on Chinese Ceramics* (Seattle: Seattle Art Museum, 1977), 136–39.
18. See Medley, "Trade," 13; see also Frederick Wakeman, "China and the 17th-Century Crisis," *Late Imperial China* 7, 1 (1986): 2–3.
19. Dillon, "Jingdezhen," 40.
20. Quoted in Jenyns, *Later Chinese Porcelain*, 13.
21. See Albert Chan, *The Glory and Fall of the Ming Dynasty* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982), 164; also A. W. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of*

- the Ch'ing Period*, 2 vols. (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1943), 2:846–47. The demands for wares for the imperial household occasionally met with resistance by the inhabitants of Jingdezhen. The exorbitant orders placed by palace eunuchs in the late sixteenth century (in the early Wanli period), for example, resulted in the imperial kilns being burned to the ground by the potters themselves; see Jenyns, *Later Chinese Porcelain*, 12. For further information on labor unrest at Jingdezhen during the Wanli period, see Yuan, "The Porcelain Industry," 50–51.
22. It is perhaps significant that the pathetic Tianqi boy-emperor is best known today for his accomplishments in carpentry and lacquerwork; see Little, *Chinese Ceramics of the Transitional Period*, 2. On *kosometsuke* wares, see Stephen Little, "Kosometsuke," *Oriental Arts* 13 (April 1982): 12–23.
 23. Dillon, "Jingdezhen," 42.
 24. Volker, *Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company*, 50.
 25. Volker, *Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company*, 56–57.
 26. Colin Sheaf and Richard Kilburn, *The Hatcher Porcelain Cargoes: The Complete Record* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1988).
 27. See Dillon, "Jingdezhen," 41, on these networks.
 28. Dillon, "Jingdezhen," 41–42.
 29. Sandi Chin and Cheng-chi Hsü, "Anhui Merchant Culture and Patronage," in *Shadows of Mount Huang* [Exh. cat.], ed. James Cahill (Berkeley: University Art Museum, 1981), 19.
 30. Chin and Hsü, "Anhui Merchant Culture," 23.
 31. See Stephen Little, "Narrative Themes and Woodblock Prints in the Decoration of Seventeenth-Century Chinese Porcelains," in Sir Michael Butler et al., *Seventeenth Century Chinese Porcelains from the Butler Family Collection* [Exh. cat.] (Alexandria: Art Services International, 1990), 21–32.
 32. See Little, "Narrative Themes," 28; a dish of this type is published in Soame Jenyns, "The Chinese Ko-Sometsuke and Shonsui Wares," *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society* 34 (1962–63): 19, pls. 5a–b.
 33. Robert Hegel, *The Novel in Seventeenth Century China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981), 7.
 34. Hegel, *Novel*, 10–11.
 35. James Cahill, *The Distant Mountains: Chinese Painting of the Late Ming Dynasty, 1570–1644* (New York: Weatherhill, 1982), 250.
 36. Medley, "Trade," 12.
 37. For a recent examination of the relation between seventeenth-century ceramics and the literati class, see Julia B. Curtis, *Chinese Porcelains of the Seventeenth Century: Landscapes, Scholars' Motifs and Narratives* [Exh. cat.] (London: Sotheby's, 1995).

A NOTE ON THE SHIELD-SHAPED ORNAMENTAL BOSSES ON THE FAÇADE OF BĀB AL-NASR IN CAIRO

By AVINOAM SHALEM

DURING THE REIGN OF THE EIGHTH FATIMID CALIPH AL-Mustansir (1036–94) Egypt underwent civil unrest, violent political turbulence, and economic crises. Years of famine exhausted the treasury. Hunger and disease, spreading rapidly through the streets of Cairo, brought anarchy and gave a free hand to military troops. Not until 1073, the year al-Mustansir appointed Badr al-Jamālī commander-in-chief (*amīr al-fuyūsh*), was order restored in Cairo. Badr al-Jamālī (d. 1094), an Armenian slave of the Syrian amīr Jamāl al-Dawla Ibn ‘Ammar, had become a well-known commander in Syria. In fact, on the eve of assuming his new appointment in Cairo, he had left his position as governor of Acre and in January 1074 arrived in Fatimid Cairo with his own troops.

In 1087, Badr al-Jamālī decided to replace Jawhar’s brick walls of Cairo with slightly extended walls of stone. This act of exchanging the crumbling old mud-brick walls for solid well-cut stones might be regarded as the perfect analogue to Badr al-Jamālī’s restoration and strengthening of Fatimid power in Egypt. Unfortunately, few of his walls survive. A substantial segment is located on the northern side of the city. This includes Bāb al-Futūh (Gate of Conquest), Bāb al-Nasr (Gate of Victory), and the wall connecting them, which also runs along the northern wall of the mosque of al-Hākim (built between 990 and 1003). Other remains of the walls are located in the southern part of the city. These mainly consist of Bāb Zuwayla and a wall located east of it.¹ The Kufic inscriptions on Bāb al-Nasr and Bāb al-Futūh state that these gates were erected in May 1087, while the now-lost inscription on Bāb Zuwayla mentioned the year 1092.² Though Bāb al-Nasr was renamed Bāb al-‘Izz (Gate of Power) and Bāb al-Futūh became Bāb al-Iqbāl (Gate of Prosperity) under Badr al-Jamālī, the gates retain their old names to the present day.³

These gates have been praised for their fine cut-stone masonry and are regarded as the earliest examples of northern Mesopotamian military architecture introduced into Fatimid Egypt. In fact, according to tradition, they were built by three Armenian brothers who probably fled Edessa

(Urfa) in 1086, the year it was captured by the Saljuq Malik Shāh.⁴

This note offers a new interpretation of the shield-shaped bosses that decorate the façade of Bāb al-Nasr. It also relates this interpretation to the gate’s Fatimid message.

Bāb al-Nasr consists of a pair of solid, square towers flanking a slightly set-back arched gateway. The towers are also connected, above the gateway, by a curtain wall (fig. 1). The façade is treated as a three-storied structure. The lower story has smooth stonework. The second story, slightly inset from the lower one, consists of beveled blocks bearing shield-shaped bosses. A carved Kufic dating inscription and a decorative cornice run along its summit. The third story also has fine cut-stone masonry, with arrow slits and embrasures. Notably, the towers, at least until 1799, had crenelations with semicircular tops.⁵ The arched gateway has a relatively large rectangular opening, which is slightly set back within the big outer arch (fig. 2). Above this arch, over the decorative cornice and the Kufic inscription that run along the border between the second and third stories, is a parapet with five arrow slits. This parapet was once surmounted by crenelations, similar to those with the semicircular tops. Apart from the joggled voussoirs, the sole decoration of the arched gateway consists of a rectangular panel with a Kufic inscription in the upper section of the tympanum and two circular shields on the spandrels, each with a straight sword placed diagonally behind it.

The distinctive decorations of this gate, however, are the shields that ornament its towers. Creswell, who studied this gate thoroughly,⁶ observes:

A remarkable decoration appears here in the form of three shields on the front of each tower, and one on each of the sides next the archway. Half the shields are circular, the other half are round above and pointed below after the fashion of the Norman shields on the Bayeux tapestry. The targets have a central boss, surrounded by six or seven knobs arranged in a circle round it. They recall the circular shields, sometimes of boiled hide, sometimes of metal, of medieval India.⁷



FIG. 1. Bâb al-Nasr, 1087. Cairo.
General view. Photo: Courtesy
Creswell Archive, Ashmolean
Museum, Oxford.



FIG. 2. Bâb al-Nasr, 1087. Cairo.
Detail of the arched gateway.
Photo: Courtesy Creswell Archive,
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

Creswell adds that both kinds of shield were used in the Middle Ages—the convex kite-shaped one usually by cavalry and the round one by infantry—and suggests that “the shields on the Bāb an-Nasr represent the two types then in use in the Byzantine Army.”⁸ Creswell’s suggestion that the shields on Bāb al-Nasr, at least the “Norman” ones, should be read as Western has been generally accepted; bearing this in mind, scholars even speculate that these decorative shields recall the traditional idea of displaying a foe’s armor on the city gate as trophies.⁹ Yet kite-shaped shields were also used in the lands of Islam before the arrival of crusaders.¹⁰

An interesting piece of visual evidence for the Fatimids’ use of kite-shaped shields is a fragment of a miniature painting representing a battle scene, now housed in the British Museum (fig. 3). Arab soldiers, girded with swords and armed with bows, protect themselves with kite-shaped shields from an attack on their walled city. Significantly, a stone-built city gate with a huge arched gateway, an adjoining square tower, and parapets with crenelations appears on the left side of the miniature. This depiction, probably of a

city wall, recalls the typical double-towered gates and the fine masonry walls with their semicircular crenelations of Fatimid Cairo. Recently, Doris Behrens-Abouseif has suggested reading the shields as “symbolic of the walls as being the shields of the city, protecting it against invaders.”¹¹

Royal Emblems of the Fatimid Dynasty

The ancient tradition of hanging trophies on city gates probably inspired Badr al-Jamālī or the architects who built this gate. It is even tempting to suggest that this particular decoration evoked in the hearts of the citizens of Fatimid Cairo the cheerful feelings of celebrating a victory. But some medieval sources concerning the royal emblems of the Fatimid dynasty shed new light on the meaning of the two types of shield that appear on this gate.

According to al-Qāḍī al-Rashīd ibn al-Zubayr (late eleventh century), who probably held office in the Fatimid treasury or at least relied on a well-informed person, two famous shields were



FIG. 3. Battle scene. Fragment of a miniature painting, eleventh or twelfth century, Fatimid Egypt. British Museum, London. Photo: Courtesy British Museum, London.

kept in the treasury.¹² The first one, called *al-ʿAsjadah*, is described in the following anecdote:

When the envoy of the Byzantine king, Basil, came to Egypt, al-Hākim bi-Amr Allāh wanted to furnish the throne room with unusual furnishings and to hang up rare (or exotic, *gharibah*) hangings (*taʿālīq*). He ordered a search in the furniture treasuries (*khazāʿ in al farsh*), and 21 bags were found. Lady Rashidah [daughter of the Fatimid caliph al-Muʿizz (r. 953–75)] remembered that these were brought from Qayrawan to Egypt when her father entered Egypt in the year 362 [972–73] . . . and in the front part of the iwan, *al-ʿAsjadah* was suspended; this was a golden shield studded [or covered] with all kinds of costly precious stones, which shed light all over. When sunlight fell on it, it was impossible to look at it, because the eyes became tired and dazzled.¹³

According to Rashidah's account, this precious shield already belonged to the Fatimids in Qayrawan and was brought, probably with other treasures, to Cairo when al-Muʿizz moved to his new capital al-Qahirah. The fact that al-Hākim (r. 996–1021) decided to hang it in the most conspicuous part of the iwan, probably the audience hall in which the Byzantine delegation was received, suggests that this shield was associated with the Fatimid caliphate.¹⁴

The second piece of evidence reveals that during the reign of the Fatimid caliph al-Mustansir another celebrated shield was sent by al-Muʿizz bin Bādīs (1016–62)¹⁵ from Qayrawan to Cairo. In fact, this shield, which was covered with precious stones, was the shield of al-Mahdi (r. 909–34), founder of the Fatimid dynasty.¹⁶

It is significant that the shield of al-Mahdi reached Cairo during the reign of al-Mustansir. This shield was probably regarded not only as the emblem of the Fatimid dynasty but perhaps also, from the Ismaʿīliyya perspective at least, as one of the important relics of the Shiʿa movement. Hence, the use of a shield as a symbol of Fatimid hegemony is also stressed in the following literary source, which describes the Fatimid royal insignia shown to the public during a parade.

Ibn al-Tuwayr (a high-ranking official of the late Fatimid period [1130–1220]) reveals how extremely elaborate the Fatimid royal processions (*mawākib*) were.¹⁷ In the New Year parade, considered typically Fatimid,¹⁸ no fewer than 3,000 mounted soldiers participated. The caliph, riding his horse, wore a *mandil* (a type of turban) with a huge precious stone (probably a pearl) called *Yatima*. Girded by the royal sword and holding a scepter, he was protected by his *ṣibyān* (youths)

and followed by his wazir and his attendants. Thereafter came the bearer of the lance, a group of soldiers, the standard bearers, and the cavalry divisions. The *wālī* of Cairo and the *isfahsalār* (chief-of-staff) rode along the parade keeping order. Ibn al-Tuwayr mentions that the noble lance (*al-ruḥ al-sharīf*) and the shield of Hamza b. ʿAbd al-Muttalib were also carried in this procession.¹⁹

Interestingly, according to al-Qalqashandī (1355–1418), who also relies on Ibn al-Tuwayr—though without attribution—one of the important insignia of sovereignty (*al-ālāt al-mulūkiyya*) carried during these processions was the huge golden shield called *al-daraqqa*. He states, "It was claimed to be the shield of Hamza, the uncle of the Prophet (God be pleased with him); it is covered with silk and is carried during the procession by one of the most important and majestic amirs."²⁰

Whether the *daraqqa* was indeed the shield of Hamza is a question that cannot be answered,²¹ but on the basis of available evidence, it seems likely that shields were regarded as an important symbol of Fatimid hegemony. This suggestion is supported by al-Qāḍī al-Rashīd's account, mentioned above, of the famous shield of al-Mahdi, which arrived in Cairo during the reign of al-Mustansir, perhaps after al-Mustansir's campaign against Ifriqiya in 1052.²²

A Visual Example of Fatimid Insignia

A splendid rock crystal piece, the so-called la Grotta della Vergine in the treasury of San Marco, Venice, offers a rare visual example of Fatimid insignia (figs. 4–6).²³ It has three parts: a relatively big rock crystal piece carved to form a five-sided niche, a Byzantine crown with fourteen enameled medallions (six of them lost) studded with pearls and precious stones, and a gilded silver statue of the Virgin standing on a low platform with open arms. The decoration of the rock crystal, which is mounted upside down, consists of a fantastic structure with columns (or pilasters) and Ionic capitals. Four objects appear on one side of this piece, each depicted between two columns; the same objects are repeated on the other side, again between columns. These are: a long spear with a pointed diamond-shaped head, an oval shield with a central boss, a straight sword with a long slender blade terminating in a spatulate end or perhaps kept within its scabbard, and an unidentified foliated object (a stand?) that carries a helmet(?) topped by a pear-shaped object (fig. 7).²⁴

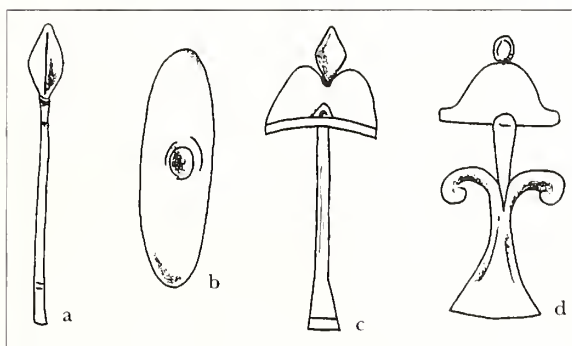


FIG. 4 (top left). "La Grotta della Vergine." Faïmid rock crystal. Gilded silver Byzantine crown decorated with enamel and precious stones. Venice, San Marco, Tesoro no. 116. After H. R. Hahnloser, ed., *Il Tesoro di San Marco* (Florence: Sansoni, 1971).

FIG. 5 (top right). "La Grotta della Vergine." Right side. After Hahnloser.

FIG. 6 (bottom left). "La Grotta della Vergine." Left side. After Hahnloser.

FIG. 7a-d (bottom right). Drawing of the four objects depicted on "La Grotta della Vergine."

Though the carving of the columns is cut in relatively low relief, the four objects and the foliage motifs are executed with a soft bevel typical of delicate Fatimid carving.²⁵ Moreover, iconographically, the objects call to mind the description by al-Qalqashandī of the most important insignia of the royal Fatimid processions.²⁶ The shield *al-daraqā*, as mentioned above, was carried by one of the highest ranking majestic amīrs.²⁷ The spear *al-rumḥ* was held by the spear bearer.²⁸ The sword *al-sayf al-khāṣṣ* (the royal sword) was carried within its scabbard (*kharīṭah*) by the caliph,²⁹ and, arguably, the unidentified foliated stand carried the *tāj*, a turbanlike Fatimid crown, with the famous pearl called *al-Yatīma* attached to its top for the parade.³⁰

Like the renowned rock crystal ewer of the Fatimid caliph al-ʿAzīz Billāh,³¹ this rock crystal might have come first to Constantinople, perhaps after the dispersion of the Fatimid treasury (between 1061 and 1069) and been later brought to Venice, probably after the sack of Constantinople in 1204, to be presented to the treasury of San Marco.³² Unfortunately, available literary sources do not reveal how this rock crystal piece functioned in its original Fatimid context.³³

The Inscriptions on Bāb al-Nasr

The two Fatimid inscriptions on Bāb al-Nasr illuminate the shields on its façade. Max van Berchem reads the first inscription, which runs below the decorative cornice along the towers and the gateway, as follows:³⁴

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ بِعَزِّ اللَّهِ الْعَزِيزِ الْجَبَّارِ يَحَاطُ الْإِسْلَامُ
وَتُنْشَأُ (أ) الْمَعَاوِلُ وَالْأَسْوَارُ أَنْشَأَ هَذَا بَابَ الْعِزِّ
وَالسُّورَ الْمَحِيطَ بِالْمَعْرِزَةِ الْقَاهِرَةِ الْمَحْرُوسَةِ حَمَاهَا
(أ) لِلَّهِ فَتَى مَوْلَانَا وَسَيِّدَنَا الْإِمَامَ الْمُسْتَنْصِرَ بِاللَّهِ
أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ صَلَوَاتُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ وَعَلَى آبَائِهِ الْأَتْمَةِ
الطَّاهِرِينَ وَأَبْنَائِهِ الْأَكْرَمِينَ السَّيِّدِ الْأَجَلِّ أَمِيرِ
الْجِيُوشِ سَيْفِ الْإِسْلَامِ نَاصِرِ [الْإِمَامِ] كَافِلِ قَضَاةِ
الْمُسْلِمِينَ وَهَادِي دَعَاةِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ أَبُو النُّجْمِ بَدْرُ
الْمُسْتَنْصِرِ عِزُّدِ اللَّهِ بِهِ الدِّينُ وَأَمْتَعُ بِطُولِ بَقَائِهِ
أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَأَدَامَ قُدْرَتَهُ وَأَعْلَى كَلِمَتِهِ الَّذِي حَصَّنَ
اللَّهُ بِحُسْنِ تَدْبِيرِهِ الدَّوْلَةَ وَالْأَنْامَ وَشَمَلَ صَلَاحَهُ
الْخَاصَّ وَالْعَامَّ ابْتِغَاءً ثَوَابِ اللَّهِ وَرِضْوَانِهِ وَطَلَبَ
فَضْلَهُ وَإِحْسَانَهُ وَصِيَانَةَ كُرْسِيِّ الْخَلَاةِ وَازْدِلَافًا إِلَى
اللَّهِ بِحَيَاةِ الْطَّافَةِ وَبَدْئِ بَعْمَلِهِ فِي مُحَرَّمِ سَنَةِ
ثَمَانِينَ وَأَرْبَعِمِائَةٍ .

In the name of God . . . by the power of Allāh, the Powerful and Strong, Islam is protected, fortresses and walls rise up. This Gate of Power (Bāb al-ʿIzz) and the wall, protecting the city of al-Muʿizz, Cairo, the safeguarded—may God protect it—were raised by the slave of our sovereign and master, the Imām al-Mustansir Billāh, Amīr al-Muʿminīn—may the benedictions of God be upon him, his ancestors the unblemished imāms, and his noble descendants. The most noble lord, the commander-in-chief, the sword of Islam, the defender of the imām, the guardian of the judges of the Muslims, and the one who guides the missionaries of the believers, Abū'l-Najm Badr al-Mustansirī, may God support the true religion through him and grant enjoyment to the Amīr al-Muʿminīn by prolonging his [Badr's] life, and make his power endure and elevate his speech, [for] he it is by whose excellent administration God has strengthened the state and [her] subjects whose uprightness has embraced [both] the élite and the populace [i.e. everybody], seeking the reward of God and His approval and asking for His generosity and beneficence, and the safeguarding of the throne of the caliphate, and praying to God that He may surround him with His favors. This work was begun in Muharram of the year 480 [April–May 1087].³⁵

The second Kufic inscription, also read by van Berchem,³⁶ appears in the tympanum, right above the relieving arch in a rectangular panel. It consists of four lines. Three appear within the panel, and the fourth is carved on the upper relieving arch. It contains the classical Shiʿa confession:

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَحْدَهُ لَا شَرِيكَ لَهُ مُحَمَّدٌ
رَسُولُ اللَّهِ عَلِيٌّ وَلِيُّ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِمَا وَعَلَى
الْأَتْمَةِ مِنْ ذُرِّيَّتِهِمَا أَجْمَعِينَ .

In the name of God . . . there is no God but Allāh, He has no partners [and] Muḥammad the messenger of God, ʿAlī the companion of God. May God be pleased with them and with all the imāms who are their descendants.

The main idea of the first inscription is probably manifested in the first sentence: "By the power of Allāh, the Powerful and Strong, Islam is protected, fortresses and walls rise up." The main section of this inscription, however, praises al-Mustansir and Badr al-Jamālī. It conveys, though indirectly, Shiʿite propaganda, claiming that God's blessing is bestowed upon the Fatimid dynasty and that Badr al-Jamālī is the protector of the imām. The second inscription is a pure manifestation of Shiʿite doctrine. The gate seems, therefore, to transmit a Shiʿite message or even

to claim the right of the Shi'a as the protectors of Islam. In this context the shields might have been thought to symbolize the Fatimid dynasty as the "shield," or legitimate protector, of Islam. But the appearance of two types of shield on the towers suggests that these motifs refer to specific shields. On the basis of current literary evidence it is impossible to associate each type with the famous *daraqa*, or the *ʿasjada*, or even the shield of al-Mahdi, which was probably the symbol of Shi'ite power in Egypt. Nevertheless, it seems significant that Fatimid royal processions, in which the *daraqa* and perhaps the two other shields were

shown to the public, departed from Bāb al-Nasr and terminated at Bāb al-Futūh or vice versa.³⁷

To sum up, the two types of shield on the façade of Bāb al-Nasr probably refer to two famous shields kept in the Fatimid treasury during the reign of the Fatimid caliph al-Mustansir. According to literary sources, these might plausibly have been the *daraqa*, an important insignia of the Fatimids, or the shield of al-Mahdi, founder of the dynasty. Yet the motif of the shield and the sword, which appears on both sides of the gateway, remains enigmatic.

Notes

I would like to express my thanks to my colleagues at the Fine Art Department of the University of Edinburgh, Dr. Dominic S. Marner and Dr. Sylvia Auld, who read the first draft of this paper and made some valuable suggestions. I am also indebted to Dr. Carole Hillenbrand who, with great patience, corrected my translation of the two inscriptions of Bāb al-Nasr.

1. On the Fatimid walls of Cairo see mainly K. A. C. Creswell, *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952; repr. 1978), 1:161–216 (henceforth Creswell, *M.A.E.*); Terry Allen, *A Classical Revival in Islamic Architecture* (Wiesbaden: L. Reichert, 1986), 29–35; Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic Architecture in Cairo: An Introduction* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1989), 67–72; Richard Ettinghausen and Oleg Grabar, *The Art and Architecture of Islam 650–1250* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1987), 186.
2. Creswell, *M.A.E.*, 1:164–65.
3. Creswell, *M.A.E.*, 1:164–65.
4. Creswell, *M.A.E.*, 1:162 (the Account of al-Maqrīzī) and 209, esp. n. 3.
5. Creswell, *M.A.E.*, 1:168. See also the depiction of this gate taken from the *Description de l'Égypte* (dated 1799), 1:169, fig. 82.
6. Creswell, *M.A.E.*, 1:166–76.
7. Creswell, *M.A.E.*, 1:168.
8. Creswell, *M.A.E.*, 1:213. On the different types of shields used in medieval times in Byzantium and the Islamic regions, see mainly Friedrich W. Schwarzlose, *Die Waffen der alten Araber aus ihren Dichtern dargestellt* (Leipzig, 1886; repr. Hildesheim, NY: Georg Olms Verlag, 1982), 351–56; Taxiarchis G. Kolias, *Byzantinische Waffen* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1988), 88–131 and esp. 106; L. A. Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry: A Survey* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933); Edmund Bosworth, "Arms of the Prophet," in *The World of Islam: Faith, People, Culture*, ed. Bernard Lewis (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976), 201–23; Robert Elgood, ed., *Islamic Arms and Armour* (London: Scolar Press, 1979), especially the articles by Michael Gorelik, "Oriental Armour of the Near and Middle East from the Eighth to the Fifteenth Centuries as Shown in Works of Art," 30–63, and David Nicolle, "An Introduction to Arms and Warfare in Classical Islam," 162–86.
9. Allen, *Classical Revival*, 30; Richard B. Parker, Robin Sabin, and Caroline Williams, *Islamic Monuments in Cairo: A Practical Guide*, rev. ed. (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1985), 223.
10. As a matter of fact, some of the Byzantine shields were probably influenced by Persian and Islamic shields, particularly the round wooden ones covered by leather. See Kolias, *Byzantinische Waffen*, 95, 112. Moreover, according to Nicolle, kite-shaped shields were also known in the Muslim world before the First Crusade. They were called in Arabic *tāriqah* and in Persian *sipar-i shūshak*, or "lute-shaped shield." See David Nicolle, "The Cappella Palatina Ceiling and the Muslim Military Inheritance of Norman Sicily," *Gladius* 16 (1983): 74.
11. Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic Architecture in Cairo*, 68.
12. Al-Qāḍī Abu'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. al-Zubayr, *Kitāb al-dhakhā'ir wa'l-tuḥaf*, ed. M. Ḥamid Allāh (Kuwait, 1959), 76 (cap. 84), 150–51 (cap. 173). See also Ghada Hijjawi Qaddumi, "A Medieval Islamic Book of Gifts and Treasures: Translation, Annotation and Commentary on the *Kitāb al-Hādāya wa-al-Tuḥaf*," Ph.D. dissertation (Harvard University, 1990), 84, 159, 340 n. 1.
13. Al-Qāḍī al-Rashīd, *Kitāb al-dhakhā'ir*, 150–51 (cap. 173).
14. Golden shields decorated one of the halls in the temple of Solomon. See 1 Kings 10:16–18 and 2 Chronicles 9:15–17.
15. *EI2*, s.v. "al-Mu'izz b. Bādīs."
16. Al-Qāḍī al-Rashīd, *Kitāb al-dhakhā'ir*, 76 (cap. 84).
17. See mainly Marius Canard, "Le cérémonial fatimite et le cérémonial byzantin," *Byzantion* 21 (1952): 355–420, esp. 396–415; idem, "La procession du Nouvel An chez les Fatimides," *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales de la Faculté des Lettres d'Alger* 10 (1952): 364–98 (repr. in Canard, *Miscellanea Orientalia* [London: Variorum Reprints, 1973]). See also Paula Sanders, "The Court Ceremonial of the Fatimid Caliphate in Egypt," Ph.D. dissertation (Princeton University, 1984); *EI2*, s.v. "mawākib."
18. Canard, "La procession du Nouvel An"; *EI2*, s.v. "mawākib."
19. Canard, "La procession du Nouvel An," 386, 392. Canard suggests that the red shield (*al-daraqā al-ḥamrā'*), which is also mentioned by Ibn al-Tuwayr, should be read as the shield of Hamza (*daraqat al-Hamza*); see "La procession du Nouvel An," 392 n. 108.

20. Al-Qalqashandī, *Subḥ al-Aʿshā* (Cairo, 1914–28), 3:469. A golden processional shield studded with precious stones was also used in Byzantine royal ceremonies; see Kolias, *Byzantinische Waffen*, 103.
21. The shield of Hamza is also mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa as being displayed in the Dome of the Rock. See *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa A.D. 1325–1354*, ed. C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti, trans. H. A. R. Gibb (Cambridge: Published for the Hakluyt Society at the University Press, 1958), 1:79.
22. For the use of shields during Byzantine coronation ceremonies, see mainly Georg Ostrogorsky, “Zur Kaisersalbung und Schilderhebung im spätbyzantinischen Krönungszeremoniell,” *Historia* 4 (1955): 246–56; Wilhelm Enßlin, “Zur Torqueskrönung und Schilderhebung bei der Kaiserwahl,” *Klio* 35 (1942): 268–98; Christopher Walter, “Raising on a Shield in Byzantine Iconography,” *Revue des Etudes Byzantines* 33 (1975): 133–75.
23. Carl Johann Lamm, *Mittelalterliche Gläser und Steinschnittarbeiten aus dem Nahen Osten* (Berlin: D. Reimer, 1929–30), 1:214, 2:pl. 76,1; A. H. Christie, “Two Rock Crystal Carvings of the Fatimid Period,” *Ars Islamica* 9 (1942): 167–68; *Der Schatz von San Marco in Venedig*, exhibition catalogue, Römisch-Germanisches Museum in Cologne (Milan, 1984), cat. no. 8; Rodolfo Gallo, *Il Tesoro di S. Marco e la sua storia* (Venice: Istituto per la collaborazione culturale, 1967), 278.
24. For this type of Arab sword, see Anthony North, *An Introduction to Islamic Arms* (London: H. M. S. O., 1985), 29, fig. 22b.
25. For the suggestion of Fatimid Egypt as the provenance of this rock crystal, see Christie, “Two Rock Crystal Carvings,” 167–68.
26. Al-Qalqashandī, *Subḥ al-Aʿshā*, 3:468–71.
27. Al-Qalqashandī, *Subḥ al-Aʿshā*, 3:469.
28. Al-Qalqashandī, *Subḥ al-Aʿshā*, 3:469.
29. Al-Qalqashandī, *Subḥ al-Aʿshā*, 3:468.
30. Al-Qalqashandī, *Subḥ al-Aʿshā*, 3:468. According to al-Maqrizī (1364–1442), the jeweled turban, a lance, and a sword were the royal emblems of the Fatimid caliph al-Hākim. Al-Maqrizī, who describes the royal procession in which the eleven-year-old was first saluted as caliph, says that al-Hākim wore the turban with the jewel (*al-jawhar*) and had a lance in his hand and a sword suspended from his neck. See Ahmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrizī, *Kitāb al-mawāʿiz waʿl-iʿtibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ waʿl-āthār* (the Bulaq edition, repr. Beirut, ca. 1970), 2:285. On the Fatimid *tāj* see Canard, “Le cérémonial fatimide,” 390–92. It could be argued that apart from the shield, which al-Qalqashandī mentions as that of Hamza, the spear and the sword might have alluded to the famous spear of the Prophet and sword of Alī. Interesting as it is, this discussion is beyond the scope of the present note. For the spear of the Prophet see George C. Miles, “Mihrāb and ʿAnazah: A Study in Early Islamic Iconography,” in *Archaeologica Orientalia in Memoriam Ernst Herzfeld*, ed. idem (Locust Valley, NY: J. J. Augustin, 1952), 156–71. On the various famous medieval Arab swords, see Abdel Rahman Zaky, “Medieval Arab Arms,” in *Islamic Arms and Armour*, ed. Elgood, 203–6; see also *EI2*, s.v. “Dhuʿl-Fakār.”
31. See mainly Lamm, *Mittelalterliche Gläser und Steinschnittarbeiten*, 1:192–93, 2:pl. 67,1; Kurt Erdmann, “Die fatimidischen Bergkristallkannen,” *Wandlungen christlicher Kunst im Mittelalter* (Baden Baden: Verlag für Kunst und Wissenschaft, 1953), 189–205; David S. Rice, “A Datable Islamic Rock Crystal,” *Oriental Art* 2 (1956): 85–93; H. R. Hahnloser, ed., *Il Tesoro di San Marco* (Florence: Sansoni, 1971), cat. no. 124; *Der Schatz von San Marco*, cat. no. 30; F. Gabrieli and U. Scerrato, *Gli arabi in Italia* (Milan: Libri Scheiwiller, 1979), no. 592; G. Curatola, ed., *Eredità dell’Islam. Arte islamica in Italia*, exhibition catalogue, Palazzo Ducale, Venice (Milan: Silvana, 1993), cat. no. 61.
32. The object was probably mentioned for the first time in the inventory of 1325: “Ecclesiolam unam de cristallo furnitam arg(ent)o deaur(at)o” (One small crystal church with gilded silver mounting); see Gallo, *Il Tesoro*, 278.
33. It is tempting to suggest that this rock crystal was originally used as a relic container, in which perhaps one of the famous relics of the ʿAlid saints was kept. Its circular form and architectural decoration recall a typical tomb building (mausoleum, martyrium, or even mashhad), which is usually a square or a central domed structure. Moreover, in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, as well as during the early medieval period, it was a common practice to decorate the outer walls of these buildings with arms and armor. For example, 1 Maccabees 13:27–30 relates that, over the tombs of his father and brothers in Modein, Simon built monumental pyramidal buildings, “raising them on plinths and surrounding them with tall columns on which he had trophies of arms carved to their everlasting memory.” The Nabathean tomb structure from Suwaydah in Syria

(unfortunately now destroyed) might well illustrate the above description of the Hasmonaean monuments. This was a square building, probably with a stepped pyramidal roof. Ornamental bosses depicting circular and elliptical shields, a helmet?, and an armor plate appear on the façade of this tomb, between the Doric columns. Fortunately, a drawing of this building was made by Comte de Vogüé; see Frank Rainer Scheck, *Jordanien, Völker und Kulturen zwischen Jordan und Rotem Meer* (Cologne: DuMont, 1985), 363.

34. Max van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, Mémoires publiés par les Membres de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire, vol. 19 (1–4) (Cairo, 1894–1903), pt. 1, p. 56.
35. For the translation by Max van Berchem, see *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, vol. 19 (1–4), pt. 1, p. 57.
36. *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, vol. 19 (1–4), pt. 1, p. 58.
37. See *EI2*, s.v. “mawākib”; Canard, “Le cérémonial fatimide,” 400, and “Le procession du Nouvel An,” 386, 397 and 377–78 (where Bāb al-Id [the Festivity Gate] and Bāb al-Mulk [the Royal Gate] are mentioned). These two northern gates were the official entrance to Fatimid Cairo; see Sanders, *Court Ceremonial of the Fatimid Caliphate*, 72.

THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE VIṢṆU TEMPLE AT DEOGARH AND THE VIṢṆUDHARMOTTARAPURĀṆA

By ALEXANDER LUBOTSKY

IN A RECENT ARTICLE I TRIED TO DEMONSTRATE THAT the prototype of the temple described in great detail in the third *khaṇḍa* of the Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa as the “Sarvatobhadra” temple is the famous Gupta temple at Deogarh (in Jhānsi District of U.P.).¹ This temple, also known in the scholarly literature as the Daśāvatāra temple (“the temple of the ten *avatāras* of Viṣṇu”), was completed in the first half of the sixth century A.D.² and is a masterpiece of the art and architecture of the Gupta age. Its magnificent reliefs and the lavishly adorned doorway have been studied time and again, and photographs of it may be found in every handbook on Gupta art.

In spite of the fame of this temple, its iconographic program is still unknown, and several figures depicted on the reliefs remain unidentified. In the present article I intend to show that the description of the Deogarh temple found in the Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa (henceforth, the abbreviation VDh will be used for the third *khaṇḍa* of this text) may help to elucidate some obscure points in the iconography of this temple.

Form of the Sarvatobhadra and Deogarh Temples

The VDh, composed in approximately the seventh century A.D.,³ consists of short treatises on Sanskrit and Prakrit grammar, metrics, poetics, dancing, singing, music, painting, iconography, and architecture. These treatises take the form of a dialogue between the king Vajra, who puts the questions, and the mythical sage Mārkaṇḍeya, who gives the answers and prescriptions. The iconography of the images, the so-called Pratiṃlākṣaṇa, is dealt with in chapters 44–85. Temple architecture is the subject of three chapters: chapter 86 presents the classification of a hundred temples; chapter 87 describes the Sarvatobhadra temple; and chapter 88 gives general information on temple proportions.

Several indications suggest that in chapter 87 the author described a real temple. The chapter concludes with a lengthy eulogy (87.43–63) to the benefits of building this temple, worshipping gods there, or even merely seeing it. Here are some extracts:

One who builds such a temple in accordance with the prescriptions and always worships all gods is known as Cakravartin [the sovereign of the world] in the beginning of the Tretāyuga; he resides in heaven as long as he wishes, and then he attains communion with Viṣṇu. The man who has once worshipped all gods in this temple with all kinds of offerings will certainly get the benefit of the gift of the three worlds and without any doubt will attain whatever he desires. As soon as the very beautiful temple with its Cakras and Patākas becomes visible, calamities disappear. Undoubtedly, anyone who enters it is not susceptible to disease, sudden death, calamity. Demons have no power over him. . . . The king in whose dominion this temple is built remains in the heaven of Indra and rejoices for a long time. . . . No harm should be done to this divine object. The king or his representative who does this goes to the terrible hell together with his sons, cattle, and relatives, and his position in this world will certainly vanish.⁴

The temple is so precisely described and its merits so eloquently praised as to create the impression that the author had seen the Sarvatobhadra temple himself. The fact that he did not include this temple in the classification of a hundred temples but described it in a separate chapter also points to its special importance for the author of the VDh. He definitely wanted to indicate that the Sarvatobhadra temple is something unique. “This abode of Viṣṇu . . . must be seen because the man who has seen it is released from all sins and attains merit” (87.63).

The form and proportions of the Sarvatobhadra temple are discussed in my previous article.⁵ Here I shall only mention those characteristics of the temple and its shrines that are relevant to its iconography.

The temple stands on a high, square platform surrounded by an enclosure that reaches up to knee level. Four broad staircases (their width is seven-eighths of the width of the temple) lead to the platform; each of the staircases is flanked by two “tusk” temples. Next to the main shrine four additional shrines rise in the corners of the platform. Along the border of the platform are twenty-four small temples with a shrine (six on every side), three to the left and three to the right of every staircase. The platform is adorned by a band of panels with images. Every side of the main temple has a portico supported by two pillars each;

thus, the porticoes have three doors. At the fourth door, behind the portico, is a shrine (probably a niche is meant). Finally, at every corner of the main temple, at the junction of the porticoes, stand temples with two shrines each.

The description of the Sarvatobhadra temple suits the remains of the Viṣṇu temple at Deogarh (see fig. 1 for its ground plan) if we take into account that the superstructure and the platform of the Deogarh temple have been ruined, so that the small temples on the platform and those at the junction of the porticoes are no longer extant. Only a few pillars of the porticoes are left, and these are kept in a godown near the temple.

Orientation of the Temples

The VDh (87.17–18) allows two alternatives for the orientation of the Sarvatobhadra temple:

The image of Vāsudeva should face the east or the west and no other direction. One should consider the direction of Vāsudeva as the east, and the order [of the deities] should be in conformity with this direction.

This seems to mean that the placement of the deities is given in the text as if Vāsudeva faces

the east. If, in reality, Vāsudeva faces the west, the whole scheme should be turned 180 degrees.

The Deogarh temple is oriented to the west, slightly turned toward the south in such a way that the last rays of the setting sun could shine on the image in the main shrine. The orientation to the west was not unusual for temples with a “dark” shrine.⁶ The so-called Varāha temple at Deogarh, which is similar in form to our temple and contains niches with almost identical reliefs,⁷ is facing east. The direction of the niches is also the opposite, but their order during circumambulation by the devotees is the same. Going clockwise from the entrance of the shrine, we first see a relief with Viṣṇu liberating the King of the Elephants (Gajendramokṣa), then a relief with Viṣṇu in the form of the two sages Nara and Nārāyaṇa, and finally a relief with Viṣṇu sleeping on the serpent Ananta (Anantaśayana). The Varāha temple is turned 180 degrees in comparison with the Viṣṇu temple, which is exactly what the VDh prescribes: “One should consider the direction of Vāsudeva as the east, and the order of the other deities should be in conformity with this direction.” There are different opinions concerning the date of the Varāha temple,⁸ but even if it was a late copy of the Viṣṇu temple rather than a prototype, my argument would not be affected.

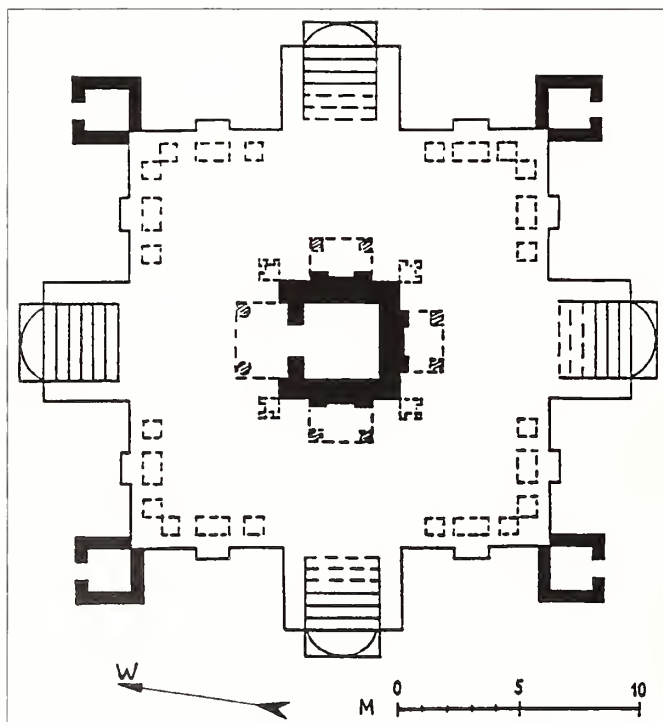


FIG. 1. Ground plan of the Viṣṇu temple at Deogarh. Drawing by Mrs. T. Wezel-Ignatova. Reconstructed portions indicated by dotted lines.

Iconographic Program of the Sarvatobhadra Temple

The VDh announces the iconographic program of the Sarvatobhadra temple in the very first śloka of the chapter (87.1):

*prāsādam atha vakṣyāmi sarvatobhadrasaṃjñitam
caturātmā harir yatra kartavyo jagatīpate*

I shall now tell you about the temple known as Sarvatobhadra, where Hari in his fourfold aspect should be placed, o king.

The term *caturātmā* is used here in the sense of *caturvyūha* (of four aspects, emanations), which refers to the quadripartite divine nature of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa, the key notion of the so-called Pāñcarātra school of thought. The principal cult figures of this school are four deified heroes, the kinsmen Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa, his elder half-brother Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna the son of Vāsudeva, and Aniruddha the son of Pradyumna.

The VDh (chapters 44, 47, 54, 85) elaborates the *vyūha* doctrine into a coherent iconographic

system of symbols. Each of the four *vyūhas* of Viṣṇu has a particular appearance and banner (*dhvaja*) and is associated with a quality (*guṇa*), attributes, and direction.⁹ All these qualities and attributes relate to the function of the *vyūhas* in the Universe. The following features are relevant for the iconography of their images:

1. Vāsudeva, the most important of the four, has a "gentle" face. He is associated with *bala* (force), holds a mace and a discus, and faces the east; his banner is Tārṅṣya (Garuḍa).

2. Saṃkarṣaṇa, the emanation of the destructive force, has the face of Narasiṃha (man-lion). He is associated with *jñāna* (knowledge), holds a pestle and a plough, and faces the south; his banner is the Tāla tree (a fan palm).

3. Pradyumna, the emanation of the preserving force, has the face of Kapila (a sage who preached the Sāṃkhya philosophy, as stated in VDh 78/1.5). He is associated with *aiśvarya* (sovereignty, supremacy), holds a bow and an arrow, and faces the west; his banner is a *makara* (a mythical aquatic animal).

4. Aniruddha, the emanation of the creative force, has the face of a *varāha* (boar). He is asso-

ciated with *śakti* (creative power), holds a leather shield and a sword, and faces the north; his banner is an antelope.

According to Pāñcarātra doctrine, Viṣṇu assumes different aspects in order to save, destroy, preserve, and create the world. At the same time all these *vyūhas* are one and the same god, Viṣṇu. In sculpture this idea of the unity of the four *vyūhas* is reflected in *caturvyūha* images of the Kuṣāṇa period,¹⁰ where Viṣṇu is represented as a multiple deity consisting of four figures. In the Gupta period the iconographic development of the Pāñcarātra doctrine resulted in the image of Viṣṇu Viśvarūpa, an image with many heads and figures representing the whole Universe. An iconographic description of Viṣṇu Viśvarūpa is given in VDh 83, and one unfinished Viśvarūpa image was found in Deogarh.¹¹

The VDh description of the Sarvatobhadra temple attempts to present the unity of the four *vyūhas*, that is, the unity of the Universe, not in one image but in one temple, its four sides being dedicated to the four *vyūhas* and the other shrines to their consorts and attendants, their attributes and banners (see fig. 2).

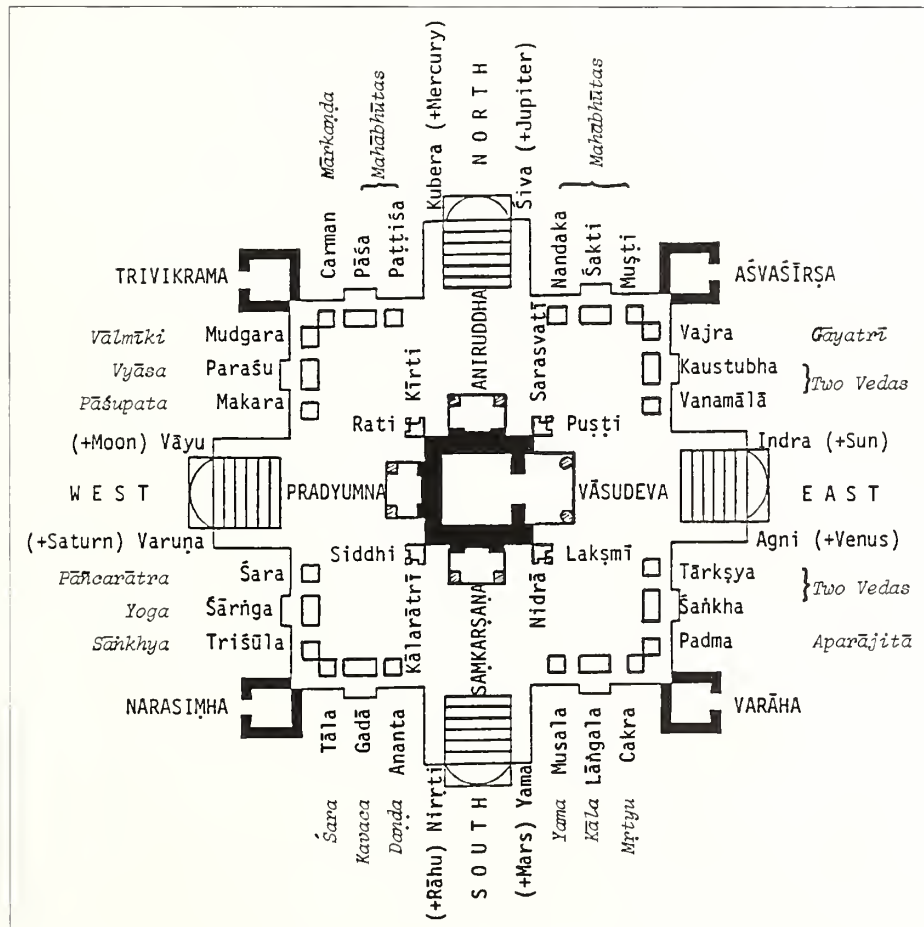


FIG. 2. Iconographic scheme of the Sarvatobhadra temple. Panels around platform indicated in italics.

PLACEMENT OF THE DEITIES

The placement of the deities is given in concentric circles, beginning with the main shrine and then moving further to the periphery. The order of the deities is always *pradakṣiṇa*, or clockwise from the east:

Now listen to the successive placement of the gods in the temple, o king. The image of Vāsudeva should face the east or the west and no other directions. One should consider the direction of Vāsudeva as the east. The order [of the deities] should conform to this direction. Lord Saṃkarṣaṇa should be placed with his face to the south. Then one should place Pradyumna with his face to the west and Aniruddha with his face to the north. (87.17–20)

PLACEMENT OF THE CONSORTS

The eight consorts of the four *vyūhas* are placed at the junction of the porticoes. The scheme is given in the *pradakṣiṇa* order, beginning from Vāsudeva. Note that right and left in the following description are indicated from the point of view of the image, not the viewer.

As to the shrines at the junction of the porticoes, about which I told you, one should put Lakṣmi to the right of the eastern portico. To the left of the southern portico one should place Nidrā, and Kālārātrī to its right. To the left of the western portico one should place Siddhi, and Rati to its right. One should put Kīrti to the left of the northern portico, Sarasvatī to its right, and Puṣṭi to the left of the eastern portico. (87.21–23)

Consequently, according to the prescription of the VDh, the first wife of every *vyūha* stands to his right, the second wife to his left. The position of some of the goddesses corresponds to their description in other parts of the VDh. For instance, Rati is the first wife of Kāmadeva (73.21), who is identified with Pradyumna (52.13); Yama and his consort Dhūmorṇā are identified with Saṃkarṣaṇa and Kālārātrī (51.7,12). Also the position of Nidrā conforms to her description in 73.23–24, which dictates that she be depicted with her left hand on her hip, Saṃkarṣaṇa on her right and Vāsudeva on her left.¹²

CORNER TEMPLES

The corner temples of the platform are dedicated to four manifestations of Viṣṇu:

In the corner temples situated in the northeast and so on, one should put Aśvaśīrṣa [with the head of a horse, northeast], Varāha [boar, southeast], Narasiṃha [man-lion, southwest], and Trivikrama [making three steps, northwest]. (87.24)

Saṃkarṣaṇa has the face of Narasiṃha (see “Iconographic Program of the Sarvatobhadra Temple” above), which explains the position of the Narasiṃha shrine in the southwest (cf. also 78/2.7: “Hari in his Saṃkarṣaṇa form assumes the form of Narasiṃha”).

About Aśvaśīrṣa (= Aśvaśiras, Aśvagrīva, Hayaśiras, Hayagrīva) it is said (80.4–5) that he should be represented with four of his eight hands on the heads of the four personified Vedas because long ago the Vedas had been returned by this god from Rasātala, where they were brought by two demon chiefs. His position in the east thus corresponds to the position of the Vedas at the eastern side on the platform (see “Panels around the Platform” below). On the other hand, his northern orientation contradicts 80.3: “Know that the god having the head of a horse is a part of Saṃkarṣaṇa”; one would rather expect the Aśvaśīrṣa shrine at the southeast.

Likewise, the southern orientation of the Varāha shrine is surprising because Aniruddha (= north) has a Varāha face, and we learn from 79.11 that Varāha is identified with Aniruddha. One would therefore expect Aśvaśīrṣa to stand in the southeastern corner and Varāha in the northeastern corner. Possibly the text is corrupt, and the order of Aśvaśīrṣa and Varāha should be changed. Alternatively, the placement of the gods in the Sarvatobhadra temple may not conform to the later system of identifications.

THE “GIRDLE”

The VDh also indicates the iconography of the “girdle” (the cloister of twenty-four temples on the platform):

The girdle should consist of little connecting temples, dedicated to twenty-four divinities [attributes and companions of Viṣṇu]: Tārṣya [Garuḍa], Śaṅkha [conch], Padma [lotus], Cakra [discus], Lāṅgala [plough], Musala [pestle], Ananta [serpent], Gadā [mace], Tāla [fan palm], Triśūla [trident], Śārṅga [bow], Śara [arrow], Makara [aquatic animal], Paraśu [axe], Mudgara [hammer], Carman [leather shield], Pāśa [noose],¹³ Paṭṭīśa [spear], Nandaka [sword], Śakti [lance], Muṣṭi [fist], Vajra [club], Kaustubha [jewel], Vanamālā [chaplet]. (87.25–28)

As with the eight consorts of the four *vyūhas*, this list seems to begin to the right of Vāsudeva. We then arrive at a scheme that would match the iconographic program (fig. 2). The three animals mentioned in the list stand directly to the right of the *vyūhas*: Tārksya (Garuḍa), the bird of Vāsudeva to his right, Ananta to the right of Saṃkarṣaṇa, and Makara, the banner of Pradyumna, to his right. The banner of Saṃkarṣaṇa (the Tāla tree) is also situated at his side (south).

As to the attributes of the *vyūhas*, the plough and the pestle, the attributes of Saṃkarṣaṇa, are placed to his left. Likewise, the bow and the arrow, the attributes of Pradyumna, are placed directly to his left. The attributes of Aniruddha, the sword and the shield, are situated at his side (north) but not directly to his left. The position of the attributes of Vāsudeva is unexpected. At his left are his jewel and chaplet but not the discus and the mace, which are situated to the south, the side of Saṃkarṣaṇa.

THE “TUSK” SHRINES

The placement of the deities in the “tusk” shrines at both sides of the staircases is determined by the direction of the staircase. The guardians, the so-called Dikpāla(ka)s, of the east are situated at the eastern staircase, and so on:

Listen now to the order of the [gods in the] tusk shrines, o king. Indra and Agni should be put at the east, at the south Yama and Nirṛti, at the west Varuṇa and Anila [Vāyu], and at the north Dhaneśvara [Kubera] and Maheśvara [Śiva]. Eight planets should be put at the tusk shrines: Āditya [sun] and Śukra [Venus] in the east, Kuja [Mars] and Asura [= Rāhu, who causes the eclipses] in the south, Śanaīśvara [Saturn] and Śaśāṅka [moon] in the west, Candraputra [Mercury] and Bṛhaspati [Jupiter] in the north. At the “tusk” shrines of Vāsudeva [that is, at the eastern staircase] should be placed two doorkeepers of Vāsudeva, Subhadra and Vasubhadra, the lords of the three worlds; then Āśādha and Yajñatāta,¹⁴ [the doorkeepers] of Saṃkarṣaṇa, should be made; Jaya and Nijaya, [the doorkeepers] of Pradyumna; Āmoda and Pramoda, [the doorkeepers] of Aniruddha. The placement of the gods and the doorkeepers in the tusk temples that I have described to you is known to be of many merits. This is what one should know about the guardians of the quarters of the world and about the planets. (87.29–37)

PANELS AROUND THE PLATFORM

Finally, the deities depicted in the panels around the platform are enumerated:

Now listen to the [placement of the] deities on the band around the platform in due order: Gāyatrī, the four Vedas, Vaiṣṇavī Aparājītā, Mṛtyu, Kāla, Yama, Daṇḍa, Kavaca, Śara, Sāṅkhya, Yoga, the Pāñcarātra and Pāśupata doctrines, Vyāsa, Vālmiki, Mārkaṇḍa, and the *mahābhūtas* (five great elements), one after the other. (87.37–39)

As in the case of the corner temples, this list of twenty-four deities on the band starts from the northeast, enumerating first the six eastern panels, followed by the six southern panels, and so on. In this way, we have in the east four Vedas, two to the left of the staircase and two to the right, plus Gāyatrī, the personified sacred verse Ṛgveda 3.62.10, “the mother of the Vedas” (VDh 60.4), and Vaiṣṇavī Aparājītā. Gāyatrī is associated with Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning, whose face, according to VDh 64.3, 5, represents the Sāvitrī mantra (= Gāyatrī) and whose four hands represent the Vedas. Aparājītā is described in the VDh as a divine mother, one of the wives of the great god Tumburu (chapter 66). She definitely belongs to the realm of death, the southern direction. Consequently, the most northern of the eastern panels is a link with the north, while the most southern one is a link with the south.

In the south we first see three gods of death and destruction—Mṛtyu, Kāla, and Yama—and, on the other side of the staircase, their attributes—Daṇḍa (staff), Kavaca (armor), and Śara (arrow). This scheme agrees fully with the destructive character of Saṃkarṣaṇa.

In the west are the philosophical systems Sāṅkhya and Yoga, then the Pāñcarātra and the Pāśupata systems at both sides of the staircase, then two sages: Vyāsa, the mythical author of the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas, and Vālmiki, the author of the Rāmāyaṇa. The western side thus underscores the function of Pradyumna as an ascetic and protector of the Universe (VDh 78/1.5).

In the north is situated the sage Mārkaṇḍa (= Mārkaṇḍeya), the mythical author of the VDh, and the *mahābhūtas* (five great elements), which are clearly associated with Śiva, being his five faces (VDh 48.7–8), and consequently with the north, the direction of Śiva.

The iconographic program of the Sarvato-bhadra temple can be summarized as follows. Every side of the temple is dedicated to one of the four *vyūhas* of Viṣṇu: east Vāsudeva, south Saṃkarṣaṇa, west Pradyumna, and north Aniruddha. Their consorts are placed in the shrines at their

side, the first wife to their right and the second to their left. Their attributes are situated in six small temples on every side of the platform. The panels around the platform are adorned with different deities, sages, and deified abstract notions, which are associated either with *vyūhas* or with their cardinal point. The corner shrines are occupied by four manifestations of Viṣṇu. In general, this placement scheme conforms to the system of identifications found in the *Pratimālakṣaṇa*, the part of the VDh that describes image-making.

The Deogarh Temple

We may now turn to the iconography of the Deogarh temple, of which only the doorway and three reliefs are still intact. The panels around the platform have become ruins. Only several fragments with scenes from the life of Kṛṣṇa and Rāma are preserved, but these are not mentioned as such by the VDh. The original place of these fragments is generally unknown, so that it seems useless to speculate on their interpretation within the ritual scheme of the VDh. The only means at our disposal to determine the iconographic program of the Deogarh temple is analysis of the reliefs.

Before we proceed with a detailed description of the reliefs of the Deogarh temple, let me state at the outset that the iconographic program of this temple seems to agree with the scheme of the Sarvatobhadra temple, its four sides being dedicated to the four *vyūhas* of Viṣṇu. The relief above the doorway, which depicts Viṣṇu sitting on the serpent Ananta with Lakṣmī and his two manifestations, Narasiṃha and Vāmana, is probably dedicated to Vāsudeva. The northern relief, representing Viṣṇu as a warrior liberating the King of the Elephants (Gajendramokṣa), conforms to the destructive power of Saṃkarṣaṇa. In the east is Viṣṇu in the form of two sages, Nara and Nārāyaṇa, whose ascetic power clearly points to Pradyumna, the preserving aspect of the god. Finally, the relief at the southern side of the temple with Viṣṇu engaged in the act of creation, lying on the serpent Ananta (Anantaśayana), must be dedicated to Aniruddha, the creative aspect of Viṣṇu.

The actual orientation of the reliefs is the opposite of the prescribed orientation of the *vyūhas*, but, as we have seen with respect to orientation, this can be accounted for by the rule given in

VDh 87.17: the direction of Vāsudeva should be considered the east. Doing so yields the following combinations, which conform to the prescriptions: Gajendramokṣa–Saṃkarṣaṇa–south, Naranārāyaṇa–Pradyumna–west, Anantaśayana–Aniruddha–north. The Varāha temple presents an actual example of such an orientation.

The following discussion of the reliefs aims at finding additional evidence for their dedication and at identifying some of the figures. In comparison with previous attempts, we now have two advantages. First, since we assume that the author of the VDh had seen and admired the Deogarh temple, his prescriptions were probably influenced by the iconography of the Deogarh reliefs. The use of iconographic descriptions from the VDh to identify the obscure figures on the Deogarh reliefs thus becomes more legitimate and more valuable than before. Second, we shall compare the reliefs of the Varāha temple with those of Deogarh, which, to my knowledge, has hardly ever been done. The evidence of the Varāha reliefs is especially important when a part of the Deogarh relief is damaged. It is irrelevant which of the temples is the prototype: in both cases the Varāha reliefs provide invaluable information.

THE LALĀTABIMBA

We start with the relief (fig. 3) above the doorway (the so-called Lalātabimba), which depicts Viṣṇu sitting on the serpent Ananta with Lakṣmī caressing his foot. Two manifestations of Viṣṇu—Narasiṃha (man-lion) and Vāmana (dwarf)—appear to his right and left, respectively. The choice of the manifestations seems significant. In the scheme of the Sarvatobhadra temple Narasiṃha and Trivikrama¹⁵ are placed in two corner shrines behind the temple and are invisible to the devotee approaching the main entrance. Now with these two manifestations depicted next to Vāsudeva on the Lalātabimba, all four manifestations are facing the devotee.

The closest parallel to this representation of Vāsudeva is found in VDh 85.49–50, which describes different images of Vāsudeva:

Or he [Vāsudeva] should be represented charming, seated on the coils of Śeṣa [= Ananta]. Surrounded by his hoods, the face of the Mighty one is difficult to look at. When he sits on the coils of Śeṣa, his four hands are empty. Cakra [discus] and Gadā [mace] should be made near him, assuming human forms.

On the Deogarh relief, Cakra and Gadā in human form are missing. Instead, Vāsudeva holds a conch in his lower left hand and a discus in his lower right hand.

Incidentally, the way Vāmana is depicted on the Lalāṭābimba corresponds to his description in V Dh 85.54–55: “Vāmana should be made with short limbs and a fat body, carrying a staff and engaged in study. His color is the green of the

dūrvā-grass, and he wears the skin of a black antelope.” The antelope skin is missing on the relief.

THE GAJENDRAMOKṢA RELIEF

Moving around the temple in the *pradakṣiṇa* direction, we come to the northern niche. In contradistinction to the other two niches of the Deogarh temple, the scene depicted here is not



FIG. 3. The doorway of the Deogarh temple. Courtesy Kern Institute, Leiden, Coll. Vogel 30/21.

described in the VDh. The relief (fig. 4) shows Viṣṇu as a warrior fighting with two serpents, which have bound the helpless elephant with their coiled bodies. Viṣṇu sits on Garuḍa, holding a mace in his lower right hand and a discus in his upper right hand, ready to throw it. One of his left hands rests on his knee, while the



FIG. 4. The Gajendramokṣa relief of the Deogarh temple.
Courtesy Kern Institute, Leiden, Coll. Vogel 30/24.



FIG. 5. The Gajendramokṣa relief of the Varāha temple.
Courtesy Kern Institute, Leiden, Coll. Vogel 30/870.

attribute in his other left hand is broken off. From the parallel relief on the Varāha temple (fig. 5), where Viṣṇu holds a conch in this hand, we may conclude that here too he held a conch. The two serpents fold their hands in *añjalimudrā*, admitting their defeat and saluting the victor. The chief serpent is hit by the discus of Viṣṇu, which is visible in the middle of his breast. The elephant offers a lotus flower to Viṣṇu in gratitude. Note that on the relief of the Varāha temple there are three serpents, not two.

Above the head of Viṣṇu, on a separate slab, two couples hold a crown. These deities do not carry any attributes and cannot be positively identified.

"In a semi-circular panel below the capital on each pilaster of this niche is a seated male figure holding [a] flower with a female companion on either side."¹⁶ Similar scenes are found on one of the pillars that presumably stood in front of this niche. The man and two women depicted on the reliefs of the pillar are drinking wine and are intoxicated.¹⁷ The function and meaning of these scenes have never been explained. It is well known, however, that wine and intoxication are typical for Saṃkarṣaṇa. For instance, VDh 85.73 prescribes that "Bala [= Saṃkarṣaṇa] should be represented with eyes dilated through intoxication." It is therefore reasonable to assume that the scenes on the pilasters and the pillar are meant to create the atmosphere of Saṃkarṣaṇa, to whom this side of the temple is dedicated.

THE NARANĀRĀYAṆA RELIEF

According to the scheme of the Sarvatobhadra temple, the western side is dedicated to Pradyumna, the preserving aspect of Viṣṇu. VDh 78/1 (verses 1 and 5) states:

Know that Pradyumna is *vairāgya* [indifference to worldly life, asceticism], when he assumes the body of the sage Kapila. He possesses great might through the *vairāgya*, staying in meditation to the highest grade. Thus meditating, the ancient preacher of the Sāṃkhya philosophy is protecting the world.

This explains why the relief (fig. 6) depicting the meditation of Viṣṇu in the form of two sages, Nara and Nārāyaṇa, appears at the Pradyumna side of the temple.

Shastri has already pointed out that the description of Nara and Nārāyaṇa given in chapter 76 of the VDh exactly corresponds to the relief

of Deogarh.¹⁸ The only minor discrepancy is that, according to the VDh, Nara and Nārāyaṇa should sit on a chariot, which is not found on the relief.

In the center of a separate relief on the top, four-faced Brahmā sits on a lotus cushion. The way in which Brahmā has been depicted here is very similar to the image on the Anantaśayana relief. Only his clothes are different: On the Naranārāyaṇa relief Brahmā wears “a wide sash with plain borders and incised cross-hatching which seems to represent the *yoga-paṭṭa* of a *yogin*, that is a band of cloth or other material used in yogic exercises”;¹⁹ on the Anantaśayana relief Brahmā wears an antelope hide. As Maxwell surmises, the reason for this variation may be the different symbolic roles that Brahmā plays in these two reliefs. On the Anantaśayana relief,

his wearing of the black antelope skin may have been intended to emphasize his omniscient *ṛṣi*-character, since he is in the process of creating the world; whereas, in the other panel, his wearing a piece of the *yogin*'s standard equipment is most suitable in a scene depicting a place of austerity, namely the *āśrama* of Nara and Nārāyaṇa.²⁰

Brahmā is flanked by celestial couples, which have not been identified. To the right of Brahmā is a male figure holding his garment, “worn

on the back and tied in front.”²¹ A fold of his garment flutters below. On his right his wife flies in the air holding her fluttering garment.

This god must be Vāyu, who is described in the VDh as follows:

Vāyu [wind] has the color of the sky, and the sky should have the appearance of the wind. Vāyu, made visible, has two arms, and his garment is puffed up with the wind. His wife Śivā should be placed at his left, wanting to move (*gamanecchā*). Pavana [= Vāyu] should be made holding the ends of his garment with both hands. The same applies to the goddess Śivā of infinite beauty. The face of the god should be turned aside and his hair disheveled. As Vāyu assumes the smell, color, and so on of everything he touches, he has the color of collyrium because he has touched the sky. The sky is also his garment. Śivā is the motion, Anila [= Vāyu] is unobstructed. (58.1–5)

The fact that Śivā is depicted to Vāyu's right and not to his left as prescribed by the VDh is insignificant. Her position is no doubt dictated by the composition of the relief.

The male figure of the other couple holds an object in his right hand that has not yet been identified. It seems to be a conch, its opening turned to the viewer. The conch of Viṣṇu on the Gajendramokṣa relief of the Varāha temple (fig. 5) has been depicted in the same fashion. The left hand of the deity rests on his thigh. His consort sits at his left, her right hand on his back and in her left an upside-down lotus.

This celestial couple probably represents Varuṇa and Gaurī, who are described in the VDh as follows:

Varuṇa, the lord of the sea animals, must be depicted on the chariot yoked with seven geese. He wears white garments and resembles a glossy lapis lazuli [in color]. He has four arms, a somewhat hanging belly, and is adorned with a pearl necklace and all ornaments. At his left side one must make a banner with a *makara* on it and a white umbrella over his head. His wife Gaurī, beautiful in all limbs, has two arms and sits on his left lap. In her left hand she holds a blue lotus; her right hand is on the back of the god. In the right hands of the god there should be a lotus and a noose, and in the left hands a conch and a *ratnapātra* [vessel of jewels]. (52.1–5)

There are two major discrepancies between the description of the VDh and the relief: there is no chariot yoked with seven geese, and Varuṇa has two instead of four arms. Both discrepancies are of a systematic nature. The chariots are



FIG. 6. The Naranārāyaṇa relief of the Deogarh temple. Courtesy Kern Institute, Leiden, Coll. Vogel 30/25.

prescribed by the VDh for many gods, but they do not appear on the Deogarh reliefs. The VDh also prescribes four arms and four attributes for all major gods, whereas in Deogarh these gods are generally represented with two arms and only one attribute. Except for a relief of Gaṇeśa on the left pilaster of the Anantaśayana niche, only Viṣṇu appears with four arms. The practice of assigning to a deity two arms instead of four conforms to a prescription found several times in the VDh: a deity who normally has four arms should be depicted with only two arms when appearing near Viṣṇu (e.g., 82.2 about Lakṣmī and 54.5 about Garuḍa). Moreover, in the iconographic descriptions of the VDh, a deity holds his most essential attribute in his left hand, usually in his lower left hand, whereas on the Deogarh reliefs this attribute invariably appears in the deity's right hand. We observe this practice in the case of Varuṇa as well. According to the VDh, he should hold his most characteristic attribute, the conch, in his (lower) left hand, whereas on the relief he carries it in his right hand.

The presence of Vāyu and Varuṇa on this relief is not coincidental. These two gods are Dik-pālas, the guardians of the northwest and the west, respectively, and it is in this function that they seem to appear here on the Pradyumna side, which is the western side within the orientation scheme of the temple. The doorkeepers of Pradyumna are identified with Varuṇa and Vāyu

in VDh 85.37, and Varuṇa is associated with Pradyumna in VDh 52.13.

On the left pilaster of the Naranārāyaṇa niche we find Gaja-Lakṣmī (Lakṣmī with two elephants) depicted in full agreement with a description in VDh 82.3–8. Possibly she is positioned on the Pradyumna side of the temple because in this representation with two elephants she is “the mother of the entire world” (82.1). The right pilaster is rather worn, and it is therefore difficult to identify the figures. It is unlikely, however, that they represent “an amorous couple,” as suggested by Vats,²² since such a scene would destroy the serene atmosphere of the niche.

As all scenes in the medallions of pillar no. 2 take place in a grove or under a tree,²³ thus pointing to the realm of ascetics, this pillar may have stood in front of the Naranārāyaṇa niche.

THE ANANTAŚAYANA RELIEF

On this relief (fig. 7) Viṣṇu lies at ease on the coils of the serpent Ananta (Śeṣa), who represents the primordial waters. This is the moment of the creation of the world, and as Aniruddha is the creative aspect of Viṣṇu, we may assume that this relief is dedicated to him.

There are many correspondences between the Anantaśayana relief and the description of the god Padmanābha (“with a lotus emerging from the navel”) in chapter 81 of the VDh:

Śeṣa in the form of a serpent should be lying amidst the waters. His head is dazzling because of the great jewels adorning his hoods. The god of gods should be made sleeping, with four arms. One foot of the god should rest on the lap of Lakṣmī, the other should lie on the coils of Śeṣa. One hand should be stretched out and rest on his knee, the second should be near the navel, the third should support his head, and the fourth should hold a bunch of Santāna flowers.²⁴ On the lotus, emerging from the pool of his navel and containing the whole earth, should be Brahmā, depicted as above. Madhu and Kaiṭabha [two demons] should be made near the stalk of the lotus. Near the snake there should be the weapons in human form.

The Deogarh relief deviates from this description in two details. First, the stalk of the lotus does not visibly emerge from the navel of Viṣṇu but rises from behind his recumbent figure. The second point concerns the demons and the weapons in human form, the so-called *āyudhapuruṣas*. The two figures standing near the lotus stalk are not the demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha, as



FIG. 7. The Anantaśayana relief of the Deogarh temple.
Photo: Professor K. van Kooij.

prescribed by the VDh, but Garuḍa and a woman (probably an attendant of Lakṣmī),²⁵ whereas the six figures below the serpent are four *āyudhapuruṣas* fighting with two demons on the left side.²⁶ The lady to the viewer's right is Gadādevī, the personified mace, and her neighbor is Cakrapuruṣa, the personified discus. Their identity can be established on the basis of their peculiar hairdo: Gadādevī's hair is done in the form of the cogged point of a mace, while above the forehead of Cakrapuruṣa is part of a discus. The practice of distinguishing the *āyudhapuruṣas* in this way is prescribed by the VDh: "One should somehow show the real forms [of the weapons] on the heads of Cakra and the others" (85.27). It is therefore reasonable to assume that the other two *āyudhapuruṣas* are also characterized by an emblem on their head, and not otherwise, as was traditionally assumed (these figures were seen as Dhanuṣ [bow] and Nandaka [sword], the latter because of his sword and the former because he "positions his right leg as if it were a bow").²⁷ Recently Gail has suggested that the headdress of the third figure has the shape of a conch and that, consequently, this must be Śaṅkha; van Kooij identified the fourth figure as Padma because of a lotus in his hair.²⁸

These identifications are tempting but, unfortunately, not without problems. First, as Gail observes,²⁹ the lotus as an attribute of Viṣṇu does not appear in sculpture before the seventh century A.D., so that it is better to stick to the traditional view that the fourth figure is Nandaka, especially as Nandaka often occurs in Sanskrit

literature and drama of the Gupta period. Second, the tiara on the head of the third figure does not take the form of a snail spiral, as Gail assumes.³⁰ The drawing by Vats (fig. 8) shows that the circles of the tiara are rather concentric, so that the headdress has the form of a hide shield.³¹ Considering the form of his tiara and the peculiar (leather?) band around his hips,³² I would venture to suggest that the man is Carman, the personified hide shield. This identification seems further to be confirmed by VDh 85.27, which states that "Cakra, [while] Khaḍga [= Nandaka] should be tall." On the Deogarh relief, Cakra and Carman look very similar; indeed, they wear the same armlets in the shape of a coiled snake and the same necklaces (see fig. 9), while the man with the sword is taller than the other two. Therefore, the third and fourth figures seem to be Carman and Nandaka. These two figures occupy the central position on the relief, possibly because the sword and the shield are the emblems of Aniruddha, to whom the niche is dedicated.

Let us now take a closer look at the group of five gods at the top of the Anantaśayana relief. In the center is Brahmā on a lotus, flanked on the left by Śiva with Pārvatī sitting on his usual *vāhana*, the bull, and on the right by Indra on his elephant Airāvata. In his right hand Indra probably holds a *vajra*, which is now broken off both on our relief and on the Anantaśayana relief of the Varāha temple. According to the VDh (50.5), Indra should hold a *vajra* in one of his left hands (presumably his lower left hand, as the



FIG. 8. The hairdo of Carman.
Drawing after M. S. Vats,
The Gupta Temple at Deogarh
(Delhi, 1952).



FIG. 9. Nandaka, Carman, and Cakra on the Anantaśayana relief
of the Deogarh temple. Photo: Professor K. van Kooij.



FIG. 10. Śiva and Sūrya on the Anantaśayana relief of the Deogarh temple. Photo: Professor K. van Kooij.

other left hand rests on the back of his consort Śaci). In conformity with the general practice of the Deogarh temple (see "The Naranārāyaṇa Relief" above), Indra has only two arms and holds the attribute in his right hand.

To my knowledge, the attribute in Śiva's right hand has not been identified. It is a small object, and Śiva is depicted as if looking at it (fig. 10). It seems probable that it is a mirror. From VDh 55.2–3 we learn that "Śiva should be with four hands: in his right hands one should put a rosary and a trident, and in his left hands a mirror and a blue lotus." Here again, the attribute prescribed

by the VDh for a (lower) left hand appears on the relief in the right hand.

Whereas the identity of the central three figures on the panel—Brahmā, Śiva, and Indra—is beyond any doubt, the identity of the other two deities is still under discussion. The figure to Indra's right has generally been identified as Kārttikeya (Kumāra, Skanda) because of his *vāhana*, the peacock. This view has recently been challenged by van Kooij, who states (together with Debala Mitra) that the *vāhana* of this god is not a peacock but a goose and that, consequently, this must be Varuṇa.³³ The bird, indeed, lacks any characteristic of the peacock and looks very much like a goose, but this is insufficient to prove that the god is Varuṇa, because, as van Kooij himself has shown,³⁴ geese and peacocks are not always clearly distinguished in the iconography. On our relief the attribute of the god cannot be determined because his right hand is broken off, but on the Anantaśayana relief of the Varāha temple (fig. 11) the god holds a spear (or a long sword) in his right hand. This is a decisive argument against Varuṇa, as the spear is Kārttikeya's attribute. According to VDh 71.5, Kārttikeya has four arms, with a cock and a bell in his right hands, a banner and a spear in his left hands. Once again the VDh puts the main attribute in



FIG. 11. The Anantaśayana relief of the Varāha temple. Courtesy Kern Institute, Leiden, Coll. Vogel, 30/1004.

the god's left hand, most probably in the lower left hand, as the most appropriate place for the banner is the upper hand.

The figure to Pārvaṭi's left (fig. 10) has always confused scholars, who either refrained from any identification or called him a Marut, a Vidyādhara, a garland-bearing figure, generally without any elaboration. Only van Kooij has discussed his identity at some length, hesitatingly proposing to identify him as Vāyu:

The only detail which may give some indication is the fluttering piece of cloth in his right hand. . . . In early iconography, from the Kuṣāṇa period onwards . . . , Vāyu's main characteristic is the inflated garment.³⁵

Several indicators, however, render this identification improbable. First, the garland he holds in his right hand is hardly a piece of his garment. Second, the god has a halo around his head, which is clearly visible on the relief of the Varāha temple (fig. 11). Finally, in my opinion, Vāyu is represented on the Naranārāyaṇa relief (see "The Naranārāyaṇa Relief" above), where he has a very different appearance.

I propose to identify this god as Sūrya, whose characteristic features are the raised hands with (mostly double) reigns and a halo. The VDh (67.2–4) describes the image of Sūrya as follows:

The Sun should be made with a beautiful moustache and be of the vermilion color. He should wear the dress of the Northerners, be adorned with all ornaments, and be of good appearance. He should have four hands and be very lustrous. He should be covered by an armor and wear a girdle known as Yāviyāṅga. In his left and right hands he should hold beautiful reigns, which have the form of garland threads going up and are adorned by flowers.

The description of the reigns suits the relief, but Northerners' dress (who used to cover their body)³⁶ is absent. The halo around Sūrya's head is mentioned in Varahamihira's *Bṛhat-Saṃhitā* (57.48).

What is the meaning of these gods as a group? According to van Kooij, they represent the Heaven of the Thirty-three Gods, Varuṇa being present as the leader of the Ādityas, Śiva as the leader of the Rudras, Vāyu as the leader of the Vasus, and Indra and Brahmā as the foremost representatives of the Thirty-three. This suggestion is in itself plausible and can be supported by several parallels. Unfortunately, it must be

abandoned since the figures that were identified by van Kooij as Varuṇa and Vāyu seem to be Kārttikeya and Sūrya. Kārttikeya is the son of Śiva and leads the army of gods (see VDh 71.7); he probably belongs to the Rudras but is never mentioned as their representative. Sūrya is often seen as the representative of the Ādityas (see VDh 72.7: "the twelve Ādityas should have the form of Sūrya"). Accordingly, the group of Vasus is absent from the relief.

Above the Naranārāyaṇa relief are Vāyu and Varuṇa in the function of Dikpālas, the guardians of the northwest and the west, respectively. It is therefore probable that the gods represented on the Anantaśayana relief are Dikpālas as well. Śiva is known as the guardian of the northeastern direction and Indra as the guardian of the east. Kārttikeya, who is the son of Śiva, also belongs to the northeast, while Sūrya represents the east and is situated, together with Indra, in the eastern tusk shrine of the Sarvatobhadra temple. As we have seen above, the Anantaśayana relief is directed to the north within the orientation scheme of the temple, and the presence of Śiva as the Dikpāla of the northeast is understandable. Note that he is the only god on the relief who is accompanied by his wife, as are Vāyu and Varuṇa on the Naranārāyaṇa relief. It remains unclear, however, why the Dikpālas of the east are represented on the Anantaśayana relief.

The northern orientation of the niche is further accentuated by the reliefs on its pilasters. On the pilasters to the viewer's left is Gaṇeśa, another son of Śiva. On the opposite pilaster sits a male figure with an object in his right hand, which is worn and cannot be positively identified but it looks more like a weapon than flowers, as suggested by Vats.³⁷ The deity looks at a smaller figure to his right, and this fact may help identify him as Nandin, an attendant of Śiva, who is described in VDh 73.15–17 as follows:

Nandin should be made with three eyes and with four long arms. His color is vermilion. He wears a tiger skin. One should make him with two hands holding a trident and a *bhīṇḍipāla* [a short javelin]³⁸ with his third hand on his head and with his fourth hand making a threatening gesture. He should be represented as watching people coming from a distance.

From a passage in chapter 86, which deals with the placement of gods in different types of temples, we learn that in the vicinity of Mahādeva (Śiva) one should place Skanda and Vināyaka

(Gaṇeśa), and in the vicinity of Vāsudeva one should place Śeṣa and Tārksya (Garuḍa) (86.139). The triad Śiva-Gaṇeśa-Skanda is also mentioned in 86.35 (*gaṇeśarudraskanda*). This prescription accords with the reliefs of the Deogarh temple.

Conclusion

The "Sarvatobhadra" temple described in the third *khaṇḍa* of the Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa is the famous Gupta temple at Deogarh. The author of this text must have been deeply impressed by the beauty and prestige of the Deogarh

temple. He devoted a whole chapter to a thorough description of its iconographic program and incorporated many iconographic elements into the system of identifications that can be found in the Pratimālakṣaṇa, the part of the V Dh that describes image-making.

The iconographic program of the Deogarh temple is closely connected with the Pāñcarātra doctrine. This temple is an analogue of the *caturvyūha* images of the Kuṣāṇa period, but this time the unity of the four emanations of Viṣṇu is represented not in one image but in one building, its four sides being dedicated to the four *vyūhas*.

Notes

I am indebted to Prof. Karel van Kooij and Dr. Ellen Raven for commenting upon an earlier version of this paper. I would also like to thank the Friends of the Kern Institute and, again, Karel van Kooij for kind permission to reproduce the photographs.

1. Alexander Lubotsky, "The 'Sarvatobhadra' Temple of the Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa and the Viṣṇu Temple at Deogarh," in *Ritual, State and History in South Asia: Essays in Honour of J. C. Heesterman*, ed. A. W. van den Hoek, D. H. A. Kolff, M. S. Oort (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 199–221.
2. See Joanna Gottfried Williams, *The Art of Gupta India: Empire and Province* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 132 and n. 98, for a discussion of the date.
3. Lubotsky, "'Sarvatobhadra' Temple," 201f.
4. This and subsequent quotations of VDh are translated from *Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa, third khaṇḍa*, ed. Priyabala Shah, 2 vols., Gaekwad's Oriental Series, nos. 130, 137 (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1958, 1961).
5. Lubotsky, "'Sarvatobhadra' Temple."
6. See Stella Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple* (Calcutta: Calcutta University Press, 1946), 272.
7. N. R. Banerjee, "New Light on the Gupta Temples at Deogarh," *Journal of the Asiatic Society (Calcutta)* 5, 1/2 (1963): 37–49.
8. See Lubotsky, "'Sarvatobhadra' Temple," 210f. and n. 15.
9. J. N. Banerjee, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, 2nd ed. (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1956), 409, writes that the VDh assigns the north to Pradyumna and the west to Aniruddha, assuming that the faces of Viṣṇu are mentioned in the text in the following order: front = east, right = south, left = north, and back = west. This interpretation is repeated by W. E. Begley, *Viṣṇu's Flaming Wheel: The Iconography of the Sudarśana-Cakra* (New York: New York University Press, 1973), 39, n. 182 and 43, n. 202, who follows Banerjee. In reality, the VDh always gives the directions in the *pradakṣiṇa* order, starting from the east: east, south, west, north (see "Placement of the Deities").
10. See T. S. Maxwell, *Viśvarūpa* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1988), 17ff.
11. Maxwell, *Viśvarūpa*, 233ff.
12. In the edition by Priyabala Shah, VDh 73.24cd reads *vāsudevas tathā vāme maikānaṃ ca tathā sutaḥ*. Pāda *d* does not make sense. The reading of the Venkateśvara Press edition *maikāneśā tathā* and the reading of ms. B *maikānāṃśās tathā* suggest that the goddess Ekānaṃśā must be meant here. She is described in VDh 85.72 as standing between Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, with her left hand on her hip and a lotus in her right hand (the position of Ekānaṃśā between Rāma and Kṛṣṇa also follows from VDh 86.26). The verse is evidently corrupt (Stella Kramrisch, *The Viṣṇudharmottara [Part III]: A Treatise on Indian Painting and Image-Making*, 2nd ed. [Calcutta: Calcutta University Press, 1928], 97), but the meaning must be "And so also Ekānaṃśā [should be represented]." The corruption must have originated when a scribe erroneously connected *vāma ekānaṃśā* into *vāmaikānaṃśā*.
13. Note that in the edition by Priyabala Shah, *carma pāśaṃ* is erroneously written as one word.
14. In spite of the reading of all manuscripts in VDh 85.30, 85.36, and here, Priyabala Shah everywhere writes Yajñātāra.
15. Trivikrama and Vāmana are two forms of the same manifestation of Viṣṇu, reflecting the myth about Viṣṇu in the form of a dwarf, who asked an Asura for a space equal to his three steps. When this request had been granted, the dwarf suddenly began to grow and, assuming gigantic proportions, covered the whole Universe in three steps.
16. M. S. Vats, *The Gupta Temple at Deogarh*, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, no. 70 (Delhi, 1952), 28.
17. Vats, *Gupta Temple*, 28.
18. B. Ch. Shastri, "Identification of a Relief Belonging to the Gupta-Temple of Deogarh," *Acta Orientalia* 12 (1934): 116–25. The myth of two brothers Nara and Nārāyaṇa is also given in *khaṇḍa* 1, chap. 129, 1–19, and alluded to in *khaṇḍa* 3, chap. 35, where the origin of the art of painting is associated with the creation of Urvaśī.
19. Maxwell, *Viśvarūpa*, 117.
20. Maxwell, *Viśvarūpa*, 117.
21. Vats, *Gupta Temple*, 35.
22. Vats, *Gupta Temple*, 14.

23. Vats, *Gupta Temple*, 29.
24. On the Deogarh relief, Viṣṇu's hand holding the Santāna flowers is broken off, but on the Varāha relief the flowers are still present (see fig. 11).
25. This figure is generally identified as Bhūdevī (cf. Vats, *Gupta Temple*, 15), but note that on the Anantaśayana relief of the Varāha temple (fig. 11), next to the head of Viṣṇu, there is a small female figure on the coils of Śeṣa. She cannot but be the goddess of the earth, so that the figure behind Lakṣmī is probably her attendant.
26. See Vats, *Gupta Temple*, 15, n. 1, and Susan L. Huntington, *The Art of Ancient India (Buddhist, Hindu, Jain)* (New York: Weatherhill, 1985), 210.
27. Huntington, *Ancient India*, 210.
28. A. J. Gail, "Āyudhapuruṣa—Die anthropomorphen Waffen Viṣṇus in Literatur und Kunst," *Gedenkschrift L. Sternbach, Indologica Taurinensia* 8–9 (1981): 183, n. 11; K. R. van Kooij, "Gods and Attendants in the Relief of Viṣṇu Anantaśayana at Deogarh," in *South Asian Archaeology 1983*, ed. J. Schotsmans and M. Taddei, Istituto Universitario Orientale dipartimento di studi Asiatici, series minor 12 (Naples, 1985), 683.
29. See van Kooij, "Gods and Attendants," 683, n. 4.
30. Gail, "Āyudhapuruṣa," 183, n. 11.
31. Vats, *Gupta Temple*, pl. XXVII, 11.
32. See Vats, *Gupta Temple*, pl. XX, 9.
33. Van Kooij, "Gods and Attendants," 686ff.; Debala Mitra, "Varāha-Cave of Udayagiri—An Iconographic Study," *Journal of the Asiatic Society (Calcutta)* 5, 3/4 (1963): 100, n. 2.
34. "Gods and Attendants," 687.
35. Van Kooij, "Gods and Attendants," 698f.
36. See Banerjea, *Hindu Iconography*, 436ff.
37. *Gupta Temple*, 15.
38. See G. Liebert, *Iconographic Dictionary of the Indian Religions* (Leiden: Brill, 1976), 39.

THE NEXUS OF DIVINE AND EARTHLY RULE: PADMANĀBHAPURAM PALACE AND TRADITIONS OF ARCHITECTURE AND KINGSHIP IN SOUTH ASIA

By MARY BETH HESTON

WHILE NORTH INDIAN PALACES, IN PARTICULAR THOSE of the Mughals and the Rājputs, have become the paradigms of the Indian palace in both scholarship and popular thought, I would like to suggest here that these monuments, significant as they are, provide only a partial picture of palace architecture in South Asia. The imposing scale and almost universal use of stone typical of northern traditions of the sixteenth to twentieth centuries probably build on conventions that developed in the north only after the first Islamic conquerers in north India introduced techniques and materials developed outside the subcontinent; the interaction of these new features with indigenous traditions over the centuries created new types that have come to be called Mughal¹ or Rājput,² depending on the patrons responsible for their creation. Virtually no palaces built prior to the fifteenth century survive, though there is evidence to suggest that earlier palaces were usually not built of stone, which was reserved for temples. Indeed, archaeological excavations of ancient palace remains of the eleventh- and twelfth-century south Indian palace sites at Halebīd and Gaṅgaikoṇḍachōlapuram have revealed that only the basements were built of stone, while the walls were brick.³ From a much earlier period, relief sculpture from Buddhist sites like Bhārhut and Sāñchī of the second century B.C.E. to the first century C.E. depict dwellings of royal persons; these buildings use wood extensively. In the structures represented in these carvings, the lower story often consists of open colonnades or columned halls, and projecting wooden balconies frequently overlook the street or courtyards below (fig. 1).⁴ Similarly, carved depictions of architecture among the numerous rock-cut caves of western India frequently represent upper-story balconies, as in the carved façades of the chaitya halls at Bedsa and Nasik.⁵

The palace at Padmanābhapuram in the far southern region (fig. 2), constructed mainly between about 1600 and 1750, is a rare example of a type of architecture that might more accurately reflect the continuity of much earlier palaces

in South Asia, that is, traditional palace architecture as it existed in South Asia before the thirteenth century, when the first Islamic rulers of north India introduced conventions of royal architecture based on Central Asian and Persian traditions.⁶ At Padmanābhapuram, walls are laterite bricks covered with stucco and whitewash, wood is used in abundance—for interior pillars (figs. 14, 19) and superstructures (figs. 4, 6, 10, 18) and to create projecting balconies (figs. 6, 20), carved screens (figs. 11, 14), and enclosed porches (figs. 11, 18)—and spaces tend to be irregularly arranged and intimate in scale. These features contrast sharply with the northern paradigms for palaces, which are built almost



FIG. 1. Carvings depicting architecture from the *torana* of the *stūpa* at Sāñchī. Photo: author.

exclusively of stone and often on an imposing scale.

In this article I will describe the palace at Padmanābhapuram and analyze its elements in relation to evidence regarding early architecture in order to indicate the ways in which it typifies ancient and traditional architectural practices in South Asia. I will suggest that while the palace was constructed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it represents the continuity of ancient architectural practices in the subcontinent not only in materials, style, organization, and other techniques of architecture but also in the underlying principles guiding architectural practice, including the notion of organizing the whole according to an ideal plan based on principles embodied in the *vāstuśāstras*, the sacred Sanskrit texts on architecture. I believe the plan at Padmanābhapuram was organized around a particular structure to symbolize the unity of the king and the tutelary deity of the kingdom, and thus was meant to support ancient Indian concepts of kingship in the eighteenth-century kingdom of Travancore. This building, an apparently original conception, reminds us that the *śāstras*—

and the principles they embodied—not only carried the weight and authority of the past but also remained living principles because they were creatively reinvented or reinterpreted under the guidance of masters, in this case the Brahman architect responsible for the final plan of ca. 1740. It is thus that “tradition” maintains itself as a vital articulation of a way of life.

History of the Palace at Kalkulam

Padmanābhapuram, originally known as Kalkulam and the only true capital complex to survive in Kēraḷa,⁷ is a fortified town in which the main palace (also surrounded by a wall) is situated; in this sense it shares in the tradition of palace architecture of both north and south, including Mughal palaces, many Rājput palaces, and the site of Vijāyanagara in the Deccan, which were also built within or adjacent to urban environments.⁸ The site itself has not been thoroughly studied, and there are still problems regarding the nomenclature of elements within the palace complex.⁹ The earliest known reference to the palace and fort here is a royal writ of Kollam Era (Malayāḷam Era) 776 (1601 C.E.) referring to the construction of Kalkulam and Udayagiri forts; another of Kollam 795 (1620 C.E.) mentions that Kalkulam had become a fortified town.¹⁰ The palace is not described beyond that. It has been claimed that there was a palace constructed at this site in 1335 C.E.,¹¹ but no evidence to this effect is known. It is clear, however, that the kings responsible for building it had been present in the area for some time.

Kalkulam, or Padmanābhapuram, served as the ruling palace of the kingdom of Tiruvitamcode, anglicized as Travancore, from the early seventeenth to the late eighteenth centuries. At the beginning of the seventeenth century Travancore extended from approximately Kanyākumārī—the southernmost tip of India—in the south to the region around Quilon (Kollam) in the north (fig. 2). Travancore, or Tiruvitamcode, was another name for the kingdom of Vēṇāḍu, which had established itself as an independent dynasty ruling in southern Kēraḷa after the break-up of the Kulaśēkhara empire (ca. 800–1124 C.E.) in the twelfth century. The southern area in which Kalkulam/Padmanābhapuram is situated had come under Vēṇāḍu control sometime after that. Between the early twelfth and the early sixteenth century this area, which had been subject

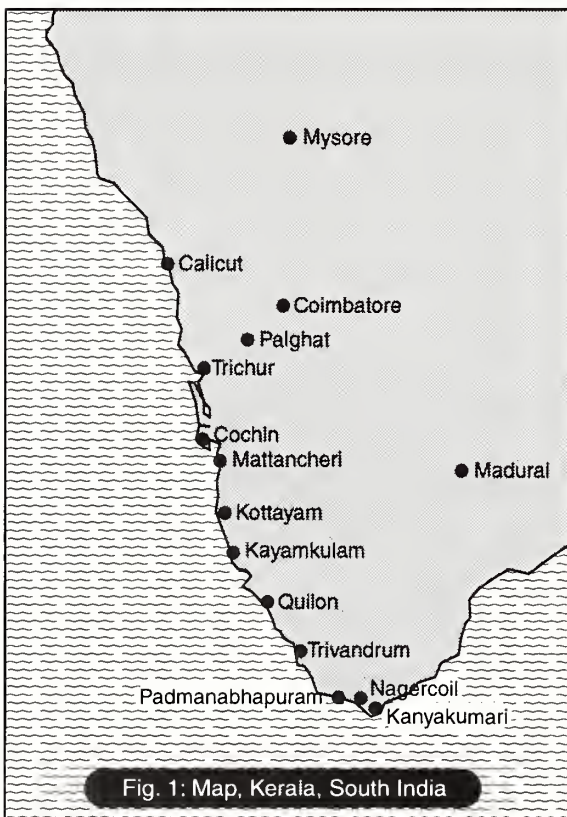


Fig. 2. Map, Kēraḷa, India.

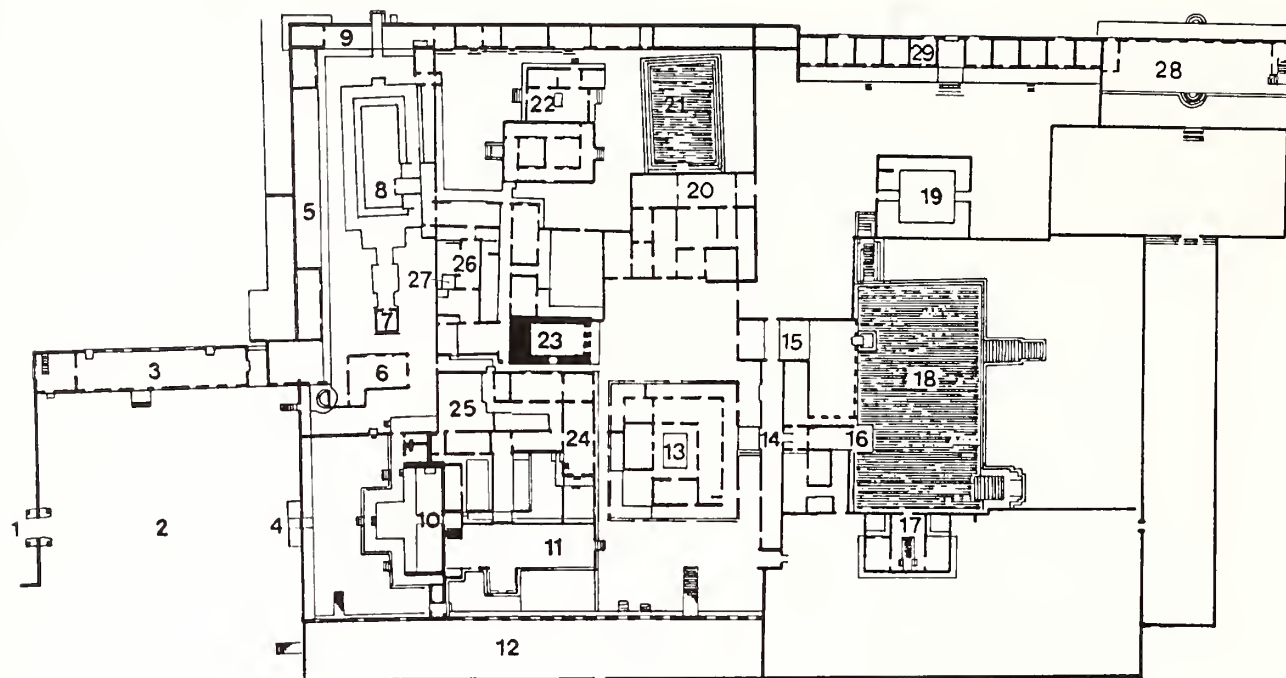
to Cōḷa claims during the era of Kulaśēkhara rule, had witnessed a Pāṇḍya presence and even Vijāyanagara claims to its territory,¹² but numerous inscriptions attest to the control of the Vēṇāḍu rulers over the region around Padmanābhapuram by the beginning of the sixteenth century.¹³ A number of palaces still stand—some now in ruins—in the territory stretching the thirty-three miles from Tiruvanandapuram/Trivandrum to Kalkulam/Padmanābhapuram and even further south to Kanyākumārī (fig. 2), though many others mentioned in records do not survive. Tiruvitaṁcode, the site that became the family seat of the southern branch of the Vēṇāḍu family and the place after which the kingdom came to be called, was located in the region, but its palace is now gone. Kalkulam, as it was originally called, became known as Padmanābhapuram only in the mid-eighteenth century, when the ruler Martanda Varma (r. 1729–58 C.E.) renamed the site after the tutelary deity of the kingdom—the Padmanābhaswāmi form of Viṣṇu as enshrined within the Padmanābhaswāmi temple in Tiruvanandapuram.

The deity Padmanābhaswāmi played an important role for rulers in southern Kēraḷa. A variant of the reclining form of Viṣṇu in cosmic sleep, Padmanābhaswāmi had also been claimed as the tutelary deity of the Āys, the earliest recorded rulers of southern Kēraḷa, whose roots go back to at least the Saṅgham age (ca. first to third centuries).¹⁴ The origins of the temple are vague, but it is mentioned in the *Śilappadikkāram*, a Tamil poem of about the fifth to eighth century,¹⁵ and in the songs of the Tamil saint Nammāḷvār (ca. ninth–tenth centuries).¹⁶ Records of the Āys continue sporadically until the tenth century,¹⁷ and the Vēṇāḍu kings, who came eventually to control most of the former Āy territories, were apparently related to the Āys by marriage.¹⁸ The Padmanābhaswāmi temple developed into one of the largest and most powerful in the region, so that even as the center of power of the Tiruvitaṁcode branch of the Vēṇāḍu kings shifted south between the twelfth and the sixteenth centuries, these rulers always maintained strong ties to the temple, as their inscriptions attest.¹⁹

The inscriptions referring to the palace and fort at Kalkulam in Kollam 776/1601 C.E. tell us nothing else about it, but in 1664 John Nieuhoff, the Chief Director of the Dutch East India Company in Kollam/Quilon, described “Kalkolang” as “the chief residence of the king, who keeps a garrison of 10,000 negroes [Nāyars:]

here, to secure it against the Neyk of Madure.” According to him, Kalkulam was a “large city, a league and a half long,” protected by a twenty-four-foot wall of stone below and brick at the top, while the palace itself was surrounded by a stone wall.²⁰ Parts of the earlier brick or mud wall were replaced with granite during the eighteenth-century reconstruction carried out by Martanda Varma.²¹ Indeed, both Kalkulam and the kingdom itself reached their height under Martanda Varma and his successor; until his time the power of the Vēṇāḍu kings was greatly circumscribed both by the limited resources of the kingdom and by the traditional nature of local rule, in which kings shared authority with the powerful local landlords of the Nāyar and Nambūtiri castes. Martanda Varma, however, enlarged the kingdom by conquering his neighbors, expelling local rulers from their territories and bringing those lands under his direct control, and beginning a systematic collection of taxes that provided the revenue he needed to build and expand.²² He built a number of palaces, but the Kalkulam palace was larger than the others and was the official residence of the king, the site from which he ruled, as it had been for at least a century. In 1744 Martanda Varma changed the name of the site to Padmanābhapuram, after the tutelary deity of the kingdom enshrined in the Padmanābhaswāmi temple in Tiruvanandapuram (anglicized as Trivandrum), though this was only one of a number of acts by Martanda Varma intended to honor the deity and emphasize his own special relationship to the god. He had not only performed various traditional ritual and ceremonial acts to the deity indicative of a great and pious Hindu king, including the *Tulāpuruṣadāna* (weighing himself against gold) and the *Ṣoḍaśa Mahādānam* (sixteen great gifts),²³ but he initiated a number of rituals as well, some of which will be discussed below.

The only building of real importance to have taken place at Padmanābhapuram after Martanda Varma’s reign was the completion of the mint in ca. 1789 under the rule of his successor.²⁴ After the early nineteenth century the role of Padmanābhapuram seems to have been gradually overshadowed by Tiruvanandapuram, perhaps in part because the temple there came to play an increasingly important role in state ceremony; other factors—such as the presence of the British Resident (who for a period even served as diwan)—were also likely to have been relevant,²⁵ it appears that the Kalukulam/Padmanābhapuram palace fell into desuetude by the royal



- | | | | | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Entrance gate | 2. Courtyard | 3. Mint | 4. Inner gate | 5. Storage | 6. Kitchen |
| 7. Sarasvati temple | 8. Navaratri <i>maṇḍapa</i> | 9. Palace residence | 10. Entrance porch | 11. Hall | 12. <i>Ūttupura</i> |
| 13. <i>Thaikottāram</i> | 14. Small <i>ūttupura</i> | 15. Kitchen | 16. Tankshed | 17. Tankshed | 18. Tank (<i>nirappura</i>) |
| 19. Bhagavatī shrine | 20. <i>Homapura</i> | 21. Tank | 22. Palace residence | 23. <i>Uparika mālika</i> | 24. Palace residence |
| 25. Palace residence | 26. Kitchen | 27. Entrance | 28. Indra Vilas | 29. Offices | |

FIG. 3. Plan, ground floor, Padmanābhpuram Palace.



FIG. 4. General view from the west, the palace at Padmānabhapuram, ca. 1600–1750 c.e. Photo: author.

family, though it continued to be used as administrative offices by the Kingdom of Travancore.

The Palace Complex and Its Organization

The palace is situated toward the western part of the walled town and oriented to the west; the *ghats* mountains rise to the east/northeast, suggesting that the site was chosen in part for the natural protection the mountains provided; the climate in this area remains pleasant virtually year round, with a nearly constant breeze, and these were presumably not insignificant factors in the choice of a permanent palace site. The buildings within the walled enclosure (figs. 3–4) include residential, official, administrative, and religious structures; many elements open onto small private courtyards within enclosure walls. Although the palace probably underwent numerous additions and renovations over the period in which it served as the official residence of the ruling king, evidence of the various building phases is meager. In existing early records of the palace the identity of specific structures is rarely clear, since the nomenclature in these records is different from that used by twentieth-century archaeologists. But various sources illuminate relative and actual construction dates for parts of the complex, thereby offering some insight into its development and into the nature of traditional architecture in Kēraḷa. I will briefly describe the site as a whole before analyzing elements within it as they relate to traditions in South Asian architecture.

The outer gateway on the west (fig. 3) opens onto a large enclosed courtyard, which could accommodate public ceremonies. The inner gateway, on the same axis as the outer gate, follows the local tradition of palace architecture in Kēraḷa (figs. 4, 5), with its tile-covered wooden superstructure supported by stone pillars. The gateway pillars point to the mixed cultural heritage of this region of Kēraḷa. With their alternating square and octagonal sections carved in relief and their attached figure—a female lamp-bearer (*dīpa-lakṣmī*)—they represent a type common to Drāviḍa or south Indian architecture associated with regions east of the *ghats*; such pillars are found in a number of palaces and temples in this southern region of Kēraḷa.

Inside the walls, the palace sometimes seems like a maze of courtyards, rooms, and corridors; on the ground level these are usually discreet buildings separated by courtyards, but on the first



FIG. 5. The inner (western) gate, the palace at Padmanābhapuram. Photo: author.

story—that is, the main residential area—most of these structures are connected by corridors and bridges, usually built of wood. Many of the spaces are small and intimate, and the scale, the widespread use of wood, and the subdued light of interior spaces create an elegantly understated and delightfully comfortable kind of palace architecture. It is essentially domestic architecture on a larger scale, an accumulation of varied interior and exterior spaces, often enclosed within or separated by private courtyards.

While the irregular plan might suggest a haphazard arrangement of elements, various principles appear to have governed its organization; most significantly, the large rectangle of the outer wall is in fact made up of two roughly equal areas. The relatively open eastern rectangle is focused on the large tank with a shrine on its north and *nīrappuras* (tanksheds) on the south and west. In comparison, the western rectangle is densely packed with residential, official, and religious structures. A covered passageway connects the two halves of the complex, joining the



FIG. 6. Northern wall of the palace, Padmanābhapuram. Photo: author.

tankshed along the western end of the eastern half to a residence adjoining the eastern end of the western rectangle.

The elements comprising the eastern rectangle seem generally to date from early building phases. The Bhagavati shrine, which is still in use, is likely to be part of the original construction, since such private family shrines to honor family deities are conventional in local palaces. The adjacent tank may belong to the same building phase; a tank was a normal element of every palace and shrine and could therefore be expected to accompany the first phase of construction.²⁶ Excavations in the late 1930s revealed a number of ruined structures, including a small palace and other remains,²⁷ pointing to the ongoing nature of construction and/or renovation at the site.

The "Public" Palace

The town of Kalkulam surrounds the entire palace, but only on the north does the palace actually interact with the town: the long northern wall faces and overlooks a street in the town; there are two entrances at street level, and several windows on the upper level overlook the street (figs. 6 and 7). A series of rooms and corridors of differing dimensions along the wall probably served various purposes, including accommodating administrative functions of the palace. In the center of this wall, where the eastern and western halves of the complex join, is a chamber with a wooden balcony overlooking the street (fig. 7), from which the ruler is believed to have displayed

himself to his subjects.²⁸ This, then, would be a *jhāroka*, an important element in north Indian palace architecture. Catherine Asher discusses the importance of this element in Mughal palace architecture as a symbol of imperial authority, explaining how its adoption under specific circumstances by certain subimperial rulers substantiates its symbolic role.²⁹ She explains that the Mughals presented themselves publicly to their subjects from a window opening to the palace exterior that was marked by such a balcony;



FIG. 7. Northern wall of the palace with *jhāroka*, Padmanābhapuram. Photo: author.

at Fatehpur Sikri the location of the *jhāroka* even had a formal and symbolic relation to other elements in the complex. Here the balcony, located at the joining of the two main parts of the complex overlooking the street, is a prominent element in an otherwise plain wall. While we generally associate the *jhāroka* with northern palaces, since those are the examples that have been studied and published, here we see a southern version of that convention, in wood rather than stone, indicating that the *jhāroka* was not solely a northern feature but may have been part of a pan-South Asian palace tradition.³⁰

Another feature in the northern wall, located in the northeastern corner, has popularly been called the Indra Vilas; R. Vasudeva Poduval, who served as Director of Archaeology in Travancore, believed it was a guest house, “where the Mahārājas used to receive guests and grant them interviews” (fig. 8).³¹ Though the reasons for this designation are not stated, the style, proportions, and location of the structure seem to have suggested such a function. The whitewashed circular columns, tapered toward the top, which contrast with the square stone and wooden columns that predominate in the rest of the palace, resemble colonial-style architecture. As the only architectural element in the palace whose entire structure adopts this pillar convention, the Indra Vilas

perhaps struck observers as intended to appeal to Western tastes, as would the more generously proportioned interior spaces. Notably, European-style guest houses or other buildings intended for European use in essentially traditional indigenous palaces are found elsewhere, including Jaipur, Lucknow, and Murshidabad, though some of these may be later than Padmanābhapuram.³²

The location of this building in the northeast corner of the complex, at some remove from the private residential areas of the palace, would afford privacy to both its residents and residents of the palace proper. On the ground story, the structure is nothing more than an exterior and interior porch separated by a wall: the outer porch adjoins the street and the inner opens onto a small courtyard. On the upper story are several chambers, including two latrines, one with a backrest and another with an adjoining area for bathing, features clearly different from local preferences.³³ This is the only residential structure in the complex providing direct contact with the outside world; that is, it is built into the outer wall and yields direct access to the street as well as the interior, which would permit residents to enter and leave without having to enter other areas of the palace. While this structure may have served other functions as well, it is likely that it was intended as a guest house for foreigners.



FIG. 8. “Indra Vilas,” the palace at Padmanābhapuram. Photo: author.

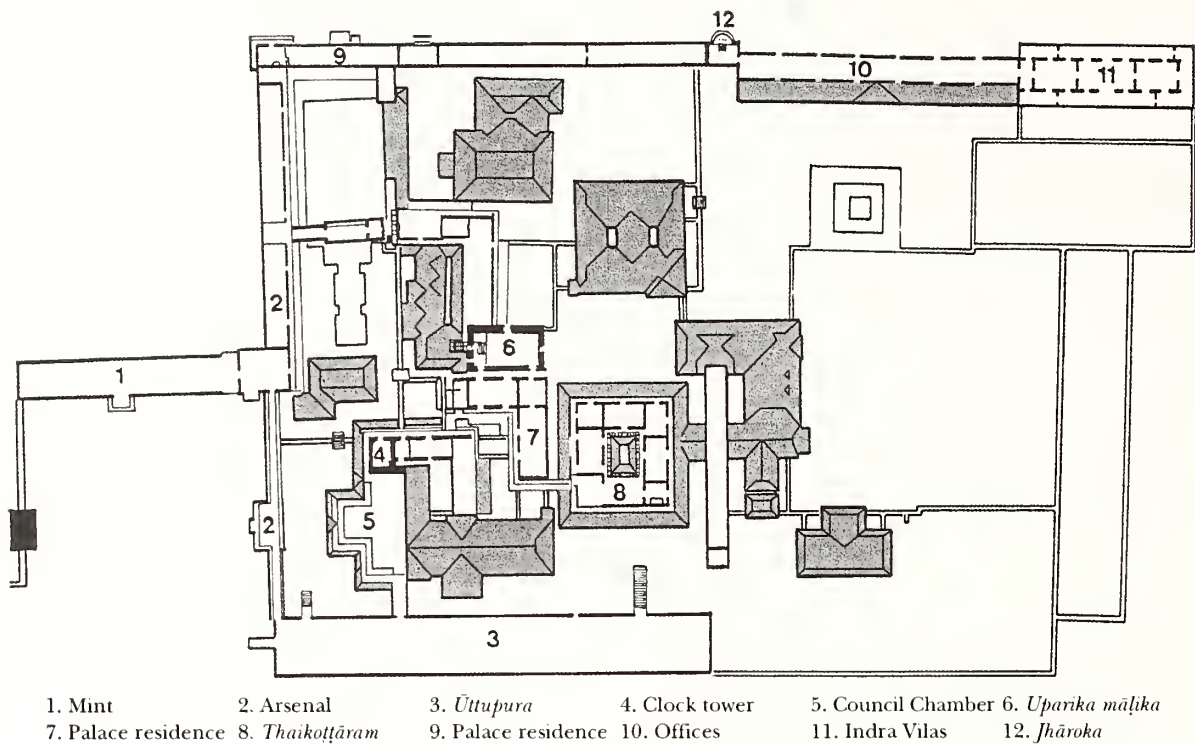


FIG. 9. Plan, first floor, Padmanābhapuram Palace.

In contrast to the eastern enclosure of the palace, the more densely packed western half of the complex is the “main” palace area, where the official, ceremonial, and residential structures are located. Those elements nearest the gates serve the most public functions of the complex, while more private elements are placed toward the interior. Among the “public” spaces is a long, narrow two-storied *ūttupura* (feeding hall for Brahmins), which forms the south boundary of the western rectangle, closing off the inner courtyard entered through the main gate on the west (see fig. 3). According to local tradition, this very large *ūttupura* could have accommodated two thousand diners at a time; its location near the main gate, with a doorway allowing access directly from the outer court, clearly protects the privacy of the palace. North of the *ūttupura* is the Audience Hall, or Council Chamber (see fig. 9). Beyond this courtyard to the north is another enclosure containing a shrine to Sarasvatī preceded by a much larger stone dance pavilion, or dance hall, which follows the style of architecture practiced throughout most of the rest of south India. Apparently, this part of the complex reached its final form under Martanda Varma.

The shrine to which the dance hall is attached was probably built by Martanda Varma: the Sarasvatī image enshrined here was made famous

by the poet Kamban; it had been taken from its original shrine in Kayankulam when Martanda Varma defeated the ruler of that kingdom, then installed at Padmanābhapuram. The dance hall, sometimes referred to as the *Navaratri maṇḍapa*, is presumably where the Navaratri festival was celebrated, though this celebration was initiated at Padmanābhapuram not by Martanda Varma but by his successor Karthika Thirunal.³⁴ A palace record indicates that the *naṭakaśālā* at Padmanābhapuram was rebuilt of stone between 915 M.E. (1740) and 919 (1744), that is, during Martanda Varma’s reign.³⁵ Access to this “public” area—for observing the Navaratri festival, which played such an important role in south Indian expressions of kingship,³⁶ or for dance performances—was through a gate in the north wall located directly north of the dance hall and on the axis of the shrine; thus visitors to the shrine and/or dance hall could enter this courtyard directly without going through other courts or other areas of the palace.

One of the loveliest structures at Padmanābhapuram is the first building encountered upon entering the compound through the main west gate (figs. 10–14). This two-storied building is an open porch or *maṇḍapa* on the ground level and an enclosed porch above, built entirely of wood above the stone foundation except for the



FIG. 10. Main entrance porch, the palace at Padmanābhapuram, from the western court. Photo: author.

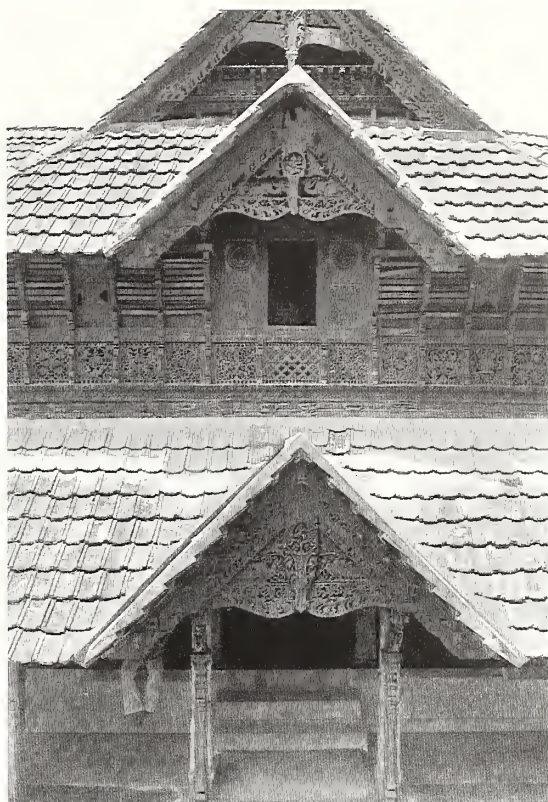


FIG. 11. Entrance porch, detail. Photo: author.

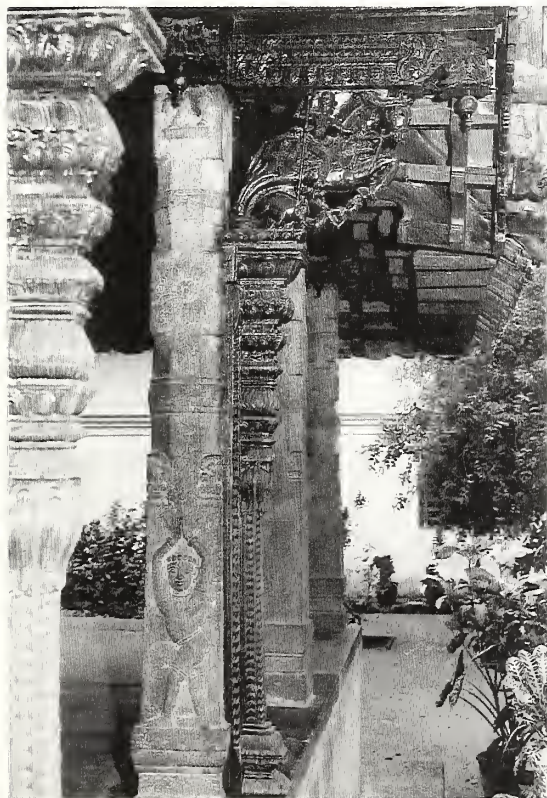


FIG. 12. Entrance porch pillars. Photo: author.



FIG. 13. Entrance porch, interior. Photo: author.

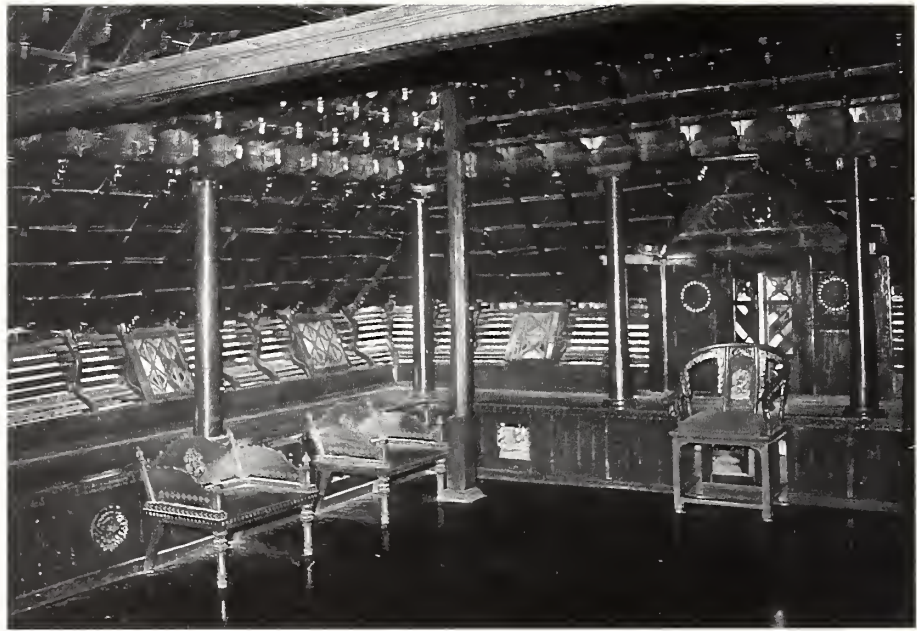


FIG. 14. Council Chamber, the palace at Padmanābhapuram.
Photo: author.

granite pillars on the ground story. Its beauty derives from a combination of form, materials, and craftsmanship. The inviting shadows of the open porch of the lower story (figs. 10–13), its carved granite pillars enhanced by carved wooden decoration (fig. 12), and the exquisitely carved wood of the upper story screen wall and gables (figs. 10–11) create an ideal counterpart for one another. This is one of the structures at the site that particularly suggests a strong relation to ancient palace architecture (cf. fig. 1) in its combination of open columned hall below and enclosed wooden porch above, as well as in the gables and the delicate carving on the upper story. While no known documents reveal its function, it seems obvious that the pillared hall on the ground level served as a reception area for visitors to the palace and that the enclosed chamber above served as the king's Council Chamber. The open space of the porch could accommodate guests and visitors, being in essence an extended *Pūmukham*, or entrance porch (fig. 13), a feature traditional to palaces in Kēraḷa. In the "Old" Palace in the south Indian kingdom of Pudukkottai, an open pillared hall on the ground story likewise serves as a reception area; above it is the Darbar Hall, an enclosed space where the king held audience.³⁷ Based on the evidence in early carvings on the façades of rock-cut architecture, Coomaraswamy presumes that palaces normally included pillared halls on the lower story and living apartments and enclosed chambers above.³⁸

Here at Padmanābhapuram, the simple square

granite pillars of the pillared hall support a carved coffered wooden ceiling, which is a traditional element in local palaces in general and the more elaborate entrance porches in particular. The granite pillars along the width of the façade follow the common Drāviḍa style or Southern type, and those flanking the central stairs are faced with wood carving; the carved bracket of a male figure on horseback killing a pig (fig. 12) may allude to the central *Vēttai*, or hunt ritual, reenacted annually by the Vēṇāḍu or Travancore kings during the *Ārāṭ* (bathing) festival, which lasts for several days each October and concludes with a procession carrying images from the Padmanābhaswāmi temple to the sea, where they are bathed.³⁹ The granite foundation here supports a floor made of packed mud covered with plaster and protected by a smooth, glossy surface—a feature common to local palace architecture (figs. 12–13). Foundations from the excavations at Vijāyanagara also reveal stone basement moldings containing packed mud covered with layered plaster,⁴⁰ and among the *haveli* architecture of Gujarāt are palaces with interior floors of polished plaster;⁴¹ such examples support the notion that what survives at Padmanābhapuram represents architectural practices that were once widespread in South Asia but were replaced in the north when palaces began to be built entirely of stone.

The upstairs chamber is reached by a steep ladderlike staircase at the rear corner of the hall. This room, generally identified as the Council Chamber (figs. 9 and 14), is one of the largest

and most elegant enclosed spaces within the palace, with a built-in bench and backrest around its central projecting section. The form of this enclosed porch is significant, since it represents a type well known in the wooden architecture of Kēraḷa as well as in stone temples from various other regions of India. The tile roof and superstructure are supported by the wooden pillars of the porch, while curved wooden struts slant outward to meet the roof, carrying the horizontal slats that provide privacy and ventilation. This feature appears locally in *mukha maṇḍapas* (foreporches), *namaskāra maṇḍapas* (detached pillared halls), and *gopuras* (temple gateways) in temples, as well as in foreporches in domestic architecture. There too this enclosing screen often has a built-in bench, as it does here; the same convention is followed in forms built of stone but copying wooden architecture in the *mukha maṇḍapas* of Hoysaḷa, Chālukya, and Chandella temples—for example, in the stone porch of the Kāṇḍāriya Mahādeva temple at Khajuraho.⁴² Thus the enclosed porch of the Council Chamber with its built-in bench seems to represent the continuation into relatively recent times of forms otherwise known in South Asia almost exclusively in stone; ironically, the earlier stone examples are made to copy wooden forms, presumably much like this. The fact that these stone examples that follow wooden forms are located in the Deccan and the north supports the suggestion that what we find at Padmanābhapuram in the eighteenth century simply continues what was once a pan-South Asian type in earlier eras. Therefore, the structural features of this enclosed porch and the building in general also suggest links to architectural types once widely known throughout much of the subcontinent.

The central area of the screen wall is emphasized by its greater decoration and a large Chinese chair placed before the window in the center of the front wall; this is clearly where the king would sit, overlooking the inner courtyard. Indeed, the king would have been visible through this window in the center of the gabled façade (figs. 11, 14) from both the inner court and the larger ceremonial courtyard beyond, since this window is on the axis with the inner and outer entrance gates. It is interesting to speculate that this area of the palace may have served as another type of *jhāroka*, where the king would meet with his nobles in the hall of public audience.⁴³ Mughal examples of this type of *jhāroka* involved a pillared hall opening onto a larger court that

could accommodate the nobility; here, the hall is enclosed and above ground level, but the king could be visible to those in the inner courtyard below. Michell points out that in the architectural text the *Mayamata*, the king's throne in the Council Chamber is to be installed at the western end so that the king may face east when seated in it,⁴⁴ which would also be the case here.

The woodwork in this chamber is of the highest quality; slats provide screened light and ventilation on the enclosed second story, as do carved screens of geometric, floral, and figural designs along the floor level (figs. 10, 11, 14). The other residential structures directly behind (that is, to the east of) this building have similar enclosed porches built entirely of wood. This chamber, however, is more than triple the size of a similar space in the adjacent palace and is far more elegantly executed, its carved screens and windows fitted with colored mica. This entire structure appears to be part of Martanda Varma's rebuilding, not only because of its scale relative to other structures but also because a palace situated directly behind it includes both an enclosed second-story porch chamber similar to this and a true entrance porch; this Council Chamber, then, would have been added to the front of the earlier structure, serving essentially the same purpose but on a grander, more elaborate scale. Furthermore, the clock in the tower on the north end of this structure is known to be from Martanda Varma's reign,⁴⁵ and while the clock could have been placed in a preexisting structure, both the plan and the façade create the appearance of belonging to a single phase of building.

The Private Palace

While the structures central to the public functions of kingship—ceremonial courtyards, reception areas, administrative offices, the shrine where ceremonies associated with the public expressions of kingship are conducted—are all situated around the more exterior precincts of the palace compound, the residential structures, which served the domestic and private needs of the king, are located toward the interior. The courtyards around them are usually small, intimate spaces enclosed within low walls built in proportion to the buildings themselves. A number of structures appear to have been primarily residential at Padmanābhapuram. I will discuss only one, the *Thaikottāram*; another structure, the

FIG. 15. Plan, *Thaikōṭṭāram*, Padmanābhapuram. Reproduced with permission from William Noble, "Houses with Centered Courtyards in Kerala and Elsewhere in India," in *Dimensions of Social Life: Essays in Honor of David G. Mandelbaum*, ed. Paul Hockings (Berlin: Mouton, 1987), 250.

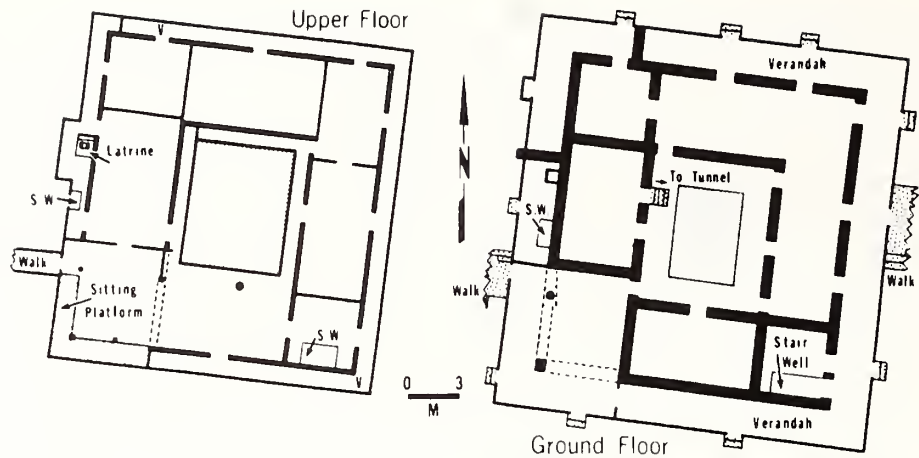


FIG. 16. The *Thaikōṭṭāram*, Padmanābhapuram. Photo: author.

uparika mālika, has sometimes been called a residence, but my discussion of it should clarify why I believe this unusual building was intended less as a residence in the normal sense than as an expression of the symbolic nature of kingship in this south Indian kingdom.

The Thaikōṭṭāram

The palace in the southeast quadrant of the residential enclosure (that is, the western rectangle) is referred to in the twentieth-century literature as the *Thaikōṭṭāram* (figs. 15–16), a Malāyaḷam term apparently coined by twentieth-century scholars and intended to mean “original” or “mother” (*thai*) “palace” (*koṭṭāram*),⁴⁶ implying that this building was central to the original building scheme. Alternatively, the

term has been interpreted to mean that this palace was the residence of the Queen Mother.⁴⁷ In traditional palace architecture of Kēraḷa, that is, residential architecture of the Kshatriya, or ruling caste, a family compound will often include several residential structures, sometimes built over time, but only one of these—usually the original—is normally a *nālukettu*, that is, a building of four halls or wings laid out around a central courtyard open to the sky.⁴⁸ Organized according to certain conventions, the *nālukettu* was not simply a residence but a sacredly ordered space intended to accommodate prescribed daily, seasonal, and life-cycle family rituals.⁴⁹ Because succession in Kēraḷa kingdoms of this era was matrilineal, the senior female of Kshatriya caste families often occupied the main palace, though it is unclear whether that was the case at Padmanābhapuram, since during the period in which

this palace was in use the Senior Rani of this royal house generally lived in her own palace at Āṭṭingal.

This *nālukettu* palace has been attributed to the phase of building initiated in 776 M.E. (1601 C.E.) mentioned above, but there is no clear evidence that this is the case. A record of 852 M.E. (1677 C.E.) mentioning an event at the *Darbha-kulaṅgara Koṭṭāram*⁵⁰ ("palace with tank attached") could refer to this palace, since it is connected to the large tank by a covered walkway and tankshed. But a small ruined palace and tank discovered during excavations in a courtyard in the eastern rectangle might have been the palace referred to here,⁵¹ so the identity of the structure referred to is uncertain. On the other hand, a later record of 896 M.E. (1721 C.E.) mentions the king staying in the *Valia Neerazhikkara Koṭṭāram*, or "large tank palace," at Kalkulam,⁵² which must refer to this palace and likewise implies the presence of another tank palace at the site (there are two tanks at present). Thus, whenever this structure was built, it was in use, along with other palaces, before Martanda Varma came to the throne in 1729 C.E.

The *Thaikoṭṭāram* is a particularly fine example of the traditional *nālukettu* palace of Kēraḷa. Four halls or wings surround a central open courtyard, called the *naḍumittam* (literally, "middle" or "central space"). The foundation is granite, and the walls are presumably laterite bricks covered with stucco, while the roof is tile. These

are typical building materials for palaces throughout Kēraḷa; similar materials—as well as clay bricks—were once probably widespread in South Asian domestic and palace architecture but do not survive because wood and brick are susceptible to decay, particularly in the monsoon climate of South Asia.

The *nālukettu* is common to domestic architecture of all aristocratic or upper-caste Hindus in Kēraḷa; it is a building type described in the *vāstuśāstras*, where it is called *caturāśraśālā* or *caturśālā*, that is, "four halls," corresponding to the Malāyaḷam term meaning "four buildings." William Noble discusses the widespread appearance of central courtyard buildings in the domestic architecture of South Asia,⁵³ though its survival as the primary type of palace and domestic architecture (since palaces are often simply domestic architecture on a larger scale) may be particularly common in Kēraḷa and Gujarāt.⁵⁴ Examples such as Jodh Bai's palace at Fatehpur Sikri are different in that there the courtyard is a very large space with several independent structures organized around it, while here (and in some of the *haveli* palaces of Gujarāt) the courtyard is an intimate interior space for a single structure. Among the excavated foundations within the complex at Vijāyanagara is a foundation that resembles this essential plan type—that is, four halls arranged around an open court (fig. 17).⁵⁵ The Vijāyanagara example, the largest structure within the area of the palace in which it is located,

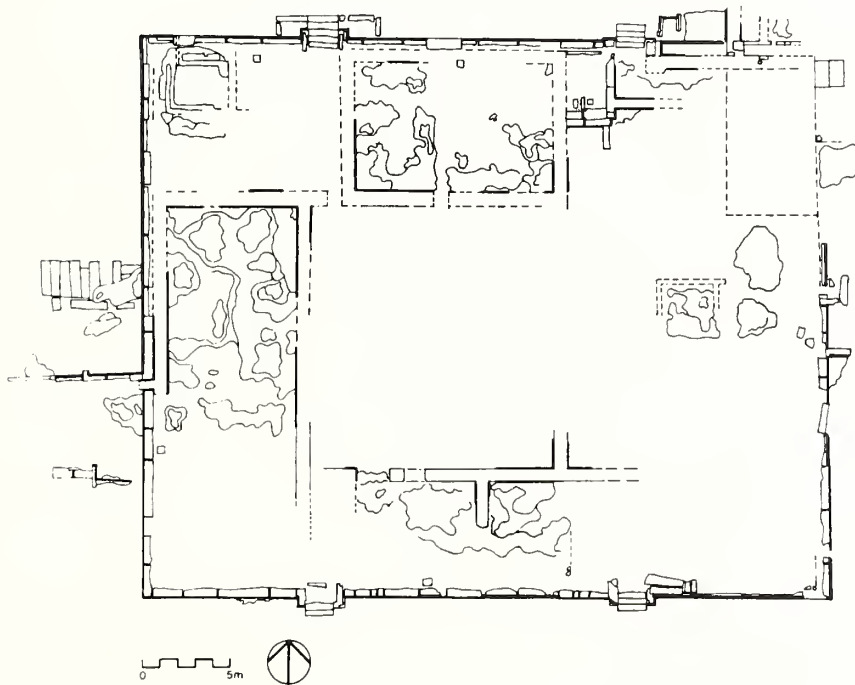


FIG. 17. Plan, palace complex at Vijāyanagara. Reproduced with permission from George Michell, *Where Gods and Kings Meet: The Royal Centre at Vijayanagara* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1985), fig. 6.7, p. 105.



FIG. 18. The inner verandah of the *Thaikkottāram*, palace of Padmanābhapuram.

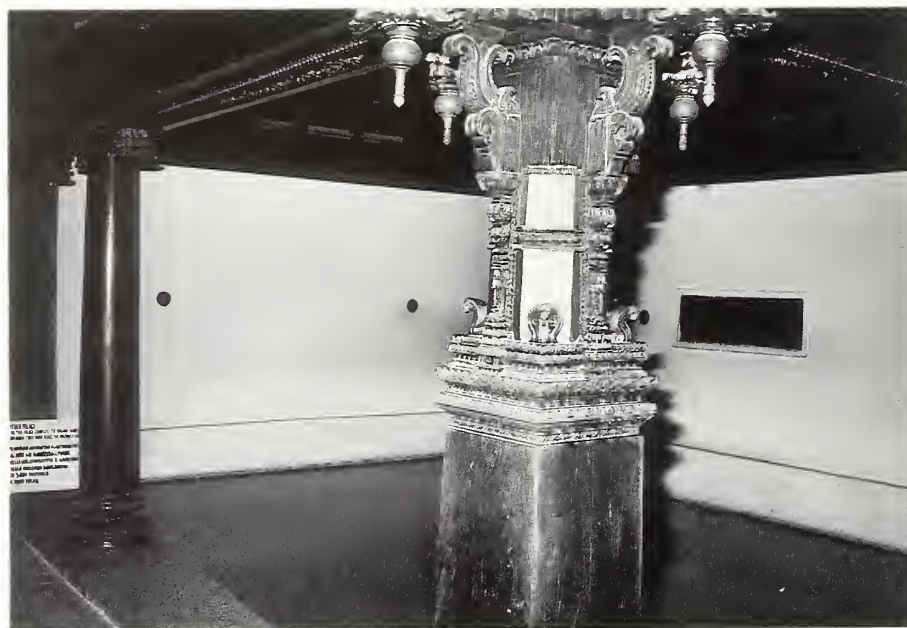


FIG. 19. The *pūmukham* (entrance porch) of the *Thaikkottāram*.
Photo: author.

consists of rooms arranged around a central space, which may have been a courtyard. Notably, as in the Padmanābhapuram palace, these rooms are arranged asymmetrically, though the scale at Vijāyanagara is considerably grander.

The focus of attention at Vijāyanagara has naturally been on the standing structures, which are built of stone and borrow from the architectural traditions of the Bahmani sultans. Yet the structures that do not survive and are documented only by their excavated foundations may have

actually been the more representative architecture of these kings, since their remains are more extensive and occupy a much greater area of the palace complex. Various features of the form and materials of architecture at Padmanābhapuram are comparable to material at Vijāyanagara, as has been noted. Thus, the royal architecture of both Vijāyanagara and Padmanābhapuram appears to have been part of a shared architectural tradition in South Asia. This tradition clearly continued into a much later period in Kēraḷa, which

did not experience the catastrophic invasions and conquest, or the imposition of new cultural norms, that occurred in the Vijāyanagara kingdom and in other regions of India. It is likely that the architecture of Vijāyanagara was not unique to that region or period but rather continued traditions of earlier eras. While there is little actual evidence of surviving palaces from eras earlier than fifteenth-century Vijāyanagara and northern palaces, and thus probably no earlier evidence of surviving *nālukettu* or *caturśālā* palaces, the continuity of this type into modern times and its prominence among palace types discussed in the *vāstuśāstras* suggest that what we see at Padmanābhapuram is likely to be a late example of a type of palace and domestic architecture once widespread in South Asia.

From the exterior (fig. 16) the *Thaikottāram* appears to be built of wood, since the thick laterite load-bearing walls are surrounded by the continuous wooden verandah on both stories; an interior view (fig. 18) reveals that this residence has the same structural principles as the enclosed porch of the Council Chamber. Here the wooden superstructure supporting the tile roof and carried by the wooden pillars of the porch is visible, as are the curved wooden struts slanting outward to meet the roof and carrying the horizontal slats, which are spaced to provide privacy and ventilation. An enclosed porch on the upper story echoes the nearby Council Chamber but on a smaller scale; the craftsmanship and detail of this example are far simpler than in the Council Chamber described earlier.

The *pūmukham/puvu mukham* (foreporch/entrance porch) of the *Thaikottāram*, located at the south end of the west wall,⁵⁶ points to the importance of this residence, since it is larger and more elaborate than in the typical *kottāram*, or Kēraḷa palace (fig. 19). Porches like this served not only as an area in which to receive visitors but also as a space for musical and other performances. The coffered ceiling is supported by two carved wooden pillars: one is a simple circular column with delicately carved pendant lotus buds hanging to either side of the capital; the other rises from a plain square base to an octagonal midsection and increasingly elaborate carvings of the capital and brackets. This floor is polished plaster.

The *Thaikottāram* is significant, then, not only because it was one of the early structures of the royal capital at Kalkulam but also because it represents an important early type of South Asian

domestic and palace architecture that continues into a late period; this *nālukettu* residence with tank and nearby shrines could also accommodate the domestic rituals, dramatic performances, receptions, and other needs of the Vēṇāḍu kings in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Whether or not it was part of the original phase of construction, and whether it was the residence of the Queen Mother or an early king's palace, it can be attributed with certainty to the pre-Martanda Varma phase of building.

Uparika Mālīka

Perhaps the most intriguing building within the entire palace complex is that termed, by twentieth-century scholars, the *uparika mālika* ("superior" or "high" or "storied building") (fig. 20);⁵⁷ the nomenclature refers to its height but does not attempt to explain its purpose, presumably because it is rather a puzzling structure. K. T. Ravindran, who adopts the designation *Uppirika*



FIG. 20. *Uparika mālika* from the northeast, palace of Padmanābhapuram. Photo: author.

Malika, has labeled this the king's residence,⁵⁸ but I believe the structure encompasses several functions, including, as Michell also suggests, a private shrine for the king.⁵⁹ Indeed, I would argue that this building was intended—perhaps in the final plan drawn up and completed in the reign of Martanda Varma—as a royal structure of pivotal importance within the palace complex, as a nexus of authority where the roles and functions of the king and Padmanābha, the tutelary deity of the kingdom, intersect. This function is expressed in the form, the plan and location, and the decoration of this unique building.

The form of the *uparika mālika* is both traditional and innovative. The exterior walls are completely plain on the lower two stories, while the top two stories are surrounded by a cantilevered enclosed balcony constructed entirely of wood. The materials, then, and the way they are constructed conform to those used throughout the complex. A four-storied building, the *uparika* is the tallest structure in the complex, overlooking all the other buildings (fig. 20); indeed, with the exception of a small three-storied structure in the northwest corner, all the other buildings are one or two stories, so the *uparika*'s height is unusual and significant. The balconies of the *uparika* allow the occupant a clear view of the entire palace and even of the city and the mountains beyond. This structure makes the king's presence obvious and imposing while he remains hidden from his subjects. Its particular towered form is apparently unique in Kēraḷa palace architecture but follows what must have been a tradition in the South Asian context.

The *vāstuśāstras*—which delineate the conventions for building temples, palaces, and even domestic architecture and discuss not simply types and techniques but how to create architecture as part of the universal sacred order—specifically discuss towers in the context of palace architecture. Certain of these texts spell out how many stories are appropriate for which kinds of rulers.⁶⁰ So at least theoretically, towered buildings were considered appropriate to palaces, though these texts generally originated and reached their final written form prior to the creation of any known surviving palaces. Among surviving South Asian palaces there are also examples of towered buildings, in both the north and the south. For example, in the seventeenth-century Rājput palace Govind Mandir at Datia a five-storied tower rises from the center of the complex.⁶¹ Whether

there were towered structures at Vijāyanagara other than guard towers is unknown, though a number of the *nāyakas*, or Vijāyanagara governors, who became independent rulers after the fall of the kingdom at the 1563 battle of Talikota, built palaces with towers. These south Indian towered palaces survive at Thaṅjāvūr, Chandra-giri, and Gingee.⁶² Thus a towered building such as this one at Padmanābhapuram seems to follow a long precedent in South Asian architecture. But what was its purpose?

On the ground floor, the walls of the *uparika* are extremely thick; there is a single, heavy, padlocked door on the south, and three small windows open high up on the east wall. This chamber is believed to have been the treasury or record room for the palace,⁶³ a function in keeping with its vaultlike character. An underground chamber within one of the main palace enclosures excavated at Vijāyanagara, while not following the same plan as this, has thicker walls than most other structures and is also believed to have been a storeroom or treasury;⁶⁴ Abd ar-Razzaq mentions a subterranean treasury for storing gold within the palace complex at Vijāyanagara.⁶⁵ The palace would have been an obvious place to secure the treasury, but its presence in this particular structure is especially intriguing.

Each of the three stories above the vault of the *uparika* consists of a single chamber containing a carved wooden four-poster canopy bed. On the first story—that is, the main residential level of the palace or the first story above ground level—the room is lit by large windows to the north and east and connected by a bridgelike walkway to the palace residence directly to the south. The ceiling beams are elaborately carved, and the floor has a glossy finish. The carved wooden bed, decorated with a complex design (fig. 21), is constructed—according to tradition—of sixty-seven different medicinal woods,⁶⁶ which would have had healing powers for the king. On the next level, accessible by ladderlike stairs, the chamber also has carved ceiling beams, a polished floor, and a carved canopy bed, but unlike the chamber directly below it is not connected to any other buildings and is surrounded by the exterior balcony. Locally, this has been interpreted as a chamber where the king fasted. The exquisite carving of the screens and doorways of this narrow passageway around the room create a cool, breezy atmosphere of softly subdued light.

The uppermost room in the *uparika mālika* is



FIG. 21. First floor chamber, the *uparika mālika*. Photo: author.

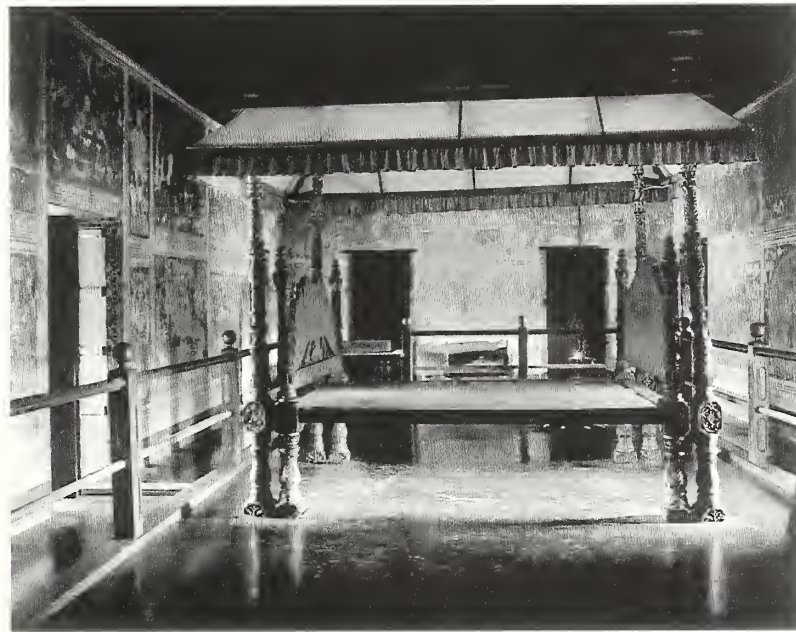


FIG. 22. Mural chamber (top floor), the *uparika mālika*. Photo: author.

likewise a single chamber containing a carved wooden canopy bed (fig. 22) and is surrounded by an enclosed balcony, but it is strikingly different from the other chambers in this building—indeed, from any other part of the palace. This bed is gilded and, according to local tradition, reserved for the use of Padmanābha, tutelary

deity of the kingdom, and therefore not used even by the king. More important, the walls of this chamber are completely covered with mural paintings (figs. 22–23), the largest of which, on the west wall, depicts the tutelary deity of the kingdom Padmanābha, of the Padmanābhaswāmi temple in Trivandrum, accompanied by various



FIG. 23. Mural paintings in upper floor of the *uparika mālika*. Photo: author.

attendants (figs. 23–24).⁶⁷ Smaller paintings depicting various deities of the Hindu pantheon cover the other walls, each deity or group of deities enclosed within in its own painted border. The central placement and scale of Padmanābha, however, is clearly intended to emphasize the importance of this deity—and also, I believe, to emphasize the ruler, who is the likely patron of these murals.

While no direct evidence dating this building is known, I have suggested elsewhere that Martanda Varma was at least responsible for the mural paintings in this upper chamber⁶⁸ and probably involved in the final palace plan, which emphasized the importance of this building. As for the plan, it is important to note that during Martanda Varma's reign Kalkulam fort underwent extensive rebuilding; the plan submitted by the Brahman architect Taikkāṭṭu Nampūri was approved in 1740 C.E.⁶⁹ It is not clear in all cases which buildings were constructed or reconstructed during this time, but Martanda Varma did build the nearby Sarasvati temple and the attached dance pavilion; I discuss above the likelihood that he was also responsible for the Council Chamber structure and the clock tower in this section of the complex. It appears that this entire area of the complex underwent extensive renovation during his reign.

As to the emphasis on Padmanābhaswāmi, it

is clear that this god had long been the tutelary deity of the southernmost Kēraḷa kingdom, going back at least to the Āys, but Martanda Varma was responsible for reinvigorating the special emphasis on this deity and on the relationship between king and deity. First of all, he was responsible for a complete rebuilding of the main shrine in the Trivandrum temple, the addition of new structures, and the creation of new images for the main shrine.⁷⁰ Secondly, he established a number of new ceremonies at the temple that served to dramatize the special relationship between the deity and the ruler, such as the annual *muṛajapam* and the *bhadradiṇam*, which was celebrated every six years.⁷¹ Of particular importance was the event referred to in inscriptions as the *Tirppadidānam*, that is, the gift at the feet of the deity, performed by the king in 925 M.E. (1750 C.E.), in which the king presented the kingdom in its entirety to the deity Padmanābhaswāmi, whom he would thenceforth serve, referring to himself as Padmanābhadāsa, that is, the servant of Padmanābha.⁷² The inscription commemorating the event states:

Bālamārttaṇḍavarma . . . gave away [in writing] to the [*bhandara*] treasury of Perumāl [god Padmanābha in Trivandrum] [to last] till the moon and sun [endure], all the properties, duties, grants, etc. from the kingdom . . . which belonged to, and were till that date being enjoyed by him.⁷³

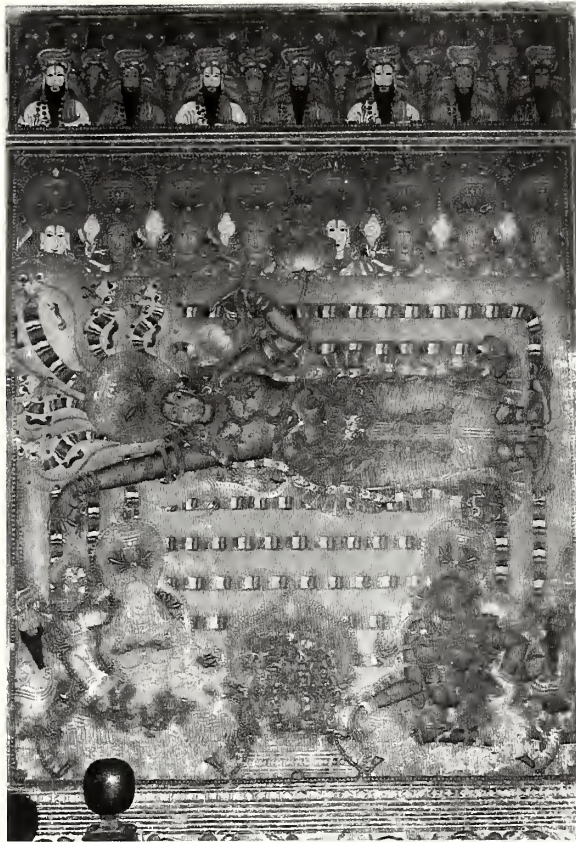


FIG. 24. Mural chamber, the *uparika mālika*. Photo: author.

The *Tirppadidānam* was, like so many of the ritual and celebratory events of Martanda Varma's reign, a reenactment of rituals of kingship growing out of earlier traditions in South Asia in which the ruler would give the kingdom over to the deity. Fuller explains that Hinduism traditionally regarded the king as either a form or incarnation of the tutelary state deity or an agent acting on the deity's behalf and that state rituals often enact that relationship.⁷⁴ I have discussed elsewhere the ways in which this event in Travancore seems to develop from state rituals in the earlier south Indian kingdom of Vijāyanagara, as well as the local precedent for the idea that the kingdom belongs to the deity, in whose name the king rules.⁷⁵ Mayer also points out that it was not unusual for the tutelary deity of the state to be considered its ruler, as in both Travancore and Me-war.⁷⁶ In the fifteenth-century Orissan kingdom of the Sūryavamśa dynasty, the ruler Kapilendra had himself declared Elected of Jagannātha, aiming, as Kulke has suggested, at a more direct relationship with the state deity.⁷⁷

Martanda Varma also emphasized his links to the tutelary deity of the kingdom when he changed the name of the city and palace formerly known as Kalkulam to Padmanābhapuram in 1744, after the main construction work on the fort and palace there were completed;⁷⁸ in this way he could connect these two sites central to royal authority as parts of a whole. Indeed, Martanda Varma developed closer ties to and greater control over Tiruvananthapuram/Trivandrum and the Padmanābhaswāmi temple in part to reassert his control over the wealthy and powerful temple in the center of the town dedicated to the deity,⁷⁹ yet he also seems to have been concerned with his image as a pious devotee of the deity. For example, 1744 is also when the *bhadrādīpam* ceremony at the Padmanābhaswāmi temple was conducted for the first time.⁸⁰ The reshaping and renaming of the ruling capital thirty-three miles to the south of Tiruvananthapuram and its temple were another means to embody not only his devotion to Padmanābha but also the deity's ties to him.

Martanda Varma, one of the most powerful kings in Travancore history, popularly called the maker of modern Travancore, seems a particularly likely patron for the paintings that decorate the mural chamber at the palace here, which emphasize Padmanābha above all other deities. Furthermore, as I have written elsewhere,⁸¹ a detail of the iconography of the depiction of Sūrya here seems to allude to the king: instead of his more normal representation as a minor deity, Sūrya the sun deity here is shown as Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa, a form of the supreme Viṣṇu, as is indicated by his attributes, the conch and the discus; Martanda, the name of the king, is also a common epithet for the sun god, and I believe this unusual depiction of the sun—a normal attendant of Padmanābhaswāmi—may be a kind of visual double-entendre intended to allude to Martanda the king as an attendant (*dāsa*) of Padmanābha and simultaneously as a form of the deity Viṣṇu, who appears here as Padmanābha, with whom the king identifies. Such symbolism draws on ancient and ongoing traditions of kingship in South Asia and especially the southern regions.⁸² Huntington has pointed out that the dual meaning of images and art, which may allude to the deity and the ruler simultaneously, has a long history in South Asia; the earliest artistic expressions of such ideas in the south may be in the Pallava cave at Tiruchchirāppalli, where the

image of Śiva as Gaṅgādharamūrti is probably intended to depict not just the deity Śiva as the bearer of the river goddess Gaṅgā but also the Pallava ruler responsible for the carving.⁸³ I believe this dual symbolism in the image of Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa is actually restated in the structure of the *uparika mālika*.

The nature and form of this building seem to offer clues to its symbolism and purpose. The repetition of the bed motif, rising in a triple-storied statement above the treasury, is particularly interesting in relation to the deity after whom the palace is named, for Padmanābha is a form of Viṣṇu Anantaśayin, that is, the reclining Viṣṇu as Preserver in cosmic sleep, maintaining the universe in the interregnum between its dissolution and recreation. The bed (for the deity?) in the upper chamber is echoed in the two rooms below—presumably for the king⁸⁴—and suggests in another way the identification between the king and the deity. The king (and the deity) reclining in these chambers guard and preserve the wealth and prosperity of the kingdom, as actualized in the vault of the lowest chamber over which they preside. Furthermore, it was the properties and deeds of the treasury that were handed over by the ruler Martanda Varma to the deity in the *Tirppadidānam*, after which the king served the ruling deity as a slave or servant. Thus, the structure of the *uparika mālika* seems to emphasize that the treasury is guarded by the king in the chambers above, who is in turn guarded and protected by the presiding deity in the uppermost chamber. It is this structure in particular that acts as the symbolic nexus of divine and earthly powers in the kingdom of Travancore.

Another aspect of the *uparika mālika* relevant to what I believe is its symbolic character is its placement in the very center of the main palace complex. That is, if we consider the complex as composed of two parts, with the west rectangle representing the main residential and ceremonial area of the complex, then the *uparika mālika* is in the direct center of the western rectangle, the main palace enclosure. The *vāstuśāstras* describe all architecture as planned and organized according to a *maṇḍala*, or cosmic diagram, the *vāstupurushumaṇḍala*; this *maṇḍala*, which can take on any of thirty-two variant forms, imposes order on architectural space, so that the building—or the complex—is created in harmony with the cosmos in order both to reflect the universal order and to shape the earthly realm according

to that order. In the *vāstuśāstras*, the exact center of a palace complex is called the “square of Brahmā” and should either be left unused or occupied by a shrine or some dedication to the deity.⁸⁵ Here at Padmanābhapuram, according to my reading of the plan, the “square of Brahmā” is occupied by this unusual building, which, if a residence at all, seems to be a highly ceremonial or symbolic one. Perhaps this structure was not intended as a residence in the normal sense but was meant both to emphasize and to actualize the identity between the ruling king and the deity, so that its role as nexus of divine and earthly power is supported not only in its function but also in its placement at the center of this enclosure. Inden addresses how the symbolic location of structures within a palace complex (in particular the temple or “house” of the king’s deity at its “heart” or center) emphasized the king “in conjunction with the image of his chosen deity” at its cosmic center.⁸⁶ The king, then, when ascending the levels of this structure, could partake by his own actions—reclining on the carved beds—of the cosmic sleep of the deity Padmanābha, who reclines on the serpent Ananta. Interestingly, an account of a thirteenth-century Chinese diplomat at the court of Angkor in Southeast Asia mentions that the king nightly ascended a tower in his palace, where slept “a genie, formed like a serpent with nine heads, which is lord of the entire kingdom,” and where the king and genie coupled.⁸⁷ The parallels with Padmanābhapuram are inexact but provocative, pointing to a Hindu tradition of a king partaking of divinity while sleeping in his tower.

The placement of a sacred and/or towered structure in the square of Brahmā is not unique to Padmanābhapuram; some examples of South Asian palaces even incorporate the symbols and forms of temple architecture. G. H. R. Tillotson notes that the towered building in the central square of Brahmā in the seventeenth-century Rājput palace Govind Mandir at Datia resembles the *śikhara*, or tower rising above the shrine or *garbha griha* of a Hindu temple, itself symbolically associated with the sacred Mount Meru.⁸⁸ In the south Indian palace at Thaṇjāvūr the seven-storied tower also closely follows the form of a typical south Indian temple tower (*śikhara*).⁸⁹ Fritz posits that the conception of Vijāyanagara as a “cosmic city” with a plan based on concepts derived from the *vāstuśāstras* is suggested in the placement of the Rāmachandra temple in a

central point within the palace enclosure,⁹⁰ so there were well-established precedents by Martanda Varma's time in south India for towered buildings in palace planning. Therefore, while the specific details and purpose of this structure may not be evident from contemporary records, its location at the very heart of the palace complex in the "square of Brahmā"—where a shrine or some reminder of the deity is appropriate—seems significant. Here both the king and the god may reside, guarding and presiding over the kingdom, which they rule jointly. The merging identity of king and deity who protect human subjects here continues and reifies concepts of kingship that first appear in south Indian Tamil poetry of the first millennium.⁹¹ Martanda Varma, who performed many of the ritual acts signifying his role as a great ruler in the South Asian tradition, including the *Tulāpuruṣadāna* (weighing himself against gold), the *Śōḍaśa Mahādānam* (the sixteen great gifts),⁹² and the *Tirppadidānam* (presenting the kingdom at the feet of the deity), in addition to other rituals initiated in his reign, seems to have regarded architecture too as a means of embodying the nature of kingship in southern Kēraḷa, since the palace at Padmanābhapuram, the site where his royal authority was claimed and enacted, so clearly builds on ancient and traditional forms and notions of royal architecture in South Asia.

Conclusion

In its plan, organization, materials, and building techniques the palace at Padmanābhapuram stands apart from other surviving palaces of South Asia and certainly resembles nothing else known to survive from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Many of the structures, as

well as the organization of the complex, probably reflect the extensive building campaign that took place in the second quarter of the eighteenth century under the ruler Martanda Varma, though it seems clear that the building techniques and materials follow a lengthy local tradition. Indeed, this tradition, while it is known today primarily in Kēraḷa, reflects a type of palace and domestic architecture that was once widespread in South Asia but has disappeared at earlier sites because it used wood and other ephemeral materials, which were replaced in other regions by stone.

Padmanābhapuram, then, is a rare and important example of the continuity of this ancient type of Indian palace architecture. Furthermore, the entire conception of Padmanābhapuram Palace seems to have been carefully orchestrated in its rebuilding to realize an "ideal" or "cosmic" plan, such as is articulated in the *vāstuśāstra* literature on palace architecture. It is known that the plan took its final form in the 1740s under a Brahman architect, and I have suggested that in this plan, the *uparika mālika*, or four-storied building, in the center of the residential complex was developed to focus on the king as both servant and embodiment of the tutelary deity of the kingdom, Padmanābhaswāmi, in whose name he ruled after having presented the kingdom and its treasury to the deity in a ceremony known as *Tirppadidānam*. Padmanābhapuram Palace, then, demonstrates the continuing vitality and strength of the ancient traditions of Indian architecture well into the eighteenth century, not only in the continuity of traditional materials and structural principles but also in the fresh and original interpretation of the notion that architecture should partake of as well as shape both the order of the cosmos and the ruler's centrality in the maintenance of that order.

Notes

The field research from which this article developed was conducted in 1990 under the auspices of the American Institute of Indian Studies. A J. Paul Getty Postdoctoral Fellowship in the History of Art for 1991–92 enabled me to write the first draft of a book manuscript on palace architecture in Kēraḷa from which this article develops. With a Faculty Research Grant from the College of Charleston in 1994 I was able to complete the research at the India Office Library, the British Library, and the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. Thanks are also due to the Directorate of Archaeology, Government of Kēraḷa, for their cooperation in letting me work and photograph at the site. I am grateful to all of these institutions for their support. I would also like to thank Catherine Asher and Susan Huntington for their careful reading of and thoughtful comments on an earlier draft of this manuscript.

1. For Mughal architecture see Catherine B. Asher, *The Architecture of Mughal India* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992) and Ebba Koch, *Mughal Architecture* (Munich: Prestel, 1991).
2. For Rājput architecture see G. H. R. Tillotson, *The Rajput Palaces* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987) and George Michell, *The Royal Palaces of India* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1994). Michell addresses the interaction of indigenous and early Islamic traditions, p. 81; Tillotson touches on these issues also; see pp. 21–35.
3. Michell, *Royal Palaces*, 69.
4. Michell, *Royal Palaces*, 69. Also see A. K. Coomaraswamy, "Early Indian Architecture III: Palaces," in *Essays in Early Indian Architecture*, ed. Michael Meister (Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, 1992), reprinted from *Eastern Art* 3 (1931): 180–217, figs. 1–17. Also see *Encyclopaedia of Indian Architecture*, vol. 1, pt. 1, *South India and Drāviḍadēśa*, ed. Michael W. Meister and M. A. Dhaky (American Institute of Indian Studies and University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983), figs. 5–6.
5. See Debala Mitra, *Buddhist Monuments* (Calcutta: Sahitya Samsat, 1971), pls. 99 and 108, respectively.
6. Michell, *Royal Palaces*, 81; also see Tillotson, *Rajput Palaces*, 21–35.
7. Descriptions of the palace of the Zamorin, rulers of the kingdom of Kozhikode/Calicut in the Malabar region of north central Kēraḷa, suggest this was once also a true capital complex, but the palace was destroyed during the invasion and occupation by the Mysore/Maisūr rulers Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan in the second half of the eighteenth century.
8. Asher makes the point that the Mughals, unlike earlier Islamic rulers in India, followed the Hindu practice of building their fortified palaces within or near cities; among other things, this proximity to the population permitted the practice of regular viewing of the ruler by his subjects. See Catherine B. Asher, "Sub-Imperial Palaces: Power and Authority in Mughal India," *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993): 281–95, esp. 281–82. Michell (*Royal Palaces*, 25–26) also notes that while many Sultanate and Hindu palaces were fortified citadels sited on a hill or ridge, royal capitals were "inseparable from the cities which they governed," though he alludes primarily to Sultanate and Mughal examples.
9. A plan of the site was first published by the Government of Travancore in 1941 in *A Short Guide to Padmanabhapuram*, by R. Vasudeva Poduval (Trivandrum: Government Press); recently new plans were published by Raj Rewal, K. T. Ravindran, and the Architectural Research Cell of Ahmadabad in *Mimar* 21 (July–September 1986): 61–71. Those plans were also published in *Architectures en Inde* (published in English as *Architecture in India*) (Paris: Electa Moniteur, 1985). Michell, *Royal Palaces*, includes a plan of the ground story. Plans have also been drawn by members of the French Institute at Pondicherry, although as far as I know these have not yet been published.
10. S. Desivinayagam Pillai, "Ancient Fort at Kalkulam and Udayagiri," *Kerala Society Papers* series 6 (1930): 313–16. The document is from a palmyra leaf record found in the archives of the Vanikaraman Mudaliar near Nagercoil. Dating from 776 M.E. (1600 C.E.), the document mentions certain taxes that will be collected for meeting the expenses connected with the erection of Kalkulam and Udayagiri forts and the digging of moats. Also see M. Rajaraja Varma Raja, "Some Travancore Dynastic Records (1455–1677)," *Kerala Society Papers* series 1 (1928): 10–12, 23, documents XIV and XVI, which mention that Kalkulam had become a fortified town by 795 M.E. (1620 C.E.).
11. This is mentioned in the *Administrative Report of the Archaeology Department, Travancore, 1110 M.E. (1934/35) (1936)*, 5. But no specific record or evidence is cited.
12. There is evidence of the presence of Vēṇāḍu family members in the region from the thirteenth century in the form of a temple record in Kalkulam dated K. 412 (ca. 1237 C.E.) (*Travancore Archaeological Series* 7, pt. 2 [1932]: 126–27). The

- Pāṇḍya presence, expressed in records of the eleventh through thirteenth centuries, was generally concentrated somewhat further south around Suchindram and Kanyākumārī. As Tirumalai has pointed out, for the most part these are endowments to temples also patronized by the Vēṇāḍu rulers but indicate no claims to territorial control. Under Jāyavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya (1261–71) the southeasternmost region did come under Pāṇḍya control, but he was ousted by Ravi Varman Kulaśēkhara of Vēṇāḍu ca. 1311–12. See R. Tirumalai, “The Venad Rulers and the Medieval Pandyas,” in *Vajapeya*, ed. M. M. Sastri, R. K. Sharma, and Agam Prasad (Delhi: Agam Kala Prakasham, 1987), 2:353–61. A record of the Vijāyanagara king Achyuta Raya at the nearby Suchindram temple dates from ca. 1525 C.E. (*Travancore Archaeological Series* 5, pt. 3 [1927]: 201–2).
13. See Rajaraja Varma Raja, “Some Travancore Dynastic Records,” 1–29.
 14. These are the dates attributed to the Saṅgham tradition by A. K. Ramanujan, *Poems of Love and War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), ix–x.
 15. XXVI, l. 62, cited in R. Champakalakshmi, *Vaiṣṇava Iconography in the Tamil Country* (New Delhi: Orient Longman, 1981), 38. Also see pp. 50–51 n. 4.
 16. Champakalakshmi, *Vaiṣṇava Iconography*, 34, 38, and 50, and H. Sarkar, *Architectural Survey of Temples of Kerala* (New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1978), 107, 133, 141. Also see T. K. Ramanujan, *Hymns for the Drowning* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), ix n. 2 and xi.
 17. Sarkar, *Architectural Survey*, 17–20.
 18. Elankulam P. N. Pillai indicates that the Trippappur branch of the royal family of Vēṇāḍu was probably descended from the Āys, though the evidence for this is indirect (“The Ay Dynasty,” *Studies in Kerala History* [Kottayam, 1970], 182).
 19. For example, the twelfth-century Vēṇāḍu ruler Kodai Kēraḷavarman rebuilt the Padmanābhaswāmi temple, and another Vēṇāḍu ruler made repairs in the fourteenth century (*Travancore Archaeological Series* 3, pt. 1 [1922]: 46 ff. and 4, pt. 1 [1923]: no. 9, pp. 66–69; also see *Indian Antiquary* 24 [1895]: 305 ff.). There are poems of the fourteenth century (one in Sanskrit and one in Malāyaḷam) extolling its main deity. The *Dāsāvataracharītram* of Aditya Varma Sarvanagatha has ten verses on the Trivandrum deity, as does the same king’s *Avantaranandakam* (*Travancore Archaeological Series* 7, pt. 2 [1930]: 132–34 and 123–25). The Malāyaḷam *Anantapura-varnanam* depicts the greatness of Anantapuram or Trivandrum; see *South Indian Temple Inscriptions* 3, pt. 2, Madras Government Oriental Series, no. 157, p. 9 and *Travancore University Language Publications*, no. 81.
 20. John Nieuhoff, *Voyages and Travels into Brazil and the East Indies*, in Awnsham Churchill’s *Collection of Voyages and Travels* (London: J. Walthoe, 1732), 2:216–17; also included in V. Nagam Aiya, *Travancore State Manual* (Trivandrum, 1906; rpt. Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1989), 1:308–9.
 21. Matilakam Records, C. 83, Os. 14–15 and 41–43, cited in A. P. Ibrahim Kunju, *The Rise of Travancore: The Life and Times of Marttanda Varma* (Trivandrum: Kerala Historical Society, 1976), 113 n. 45 and 120 n. 78.
 22. For Martanda Varma, see Ibrahim Kunju, *Rise of Travancore*, and Susan Bayly, “Hindu Kingship and the Origin of Community: Religion, State and Society in Kerala, 1750–1850,” *Modern Asian Studies* 18 (1984): 177–213.
 23. Ibrahim Kunju, *Rise of Travancore*, 116–19.
 24. The mint is mentioned in Aiya, *Travancore State Manual*, 3:535. R. V. Poduval mentions that a modern palace now standing in the northern part of the compound was apparently built in the later nineteenth century from the ruins of earlier palaces (see R. V. Poduval, “Travancore’s Ancient Capital: Padmanabhapuram,” in *D. R. Bhandarkar Volume*, ed. Bimala Churn Law [Calcutta: Indological Research Institute, 1940], 319–23, 321). Also see *Travancore Administrative Report 1104 M.E.* (1928/29) (1930), 216.
 25. Some authors mention that the capital was moved to Trivandrum under Marttanda Varma or his successor, but there seems to be little evidence that a conscious or precipitous move took place; it is more likely that this notion of the capital moving reflects the growing importance in the nineteenth century of Trivandrum, where not only the temple but also the British officials, who were assuming greater control over the affairs of Tiruvitamcode/Travancore, were situated.
 26. While this might be the original tank, a ruined tank was discovered in this area of the palace during excavations in the late 1930s; see *Travancore Archaeological Department Administration Report 1113 M.E.* (1937/38) (1939), 8–10.
 27. *Travancore Archaeological Department Administration Report 1113 M.E.* (1937/38) (1939), 8–10.

28. The Archaeology Department of the Government of Kēraḷa has recently identified this feature as the balcony from which the king made himself visible to his subjects; K. T. Ravindran also refers to the balcony in this wall as the place where the king held public audience (*Architecture in India*, 36).
29. "Sub-Imperial Palaces," 281–302.
30. Asher makes the point that the *jhāroka* may have actually been a Rājput or Hindu tradition that the Mughals borrowed ("Sub-Imperial Palaces," 287), though little is actually known about the early *jhāroka* and its use.
31. R. Vasudeva Poduval, "Travancore's Ancient Capital," 319–21, esp. 321. Ravindran calls this the Audience Hall for Europeans (*Mimar* 1986) on his plan.
32. This has been pointed out by Catherine Asher in a personal communication.
33. Pillai notes that the practice of placing bathing and latrine areas together is an indication of foreign taste, since local people would have bathed in the tanks. See S. K. Pillai, "Padmanābhapuram: As Yantra," *India International Centre Quarterly* 22, Kerala Issue (Summer 1995): 71–96, 92.
34. *Koṭṭāram Manual*, vol. 1, pt. 1 (1112 M.E.), 265–82. This information was related to me by the Palace Administrative Manager at the Palace Archive, Trivandrum. Significantly, though Martanda Varma's campaigns in Kayankulam took place in 1734, when the king of Kayankulam was killed, the struggle with Kayankulam continued, and the kingdom was annexed only in 1742 by the Treaty of Mannar. See A. Sreedhara Menon, *History of Kerala* (Trivandrum: Kerala History Society, 1972), 268–70.
35. Matilakam Records, C. 83, Os. 41–43, cited in Ibrahim Kunju, *Rise of Travancore*, 120. Some authors identify the *naṭakaśālā* at Padmanābhapuram with another stone pillared hall in the palace. I believe this structure was the dance hall; it relates formally to dance halls in temples in the south Indian region, and there is a private viewing box built into the east wall and a gallery for private viewing from upstairs as well.
36. For a general introduction to Mahānavami and Navaratri in rituals of kingship see Nicholas B. Dirks, *The Hollow Crown: Ethnohistory of an Indian Kingdom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), esp. 37–43 and 98–99, as well as Burton Stein, "Mahanavami: Medieval and Modern Kingly Ritual in South India," in *Essays in Gupta Culture*, ed. Bardwell L. Smith (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1983), 67–90. Carol Appadurai Breckenridge discusses Navaratri in the late nineteenth-century south Indian kingdom of Ramanatapuram in "From Protector to Litigant—Changing Relations between Hindu Temples and the Rajas of Ramnad," in *South Indian Temples*, ed. Burton Stein (New Delhi: Vikas, 1978), 75–106, esp. 78–88.
37. Joanne Punzo Waghorne, *The Raja's Magic Clothes* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), 137 and pl. 47.
38. "Early Indian Architecture: III. Palaces," 41.
39. The *Vēṭṭai* is briefly described in Aiya, *Travancore State Manual*, 2:84. Also see Deborah Thiaghara-jan, "Doors and Woodcrafts of Chettinad," in *Living Wood*, ed. George Michell (Bombay: Marg, 1992), 53–72, esp. fig. 8, for a similar style of carving and theme in the wood-carving of the Chettinad area of Tamil Nadu.
40. Michell, *Living Wood*, 53–72, esp. fig. 8.
41. V. S. Pramar, *Haveli* (Ahmadabad: Mapin, 1989), 205.
42. Clifford Reis Jones, "The Temple Theatre of Kerala: Its History and Description," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1967 (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1968), 101–2.
43. See Asher, "Sub-Imperial Palaces," 283, where she discusses the symbolic and formal characteristics of this type as it evolved in Mughal architecture.
44. Michell, *Royal Palaces*, 70. See *Mayamata*, trans. Bruno Dagens (New Delhi: Sitaram Bhartia Institute of Scientific Research, 1985), chap. 29 "Royal Palaces," verses 192–95a, p. 279.
45. Matilakam Records, C. 792, O. 131, cited in Ibrahim Kunju, *Rise of Travancore*, 100.
46. Rewal and Ravindran, *Mimar* 1986, 61, translate it as "generic mother."
47. Michell, *Royal Palaces*, 191.
48. For the *nālukeṭṭu* palace, see Mary Beth Heston, "A Sense of Place: Nālukeṭṭu Palaces in Kēraḷa," forthcoming.
49. While there is considerable variation among the examples I have seen, and there appears to be similar variety among those examples documented by others, certain elements are almost invariably

- placed in specific locations and in predictable relation to other elements. See: Melinda Moore, "Kerala House as Hindu Cosmos," *Contributions to Indian Sociology* 23, 1 (1989): 169–202; K. P. Padmanabha Menon, *History of Kerala*, 4 vols. (Ernakulam, 1924–37; rpt. New Delhi: AES, 1986), 4:147–83; F. Fawcett, *Nayars of Malabar* (1901; rpt. New Delhi: AES, 1990), 303–4.
50. Rajaraja Varma Raja, "Some Travancore Dynastic Records (1455–1677)," document XVI, p. 12.
 51. *Archaeological Department Administrative Report 1113 M.E.* (1937/38) (1939), 8–10.
 52. M. Rajaraja Varma Raja, "Some Travancore Dynastic Records III," *Kerala Society Papers* series 6 (1930): 335.
 53. William Noble, "Houses with Centered Courtyards in Kerala and Elsewhere in India," in *Dimensions of Social Life: Essays in Honor of David G. Mandelbaum*, ed. Paul Hockings (Berlin: Mouton, 1987), 215–62.
 54. For examples of houses and palaces of this type in Baroda, see Prammar, *Haveli*.
 55. John M. Fritz, George Michell, and M. S. Nagaraja Rao, *Where Kings and Gods Meet: The Royal Centre at Vijayanagara, India* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1984), fig. 6.7, p. 105.
 56. Such entrance porches in Kēraḷa are conventionally situated on either the west or the east; in this southern Kēraḷa region the west seems to be more common.
 57. The Kēraḷa State Department of Archaeology has labeled it with this term, which seems to have been introduced by the Travancore Archaeology Department in the 1930s. R. V. Poduval, who served as State archaeologist in the early years of the department and prepared many of the early *Reports*, uses this nomenclature in his article, "Travancore's Ancient Capital," 320, where he writes the word *uppirikka*. In his *Short Guide to Padmanabhapuram*, he adopts the variant term *uppirikka malika*. T. K. Ravindran, "Le palais de Padmanabhapuram," in *Architectures en Inde*, 36–39, also uses this term, which he transliterates as *Uppirika Malika*. Michell, *Royal Palaces*, spells it *Upparika Malika*.
 58. Ravindran, *Architectures en Inde*, 39, and this designation is continued in *Mimar* 1986, Plans, pp. 62–64, though in the latter the *Uppirika Malika* terminology has been dropped.
 59. Michell, *Royal Palaces*, 191, mentions that the structure includes a shrine, though I have suggested it served as a shrine in a 1988 article, "The Palace Murals at Padmanabhapuram: The Politics of an Image," in *A Potpourri of Indian Art*, ed. Pratapaditya Pal (Bombay: Marg Publications, 1988), 115–33, esp. 130, and in "Images from the Past, Vision of the Future: The Art of Marttanda Varma," in *Perceptions of India's Visual Past*, ed. Catherine B. Asher and Thomas R. Metcalf (New Delhi: Oxford and IBH, 1994), 199–210, esp. 205–9.
 60. Bruno Dagens, trans., *Mayamata* (New Delhi: Sitaram Bhartia Institute of Scientific Research, 1985), chap. 29, pp. 79–81.
 61. See, for example, Tillotson, *Rajput Palaces*, 83–84.
 62. These are mentioned and illustrated in Michell, *Royal Palaces*, 172–77, 185–89.
 63. Poduval, "Travancore's Ancient Capital," 320, refers to the lower floor of this structure as the *Ituvaippu*, or record room. Michell, *Royal Palaces*, also believes it is a treasury.
 64. Fritz, Michell, and Nagaraja Rao, *Where Kings and Gods Meet*, fig. 6.8, p. 106. The author notes that Abd ar-Razzaq mentions a subterranean treasury for storing gold within the palace complex (see E. H. Major, *India in the Fifteenth Century* [London: Hakluyt Society, 1857], 26).
 65. Major, *India*, 26.
 66. Pillai, "Padmanabhapuram: As Yantra," 85.
 67. I discuss the identity of the deity in "The Palace Murals at Padmanabhapuram," and to some extent in "Images from the Past," esp. 206–7.
 68. Heston, "The Palace Murals at Padmanabhapuram"; Heston, "Images from the Past."
 69. Ibrahim Kunju, *Rise of Travancore*, 120.
 70. *Travancore Archaeological Series* 1, pt. 5 (1910–13), 81–84.
 71. Aside from older festivals that were renewed by the king, Marttanda Varma initiated an annual ceremony called the *muṛajapam*, which is still conducted at the Padmanābhaswāmi temple. Every sixth year the ceremony was celebrated on a grand scale, and this was known as the *bhadradiṇam*. The *muṛajapam* and the *bhadradiṇam* are described in Nagam Aiya, *Travancore State Manual*, 3:ix, xxxvii, and Ibrahim Kunju, *Rise of Travancore*, 118–19.
 72. I have discussed elsewhere the ways in which the

- ceremony, like the architecture of Martanda Varma's reign, builds on precedents of rule in South Asia in general and south India in particular. See Heston, "Images from the Past," 202–4. The ceremony has been described and discussed by Adrian C. Mayer in "Rulership and Divinity: The Case of the Modern Hindu Prince," *Modern Asian Studies* 25, 4 (1991): 771–73.
73. *Travancore Archaeological Series* 5, pt. 1 (1944), 26–28.
 74. C. J. Fuller, "Rituals of Kingship," *The Camphor Flame* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 106–27.
 75. Heston, "Images from the Past," 203–4.
 76. Mayer, "Rulership and Divinity," 771–74.
 77. H. Kulke, "Jagannatha as the State Deity under the Gajapatis of Orissa," in *The Cult of Jagannatha and the Regional Tradition of Orissa*, ed. Anncharlott Eschmann, Hermann Kulke, and Gaya Charar Tripathi (New Delhi: Manohar, 1978), 199–208, esp. 204–7.
 78. Matilakam Records, C. 8, Os. 41–43, cited in Ibrahim Kunju, *Rise of Travancore*, 120 n. 78.
 79. Kulke, "Jagannatha as the State Deity," 206, has suggested that the Sūryavarmśa ruler of fifteenth-century Orissa also had political motives in developing his special relationship with the state deity Jagannātha.
 80. Matilakam Records, C. 2252, O. 291, cited in Ibrahim Kunju, *Rise of Travancore*, 116 n. 63.
 81. Heston, "Palace Murals at Padmanabhapuram" and "Images from the Past."
 82. Stein has explained the origins of various aspects of southern kingship in terms of the local traditions upon which they draw, including early Tamil poetry and Jaina attitudes (Burton Stein, "All the King's Mana: Perspectives on Kingship in Medieval South India," in *Kingship and Authority in South Asia*, ed. J. F. Richards [Madison: South Asian Studies, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1978; 1981], 115–67). Waghorne, *The Raja's Magic Clothes*, 166, also discusses the articulation of this notion in ancient Tamil poetry.
 83. Huntington points out the following references to this: Padma Kaimal, "Playful Ambiguity and Political Authority in the Large Relief at Mamallapuram," *Ars Orientalis* 24 (1994): 1–27; Michael Lockwood, G. Siromoney, and P. Dayanandan, *Mahabalipuram Studies* (Madras: The Christian Literature Society, 1974), 34–41; Susan L. Huntington, *The Art of Ancient India* (New York and Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1985), 294–95, 641 n. 9. See Susan Huntington, "Kings as Gods, Gods as Kings: Temporality in the Art of India," *Ars Orientalis* 24 (1994): 30–38.
 84. Michell, *Royal Palaces*, 191, suggests that the three ascending stories above the treasury included a room where the king slept, a room where the king fasted, and a shrine to Padmanābha.
 85. Dagens, trans., *Mayamata*, chap. 29, pp. 259–83. Also see Prasanna Kumar Acharya, *Architecture of Mānasāra*, vol. 4 (London, 1934; rpt. New Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, 1980), chap. 40, p. 437, which says, "Leaving out the Brahmā plot in the centre, in all the surrounding quarters should be constructed the dwelling houses of kings and of all other desirable people" (verses 73–74). Tillotson, *Rajput Palaces*, 79–83, also discusses these concepts in analyzing the Rājput palaces at Orchha and Datia.
 86. Ronald Inden, "Ritual, Authority and Cyclic Time in Hindu Kingship," in *Kingship and Authority in South Asia*, 28–73, esp. 33.
 87. Chou Ta-Kuan (Zhou Daguan), *The Customs of Cambodia* (Bangkok: Siam Society, 1987), no. 2 (no pagination).
 88. Tillotson, *Rajput Palaces*, 83–84.
 89. See Michell, *Royal Palaces*, 172–77, 185–89. See also George Michell, *Architecture and Art of Southern India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 149–52.
 90. John Fritz, "Was Vijayanagara a 'Cosmic City'?" *Vijayanagara—City and Empire*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag Weisbaden, 1985), 257–73. Also see Fritz's development of these ideas in "The Plan of Vijayanagara," in *Shastric Traditions in Indian Arts*, ed. Anna Libera Dallapiccola (Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag Weisbaden, 1989), 237–51.
 91. Stein, "All the King's Mana," esp. 124–25.
 92. Ibrahim Kunju, *Rise of Travancore*, 118–19.

BOOK REVIEWS

Old Masters Repainted: Wu Zhen (1280–1354). Prime Objects and Accretions. By Joan Stanley-Baker. 536 pp., 228 illustrations, appendices, epilogue, bibliography, glossary, index. Hong Kong University Press, 1995. \$72.50.

For a number of years Joan Stanley-Baker has approached the search for visual accuracy with devoted care. In this complex, scholarly volume she defines and focuses her methodology on the calligraphy and painting of the famous Yuan dynasty artist Wu Zhen (1280–1354). While not neglecting textual evidence, she has carefully marshalled a richness of visual material to show how a selected minimum of “prime objects” have through time accumulated layers of “genuine” imitation ranging from close contemporaries to increasingly distant followers. In a word she has reordered the temporal truth of Wu Zhen.

In presenting this stern historiography Professor Stanley-Baker is an unabashed critic of casual connoisseurship, which she considers too lax in accepting subjective first impressions. This defect in turn may extend to more “cerebral” judgments (themselves often flawed by a given cultural setting) and at the level of collecting can too easily slip into the need to acquire paintings by given old masters—a desire that clever hands are only too eager to supply. Her historical standards are high: “We have a right to demand accuracy, at least within decades, of each work under discussion” (p. 7).

With the admonition that “methodology based on period style and structural analysis alone is simply inadequate, even dangerous,” the author offers an informative capsule of approaches to Chinese painting in China, Japan, and the West. Then, turning to Panofsky, she offers a dynamic circle in which it is necessary “to correct the interpretation of an individual work of art by ‘history of style’ which in turn can only be built up by interpreting individual works” (p. 33). She finds a second significant model in George Kubler’s identification within an anonymous tradition of “prime objects” that bring an “entire system of replicas, reproductions, copies, reductions, transfers and derivations floating” after them.

Commendably, the author’s goal is not simply to distinguish true from false—separating “fish-eyes” and “pearls”—but to define in time the layers of accretion. Having selected a group of sixteen works associated with Wu Zhen, she enters the Panofsky circle by first defining period style. Ten paintings are cited to define the Song—all three centuries—during which spatial realism is a major mark of visual expression. She then jumps to the Ming and the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when a defining characteristic is “ideographic,” with its implications of self-expression. Thus is bracketed the

brief period of her subject. Turning away from possible errors associated with famous names, she uses the implicitly reliable Japanese experience of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The selection, she maintains, embraces a special feature: the Yuan, while “more calligraphic,” never abandons the spatial realism of the Song (p. 71). This rejection is rather a feature of the Ming.

Thus we plunge into Wu Zhen. From a chronological series of translations about the artist dating from 1338 to the late fourteenth century, the author deduces a list of characteristics concerning both the man and his painting. Separating landscape paintings from bamboo, she discovers as prime objects two landscape hanging scrolls (*Twin Junipers* and *Fisherman’s Idyll*) and one short handscroll (*Central Mountain*), which, due to its narrow dimensions and limited subject, she infers is a fragment, cut to left and right. Only one scroll of bamboo (*Bamboo and Rock*) fits her careful criteria. All are from the National Palace Museum, Taipei. With apologies for offering only a checklist for others to consider, she summarizes authentic qualities under the headings “Period style,” “Personal style,” “Brush habit,” and “Expression.” She attributes two other hanging scrolls from the same museum to an anonymous Yuan hand: *Autumn Mountain* and *Cherished Companions*, then proceeds to establish the genuine qualities of *Rock and Bamboo*, which despite the shift in subject matches all criteria for the prime object landscapes.

The author next moves to calligraphy, anchoring authenticity on “two blocks of prime inscriptions” taken from two accepted scrolls: *Fisherman’s Idyll* and *Bamboo and Rock*. She praises “the clean-edged block,” an extension of Southern Song practice (p. 160), contrasting it with the free form of the Ming. She asks us to see characters as “forms in space” eloquently affirming the power of the genuine: “This power resides not in extroversion or agitation of brush movement as his imitators evidently believed, but in stillness, a weight and gravity which move with compelling momentum down the column, and into the fabric” (p. 171). True to the tenor of her research, she illustrates an expanding analysis with a flood of detailed examples.

Having established her prime objects, the author moves to “altered images,” first in landscape, then in bamboo. The layers unfold into Ming and Qing. Continuing with the collection in the Taipei Palace Museum, she finds Ming qualities in *Hermit Fisherman on an Autumn River* and *Spring Dawn on a Clear River*. For bamboo, two hanging scrolls, *Spray of Bamboo* (Taipei) and *Bamboo in the Wind* (Freer Gallery), along with the bamboo section of a handscroll, *Twin Purities* (Taipei), are similarly too far removed from her prime object and also placed in the Ming.

A challenging category follows: paintings “so removed from the master’s original style that most of their basic assumptions are new as far as the master is concerned. These I have called accretions” (p. 235). She criticizes the well-known *Fishermen* handscrolls in the Freer Gallery and the Shanghai Museum as “not nature-centered, where natural elements are the subject and carefully described with attention to the resonance of deep space. Instead, nature is borrowed to serve as vehicle for the display of brushwork.” She considers the scrolls essentially identical in “brush habits” and on the Shanghai painting finds “Wu Zhen’s” calligraphy mirroring the brush of two colophons that follow it (fig. 14.3). Her skepticism is further supported by the later popularity of the subject, which inspired many copies.

Turning to *Ink Bamboo Manuals*, two much-praised works in the Palace Museum, Taipei, the author expands on the impossibility of the genuine touch despite inscriptions dating them to 1348 and 1350. Like a detective she assembles the rationale of doubt, ranging from documentary evidence to the quality of the artist’s hand. For example, concentrating on *Mozhupu*, she points out that nearly every leaf is separately signed and many have individual dates, undermining the idea that the whole was conceived as a unitary work (p. 299). She raises doubts about the alleged recipient, a mysterious Fonu, later thought to be Wu Zhen’s young son. Doubts are also cast on both the content of inscriptions and their execution, the latter extending to the bamboo brushwork itself.

A brief impassioned summation reemphasizes her approach and its results: the insistence she has “started from ground zero” with no preconceptions, a methodology linking the “three legs of a tripod” (from China, Japan, and the West), “sixteen works studied including over fifty-odd images,” with “only four” from the hand of Wu Zhen (one tainted by being a fragment), and “the evolving image-shift of a given artist, through time.” There follow a hundred pages of carefully assembled appendices dealing with such matters as the early significance of wash techniques, the affirmation of the famous “Dong Yuan” *Winty Trees by a Lake* as a copy of a later period (but not by Wu Zhen), the widths of silks, more copies after Wu Zhen, seals, and a detailed catalogue of “Works Examined.”

This heavy volume—in both physical weight and detailed scholarship—returns us with a sometimes lyrical passion to the significance of connoisseurship. Professor Stanley-Baker challenges anyone inclined to take lightly the assumptions of visual truth with its potential for misdirections of history. Yes, there is a history of the visual arts, which is not necessarily dependent on verbal history and certainly not to be outdone by the words we often too readily use to translate it.

Leaving to other readers an assessment of the book’s expanding detail, I will enter the lists on the broader question of Professor Stanley-Baker’s acceptance of Panofsky’s circle. Since she would have us see history in decades, I am puzzled by her assumption that one

period—the Song—can cover three centuries. Because early Chinese painting history offers so few surviving works—a handful for a time when thousands were created—generalizations are forced in great measure to rely on hypothetical structures. Still, the “Song” is not a monolith. A major shift in perception occurred close to the year 1100, with implications for the late Northern Song through the Southern Song (to a degree also the Jin). The key, as is rightly suggested, rests in the handling of space. Speaking generally, however, space in Chinese painting is a given. Seldom, if ever, do Chinese painters—even in passages that might lend themselves to the flatness of the surface they employ—allow that surface to reject the illusion of entering into space, or spaces, comparable to our experience of space in the physical world. In this continuum that extends from where we live into the illusion that flows from the artist’s brush, it is not space but the treatment of space that matters. Not nature but the kind of nature. In the Song, the shift in the handling of the “given of space” is mirrored in the literature. Kuo Xi in the eleventh century describes three shifting perspectives—“high,” “deep,” and “level.” While not rejecting these, Han Zhuo in the twelfth century echoes the notion of three but concentrates on one—the illusion of depth, which produces variations in direct seeing: “broad,” “hidden,” and “obscure.” He looks across wide stretches and meets the atmospheric effects that conceal or partly conceal what is seen. Kuo Xi is concerned with a mental process that allows us to shift our physical presence the better to understand a landscape’s complexities. Han Zhuo insists on the physical presence of a more focused eye. In painting this begins with the art of Li Tang (and perhaps others) and continues as a major influence well into the thirteenth century. There is thus an immense difference between the world of Kuo Xi and the world of Xia Gui.

Then in the early decades of the Yuan comes the intensified notion of alienation fostered by the scholarly elite. Applied to artists, this notion turns the mind inward. No longer is the external world a primary source of truth—the “ten-thousand images of nature” that brought a flood of poetry to Yang Wanli; or the painter’s love of exactly observed detail in flower or bird, as well as directing us into the farthest of “broad” spaces, which because they are physically present must yield to the external facts of what is “hidden” and “obscure.” Part of the Yuan search for mind-truth was directed to a time before artists had realized the great spaces unrolling across Song paintings. The purpose of this antiquarianism was to reveal the world not as it is but as it was. Thus, in a denial of late Song space, Zhao Mengfu paints his *Pure Distances at Wuxing*, now in the Shanghai Museum, with the contracted miniature projection of a thin line of distant hills aimed across flat silk—no easy foreground accent, no atmospheric interference. Of course there are space and form but a different kind of space, a different kind of form. Space is essentially a blank, defined by the positive play of

form placed on its negative. Further, that form in a real sense “plays” with itself. Thus, the repeated outlined color of the hills, placed forward and back, contrasts with the dancing blackness of the tree-filled shore line, which in turn contrasts with the floating hairlike thinness of selected boats. Despite damage, the painting is vibrantly alive, but its life—and authenticity—do not rest on continuing the Song. Antiquarianism, however, was paralleled by another means of reconsidering the physical world, the internal expression of the mind-brush. Because Zhao Mengfu historically reached a compromise that successfully embraced the person, the past, and nature, he was able to exert a tremendous influence on later painting and calligraphy. His close contemporary, Qian Xuan, the ultimate rebel and recluse, was not.

Forms change, even in the short period of the Yuan. Aspects of Song space are always available for use, but seldom does form in its authentic physical precision or space in its late Song formulation reappear. A case in point is Wang Meng, in whose great *Qingbian Mountain* landscape the author rightly finds deep space (p. 71). But she neglects to point out that her deep space is a broken space, that the pockets of depth we are asked to admire are in fact draped on a skeleton of *high* distance. This is why it is so important not to accept the spaces of the Song as a single historical given. Wang Meng’s space is personally controlled, returning him to the psychological vision of the Northern Song. Both this and the handling of the brush exemplify a “man centered tendency” that the author is so ready to reject in pressing other scrolls into the Ming (p. 262).

The author’s selection of Wu Zhen prime objects satisfyingly confirms the authenticity of the paintings I would expect. Yet looked at with the hypothesis that Yuan space differs importantly from Song space, especially late Song space, these paintings may appear in a different light. Begin, as she does, with *Twin Junipers* of 1328 and its “continual recession” of the “grand vista.” As her suggestion of a “bifocal” (p. 97) presentation (great trees and background landscape) implies, recession in the tree is not recession in the landscape. Moreover, the landscape presents two horizons. The one to the right is essentially a deep distance taking us directly into tree grove and architecture, with the shadowy flanks of tall mountains backing up the village scene. To the left low hills are raised high, with the implications of a level distance on a different plane from the right. Indeed the twin trees rising against the sky appear to echo, almost in a crowning benediction, the two subtly distinct landscapes: the higher, bare, open limbs of one crowning the open left, the heavier foliage of the other above the denser deep distance of the right. I could not agree more with such sensitive observations as that the painting is “alive as if breathing” or “recalls the eleventh century.” Yet during that earlier age the mind was similarly more in control of the landscape. This mind focus applies not just to space but to detail as well. In a telling close-up (fig. 8.2) we see how

the tree may be handled: black dots signifying moss stand politely aside, conveniently lining the borders of the trunk to allow full exposure of a contrasting lightly washed bark.

Recognizing the mind as a leading force in what Yuan artists project about nature leads to additional possibilities, if not always for the hand of the artist, at least for the period. One need not postpone this until the Ming. With this in mind I would reopen the case of *Spring Dawn on a Clear River*, a painting rejected as “anonymous Ming.” The author rightly notes its frontal spatial perception, the separation of three foreground islets, the tendency of tree groves to appear on one plane, the waterfall’s failure to flow easily into the foreground waters. While accepting “mountain and water,” however, this painting presents them in a very different way from the Song, particularly the late Song (although there is a reluctant glimpse of distance at the right). Less willingness to accept Song spaces as *the* defining Yuan characteristic opens other possibilities, in this case deliberate selection of forms for thematic repetition, as in the mountains of Wu Zhen’s *Central Mountain*.

Contrast *Spring Dawn* with Ma Yuan’s well-known *Bare Willows and Distant Mountains*, now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. This painting—also of spring and completely representative of a late Song view of nature—tells of the beginnings of things, closely linked to change at a specific time of year and also of day, as we see the mists rising from a simple village and look directly through the still-bare willow fronds into a disappearing distance. “Wu Zhen’s” *Spring Dawn* turns all of that around, accepting the mask of nature but, as with music, playing out an inner feeling: rock and land form, tree and house. This painting must be accepted as rhythmically separate but varied blocks of land, trees, and mountain peaks—now one, now two, now three or more. They are accents, there not to repeat the look of evenly receding forms in space but to reveal the movements of a kind of dance. Who is to say that the staccato rhythm of rocks across the other shore does not play its own tune, or even that the slightly tipped-up isolated boat with its separate notes of tiny humanity is not also part of it? These are a painter’s feelings about the joy of spring, inner perception revealed in visible shape. While its brushwork might possibly betray the copiest, *Spring Dawn on a Clear River* is otherwise difficult to associate with post-Yuan perception, especially with Shen Zhou, whose persistent consciousness of Yuan painting produced, in transformation, far more cohesive formal results.

So little is known about Chinese painting that both the broad view of history and the units within it must be kept flexible. My quarrel is not so much with what the author has seen. One must praise the necessity of an insistent connoisseurship. While admiring its scholarly seriousness, however, one wonders if the noose has not been drawn too tightly. The challenge to easy acceptance is admirable, yet the author too easily

accepts a period style both before (the Song) and after (the Ming), with the few years of the Yuan narrowed to rely on those elements that continue and refine her Song ideals.

The prime object approach, while significant, has an Achilles heel. It appears to fit admirably into early periods of history since so few high-quality paintings have survived. Later, not only do more works present themselves—including imitations—but the theoretical premise of those works also relies more heavily on personal expression, linked to the accretion of varied old-master modes. Even in a traditional society artists are not easily caged. A single life may be many lives. With Wu Zhen—in early literature (1364) “refractory” and “solitary”—is Professor Stanley-Baker’s measure of consistency still not open? This volume offers a unique and impressive contribution and challenge. But the Panofsky circle is not fixed. Art has the curious property of never being truly discovered outside of itself. It is bound by its medium, to which one must constantly return. Discussing literature, but here applicable to painting, Liu Xie’s early sixth-century *Wenxin diaolong* details the problem of the critic in the chapter “Zhiyin” (Understanding the tune):

The writer’s [painter’s] first experience is his inner feeling, which he then seeks to express in words [visible forms]. But the reader [viewer], on the other hand, experiences the words [forms] first, and then works himself back into the feeling of the author [painter]. If he can trace the waves back to their source, there will be nothing, however dark and hidden, that will not be revealed to him.¹

This, perforce, is an admirable and necessary direction, one not denied in this volume. But direction leads to the dynamics of experience, not the ready certainty of exact solution.

Note

1. Kang-i Sun Chiang, “Criticism in the Six Dynasties,” in *Theories of the Arts in China*, ed. S. Bush and C. Murck (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 220–21.

RICHARD EDWARDS

Two Chinese Treatises on Calligraphy. Introduced, translated, and annotated by Chang Ch’ung-ho and Hans H. Frankel. 144 pp. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995. \$25.00.

In appearance, this is an exceedingly modest book. It is less than one hundred fifty pages in length, and of these, photographs, transcriptions, glossaries, bibliography, and index occupy more than two-thirds. The scope is also limited: a straightforward translation of

two texts on Chinese calligraphy—Sun Qianli’s *Shu pu* (Treatise on calligraphy) of late seventh-century date and Jiang Kui’s sequel, *Xu shu pu*, written five hundred years later. Those familiar with Sun Qianli’s text in particular, however, will recognize that Chang Ch’ung-ho and Hans Frankel’s task was far from modest. *Shu pu* is one of the most notable and intriguing of Chinese writings on calligraphy, and it is devilishly difficult to comprehend.

A short introduction provides biographical information on Sun Qianli (ca. 648–before 702) and Jiang Kui (ca. 1155–ca. 1221) and briefly describes their treatises. Jiang Kui and his literary works are relatively well known (introduced to Western audiences through the writings of Lin Shuen-fu). Sun Qianli, however, is a shadowy figure. Commonly called Sun Guoting,¹ he is known, essentially, for this treatise, most of which survives in a handwritten manuscript by Sun that has long been celebrated as one of the finest orthodox examples of Chinese cursive calligraphy.² But whereas Sun’s handwriting presents a model of visual clarity, his text is often maddeningly vague. *Shu pu*, as commentators have noted, reflects a transition from the poetic, metaphorical, philosophical, and anecdotal approach to critiquing calligraphy that characterizes Six Dynasties-period writings to a more pragmatic and technical approach that is often associated with the Tang. The effect is curious: Sun Qianli sets out to explain calligraphy, but he explains with metaphors (“rolling thunder, toppling rocks, wild geese in flight and beasts in fright”), metaphysical schemes (“When the five discords coincide, the mind is blocked . . . when the five harmonies concur, the spirit issues forth freely”), and frequent allusions. Here is one choice passage:

At times calligraphy is gentle and mild while the inside is strong and solid; at other times it twists and breaks while the outside is angular and showy. When you scrutinize you must look for minute details; when you imitate, the thing to strive for is close resemblance. Yet imitation is unable to achieve close resemblance, and scrutiny is unable to seize the minute details; the structure of the writing is still loose, the shapes have not been fixed.

And this is after Sun tells us that in writing about calligraphy “the important thing is to make the wording simple and the reasoning sound, the writing clear and the content comprehensive.”

As Nishibayashi Shoichi has written, Sun Qianli was writing for the literate class of the seventh century, and his *Shu pu* is as much a philosophical treatise for art as it is a discussion of calligraphy.³ In other words, a certain amount of ambiguity is to be expected. Sun’s audience would have recognized the classical allusions, and they would have delighted in his florid *pianli wen* parallel prose. These, however, create considerable problems for translation. Chang and Frankel decided that clarity of content should be the primary goal, and as a result, Sun Qianli’s dense, poetic language is

recast into a very clear and rational English prose. One can argue that such clarity is distant from the original text—and certainly a fair measure of the rhythm and beauty of Sun's writing is sacrificed—but one must respect the translators' decision. They commit themselves to the prospect that *Shu pu* is reducible to that level of unambiguous comprehension Sun himself promises, and they give it their best shot.

Jiang Kui's straightforward and prosaic *Sequel to the Treatise on Calligraphy* presents far fewer problems of translation. This is an unusually methodical text, neatly divided into eighteen titled sections, such as "Zhen (Standard) Script," "Use of the Brush," "Squareness and Roundness," and "Speed." As the authors note, Jiang Kui's text is less a continuation of Sun Qianli's *Shu pu* than it is a work written in the spirit of the earlier treatise. As such, *Xu shu pu* presents an interesting contrast reflective of the historical changes that took place over half a millennium. Whereas Sun Qianli's *Shu pu*, with its championing of Wang Xizhi and its attempts to explain standards of quality, reflects an early stage in the formation of an orthodoxy for calligraphy, Jiang Kui's *Sequel* reveals the degree to which the details of that orthodoxy have now become set. We are told precisely how to write good calligraphy, from the balancing of components within individual characters to the number of turns within each dot and line. Sun Qianli wrote his treatise fifty years after Tang Taizong (r. 627–49) set the foundation for the orthodox tradition of calligraphy; Jiang Kui wrote his fifty years after Song Gaozong (r. 1127–62) resurrected the orthodox tradition following the dramatic experiments of the Northern Song individualists. In this regard, *Shu pu* and *Xu shu pu* make an appropriate pair, bracketing what is arguably the richest period in the history of Chinese calligraphy and suggesting, through their attempts to explain this art, the process by which the standards of good writing that would guide all later calligraphers took form.

Following the translations of *Shu pu* and *Xu shu pu* are photographs of Sun's original autograph of his text, one of the great masterpieces of the National Palace Museum in Taiwan, and Chang Ch'ung-ho's handsome transcriptions of the texts in small standard script. Glossaries of people and calligraphic terms found in the texts round out the book. Much of the explanatory information that one might expect to find in the notes is located here.

The authors bring together very distinct talents in this collaborative work. Hans Frankel, professor emeritus at Yale University, is a distinguished scholar of classical Chinese literature and an experienced translator. Chang Ch'ung-ho is a classically trained Chinese artist and calligrapher. She is, moreover, intimately familiar with Sun Qianli's *Shu pu*, having copied the original cursive calligraphy countless times over many decades. Their translation thus combines the academic care of the trained sinologist with the insights of an artist well attuned to the subtleties of an ancient and profound

art. This enviable combination is worth noting, for the careful student will recognize a number of differences between Chang's and Frankel's interpretation and those of other translators of Sun's text, such as Roger Goepfer and Nishibayashi Shoichi.⁴ Sun Qianli's exceedingly terse language allows various readings. We are fortunate to have here one that includes the experience of a calligrapher who has considered how Sun's words and theory translate into practice.

Two Chinese Treatises on Calligraphy will particularly benefit historians of calligraphy and present-day brushwielders eager to learn the secrets of the ancients. I strongly suggest, however, that this limited audience be expanded to include all students of East Asian art, especially those who work with painting. Most of us are woefully weak at recognizing cursive calligraphy (myself included). There is no better place to begin training oneself than Sun Qianli's *Shu pu*. Use the photographs and transcription here (or splurge and pick up Nigensha's excellent 1984 color reproduction in the *Genshoku hojosen* series). Study it, character by character, line by line; savor the beauty of Sun Qianli's original language together with his calligraphy, and carefully consider Chang and Frankel's translation while contemplating their points of departure from Goepfer's or Nishibayashi's versions. Is there a better way to learn about Chinese calligraphy?

Notes

1. Sources differ on whether Qianli was Sun's given or courtesy name. Although Chang and Frankel break with common practice in using Sun Qianli, they have good reason. Qianli is recorded as Sun's given name in his tomb inscription, written by his contemporary, Chen Zi'ang.
2. Sun Qianli's "'Shu pu' in Cursive Script" is one of the very few extant works of calligraphy listed in Mi Fu's *Shu shi* of ca. 1103–5. Mi Fu describes it as "very much in the style of Wang Xizhi (307?–65?)." He also writes that with regard to Tang cursive calligraphy utilizing the styles of the Two Wangs (Wang Xizhi and Wang Xianzhi [344–88]), there is none better than Sun Qianli's. *Shu shi*, in *Wang shi shuyuan* (Taipei: National Central Library manuscript ed.), *juan* 6, 20b.
3. *Chūgoku shoron taikei*, vol. 2 (Tōkyō: Nigensha, 1977), 93. Nishibayashi conveniently refers to a number of Japanese studies of Sun Qianli's *Shu pu* that Chang and Frankel do not include in their bibliography.
4. See n. 3 for Nishibayashi's study. Roger Goepfer, *Shu p'u, der Traktat zur Schriftkunst des Sun Kuo-t'ing* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1974).

Art and Political Expression in Early China. By Martin J. Powers. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992. 438 + xiv pp., illustrations, glossary, bibliography, index. \$50.00.

During the Latter Han Dynasty, in the second century C.E., it became the custom among local notables in various parts of China to commission elaborate and beautiful tombs of cut and decorated stone to receive the remains of deceased family members. Most such tombs derived from architectural and artistic traditions that had been current during the Former Han, a couple of centuries earlier. Decorated in what Martin Powers here calls the "descriptive" (or sometimes, "ornamental") style, these tombs were straightforward celebrations of the wealth and power of the tomb occupants and their families; they were as lavish as circumstances would permit. Families with aristocratic or palace connections (including the families of prominent eunuchs) vied with one another to proclaim that their departed honored ancestor (real or fictive) had achieved success in the era's spectacularly vulgar competition for political preferment and the accumulation of material possessions.

In the descriptive tradition, portraits of tomb occupants were realistic and highly individualized, as were depictions of the circumstances of their lives: "This man has so many carriages, so many women in his harem, so many jars of wine, or so much grain. His clothing is thick, his paunch is fat; his slabs of meat hang heavy on the rack. The cloud patterns that decorate his chambers are dense and endlessly varied" (p. 374). This was a style of funerary art that straightforwardly and approvingly described what was; it had no overtones of descriptiveness or social criticism.

But, as this book demonstrates, in certain rich and populous counties of western Shandong Province, tomb architects and sculptors and their clients developed a new style of relief sculpture and a new vocabulary of images to decorate tombs that "in quantity and in thematic complexity . . . stand apart from monuments in other parts of China" (pp. 111–12). These tombs are so conspicuously different from the more common type as to prompt an alert observer to ask why this should be and what it means. Martin Powers here acts as guide and interpreter on the reader's behalf; the goal of his exceptionally interesting and stimulating book is to elucidate the meaning of this new type of tomb decor.

In contrast to the "descriptive" style of tomb decor mentioned above, these Shandong tombs are decorated in what Powers calls the "classical" style. The term *classical* is obviously used here in a special sense, one that initially seems counterintuitive given that the style is schematic and indifferent to naturalism. Powers's Han classicism is, in other words, quite different from any image of classical sculpture that might spring to the mind of a Western reader. Instead, what Powers means by classical is "consistent with the classics," that is, conforming to the classically derived taste and

ideology of the Confucian scholarly class. Classical relief sculpture, in this sense and as seen in the famous Wu Liang Shrine and other Shandong stone tombs of the same type and period, is stylized rather than realistic, stereotyped rather than naturalistic, prescriptive rather than descriptive; in subject matter it is didactic, critical, and idealized. The narratives suggested by the relief sculptures in these tombs were not descriptions of the conspicuous wealth of the tomb occupants but rather moral tales of historical and supernatural events that were usually remote in time and place from Latter Han Shandong.

The questions then arise: Who ordered the construction of tombs of this new type, and why? What meanings are to be understood from these new voices in the Latter Han narrative? According to Powers, the classical-style tombs of Shandong uniquely expressed the taste and preferences of the Confucian scholar class, people who had, for some centuries past, been accustomed to thinking of themselves as leading citizens, social exemplars, and the talent pool of choice for appointment to public office. By the late decades of the Latter Han, however, "those openly devoted to scholarly values were rare; those openly devoted to material gain were many" (p. 280). The classically trained, public-service-minded members of the scholar class were losing out, in short, to more ambitious, corrupt, venal, and politically astute rivals—just such people as flaunted their own worldly success in their tomb decor.

The scholars did not submit quietly to a subordinate role, however. They used the rhetoric of the classics to protest their fate, proclaim their own worthiness for office and honors, and extol their purity of heart and honorable intentions. The central argument of this book is that the decor of the tombs built by members of the scholar class was a part of this rhetoric of protest: each depiction of a classical paragon like Shun, or of an omen such as a phoenix perching on the rooftop of a meritorious scholar, attested to the willingness of the family to dedicate its men to public service and protested against the circumstances that often left such ambitions unfulfilled. Each classical-style tomb, taken as a whole, made a powerful statement: "Here lies a man who (had the era but been one guided by the classics) would have been honored by the ruler and elevated to the highest ranks of government service." This argument, which Powers pursues through many detailed analyses of motifs, is very persuasive and contributes mightily to a subtler understanding of the rhetoric and substance of political power in the late Han.

In the four years since this book appeared in print, it has aroused a certain amount of scholarly controversy. This is due in part, I think, to Powers's use of the materials and techniques of the art historian (the field in which he himself has been trained) in the service of intellectual and social history. He builds upon the work of predecessors such as Wilma Fairbank and Wu Hung, who have identified the pictorial motifs of the Shandong stone tombs and performed valuable analysis of

those sculptures from the point of view of both narrative content and style. But Powers is not interested here so much in content as in context; this book is about the circumstances and meaning of the creation of art rather than about the art itself. The author is perhaps vulnerable to criticism on specific points of interpretation and art-historical analysis; this does not seem to me to affect the validity of his overall thesis. On the other hand, this book, despite the somewhat grandiose claims implied by its title, refers only to a small number of literati families, living in a small geographical area and acting as described during the span of only a very few generations. It remains to be seen whether the work of other scholars will ratify and extend the conclusions that Powers reaches here.

That said, it also should be said that this book is intellectually inviting and thus paves the way for further work. It is not only fascinating to read and imaginative in the scope of its ideas; it is unusually well written, with almost none of the turgid and jargon-laden prose that so often disfigures modern studies in the history of art. Finally, it is worth mentioning that Yale University Press has had the good judgment to turn Powers's manuscript into an uncommonly handsome and well-made book, one that both bibliophiles and connoisseurs of Chinese art will be pleased to add to their personal libraries.

JOHN S. MAJOR

Gods, Guardians, and Lovers: Temple Sculptures from North India A.D. 700–1200. Edited by Vishakha N. Desai and Darielle Mason. 288 pp., 61 color illustrations, 110 black and white. New York: Asia Society Galleries, 1993. \$75.00; \$45.00 paperback.

In discussions of the art of India, and of the Hindu temple in particular, it is a truism that architecture and sculpture cannot be treated independently of each other. The full meaning of a temple emerges only when its structural form is considered together with the imagery that so richly embellishes it. Clearly, then, images isolated from their context, or temple structures considered in isolation, present only a partial picture. This catalogue, like the exhibition that it accompanied, attempts to contextualize temple sculptures for museum goers. In such an attempt, it is the first of its kind.

A second facet of Indian art, of equal if not greater significance, concerns the interlinked nature of the sacred and the secular. It will be apparent from flipping the pages of this book that any Hindu temple contains not only sacred images but also sculptures of sensuous women and of couples. Since a temple is devoted to the glory of the divinity enshrined within, why does imagery reflecting worldly concerns appear on its walls? As Stella Kramrisch stated many years ago, "The art of India is neither sacred nor secular, for the consistent

fabric of Indian life was never rent by the western dichotomy of religious belief and worldly practice" (*The Art of India through the Ages* [London: Phaidon Press, 1954], 10). It would have been instructive to explore this issue so that the reader of this volume could begin to understand this apparent contradiction in terms.

The book commences with a series of essays by specialists in a range of disciplines within the field of Indic studies. Vishakha N. Desai's introductory essay, "Beyond the Temple Walls: The Scholarly Fate of North Indian Sculpture, A.D. 700–1200," opens with the experience of a Hindu walking into and around a temple. This valuable prelude is followed by a brief historiographic survey of scholarship on the Hindu temple. By 1993, several scholars had already spoken of, or published briefly, their objections to "earlier is better" and had discredited the notion of the Gupta age as a "golden age." An acknowledgment that attitudinal changes were already in the making would have been useful, given that the book is clearly intended for the specialist and not the general reader. While it is true that the north Indian temple between 700 and 1200 has not been adequately studied, at least two 1988 dissertations (Michael Willis, "The Temples of Gopaksetra, Dasarna and Jejakaadesa," University of Chicago; Cynthia Packert Stangroom, "The Development of the Medieval Style in Rajasthan: Ninth and Tenth Century Sculpture," Harvard University) are devoted to aspects of this subject. Recognition that work had begun on the subject would not have been out of place.

Historian B. D. Chattopadhyaya's essay, "Historiography, History, and Religious Centers: Early Medieval North India, circa A.D. 700–1200," is a most valuable contribution. Chattopadhyaya points out the many reasons for the extraordinary flowering of temple-building during this period. An important motivating factor was the desire to provide legitimacy for the many rulers who had links with tribal groups and needed to connect their origins to religious and divine forces. Ron Inden, in his *Imagining India* (Oxford, 1990), has pointed out similar motivations for temple-building by the Rashtrakuta monarchs of the Deccan plateau in the south. Chattopadhyaya makes important points regarding the nonexclusivity of sacred space, whereby Brahmanic and Jain temples could be built at the same site and, equally, local and pan-Indian deities could coexist. The result was an amazing degree of social integration. It was during this period too that royal cult centers rose to prominence.

In his essay "Religious and Royal Patronage in North India," Michael Willis analyzes inscriptional material to clarify the various categories of patronage—royal, noble, official, and subject. One of his intriguing conclusions is that the Pratihara monarchs, while active in providing land grants, were not involved in commissioning temples or images. Considering the crucial role that temple-building is now recognized to have played in the confirmation of sovereignty in various dynastic situations in both north and south (Chandella,

Rashtrakuta, Chola), it might be prudent to say that evidence is today lacking of their role in temple-building. After all, Pratihara territory lay in the path of every one of the Muslim inroads into India, and much evidence of their activities must be lost. At the same time, Willis rightly cautions against overstating the role of royal patronage.

One of the real pleasures of this volume is Phyllis Granoff's essay, "Halayudha's Prism: The Experience of Religion in Medieval Hymns and Stories." Granoff's evocative translations bring to life the literary-cum-religious world of the tenth and eleventh centuries and help the reader appreciate and contextualize the visual material in a way that nothing else can. I myself am a great believer in using poetry contemporary with an artistic milieu to expand audience understanding. Granoff's verses and prose extracts help the reader achieve a degree of closeness to the ancient temple world, both Hindu and Jain. If anything could be added to this section (I am only quibbling with a superb contribution), it might be an acknowledgment that a story parallel to that of the aboriginal hunter of the *Padma Purana* already existed in Tamil literature. Kanappan's offerings of barbecued pork, and of water carried in his mouth and flowers tucked into his hair (since his hands carried the pork), were similarly dear to Siva since they came from the wholesome love of a simple hunter, later accepted as one of sixty-three *nayanmar* "saints."

Michael Meister, who over the years has done much to explicate the temple architecture of India, writes on "Fragments of a Divine Cosmology: Unfolding Forms on India's Temple Walls." Since his works have hitherto concentrated on architectural form, often to the exclusion of sculpture (as in his edited volumes, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture* [Philadelphia, 1983–91]), it is gratifying to see him advocate a contextual approach. The plans, drawings, and photographs that accompany his essay do much to explicate his brief analysis. His words, "inner reality could also loom visibly," aptly explain the manner in which the enshrined deity is reflected in the related forms carved on the sanctum's three outer walls. Yet his idiosyncratic use of the subheading "Frieze" for the section that contains these words and of "Ornament" for the previous section, which actually deals with the images, is somewhat disconcerting.

Danielle Mason's "A Sense of Time and Place: Style and Architectural Disposition of Images on the North Indian Temple" attempts to place every sculpture from northern India within strict geographic and temporal limits. Mason sees the trend in portraying the human figure as changing from more to less naturalistic. She explains that as one moves from west to east, the artistic trend is from a low to a high center of gravity and from a tactile to a "congealed" form. This is an admirable attempt to provide order within the north Indian sculptural style, and scholars will certainly build upon these foundations. Yet her argument seems difficult to sustain within the wide framework of the book. Her

use of the *Temple Encyclopaedia's* specialized terminology for regional areas—Dasarnadesa, Gopadri, Upamala, Dahaladesa—will restrict the audience that may attempt to follow the argument. Intriguing questions present themselves for resolution. How can we be sure of precise authorship across indistinct boundaries dividing small areas? How do we deal with the mobility of artists' guilds? And exactly how important is it that we be able absolutely and precisely to identify so large a number of subregional styles?

The second half of the book is a catalogue of objects in the exhibition, arranged according to the parts of the temple to which they belong. It commences with the outermost areas and moves gradually inwards. There is a definite value and logic to such an arrangement, but it does not serve the other purpose of the book, which is to demonstrate a geographic and temporal progression. The appendix termed "Regional Classification" is keyed into page numbers, raising our hopes for help from this section. Unfortunately, the regions are laid out alphabetically rather than according to the proposed stylistic and geographical progression from west to east, thus thwarting the reader eager to test the schema.

This book is a valuable resource, which contains much illuminating material—historical, literary, and artistic—that contributes to a deeper understanding of the temple architecture of northern India. Certainly, no reader will be left with the erroneous impression that the period A.D. 700 to 1200 in the north was in any way a "dark age."

VIDYA DEHEJIA

Ajanta: A Brief History and Guide. By Walter Spink. 44 pp. Ann Arbor: Asian Art Archives of the University of Michigan, 1990. \$12.00; \$8.00 paperback.

The Ajanta caves have been extensively studied since the British officer John Smith "discovered" this Buddhist complex in 1819 while hunting for tigers in the Waghora gorge. Scholarly attention has been particularly attracted to the exquisite paintings, still well preserved in some of the caves. But credit for the most recent "rediscovery" of the caves goes to Walter Spink, whose lifelong study of the Ajanta complex has clarified the actual history and life of the monastery.

Ajanta: A Brief History and Guide, the latest of Spink's publications on this site, perfectly combines a scholarly approach with the synthetic clarity that appeals to lay readers. Conceived as a guidebook for people who intend to visit the Ajanta caves, the book is essentially a concise *summa* of Spink's ideas about the site's chronology and stylistic development.

The volume begins with a few practical suggestions as to the best itinerary to follow and the best time of day to visit the caves. Several pages are then devoted to

the historical background of the monastic complex. Here Spink reconstructs the life of the site in connection with the main events related to the sponsoring dynasty, the Vākātakas. Leaving aside the Hīnayāna phase, the author describes the most significant episodes connected with the site's development and makes the nonlinear history of the caves easily accessible to the lay reader. He shows how, under the imperial patronage of King Hirishena, the development of the site was affected by conflicts between two local feudatories, the Aśmakas and the Rishikas, both sponsors of a number of caves. These altercations are seen as a reason for the sudden interruption of excavation activity at Ajanta (during the so-called Hiatus) and explain the stylistic affinities between the Ajanta and Bagh caves; for the artists migrated to the latter site during this period of instability. In this balanced historical synthesis Spink summarizes the major results of his long study of the site and unfolds his precise chronology.

What follows is a brief survey of each cave, with special attention to the reconstruction of various phases of activity and sponsorship at each unit. The author draws attention to often-neglected architectural and stylistic details that elucidate the development of these structures. His convincing reconstruction also reveals the intrinsic connection between the religious institution at Ajanta and its sponsoring power.

Another brief chapter is dedicated to the focal point of Spink's chronology: that the entire complex could have been excavated in fewer than twenty years, with a "remarkable but credible rapidity." He reviews his main points and to prove his "Short Chronology" also considers factors related to the actual excavation of the caves, such as availability of manpower, skill of the artisans, and mandates of the patrons. This section discusses one of the most controversial of Spink's arguments, yet the depth of his analysis, developed extensively in his other recent publications, has convinced most scholars in the field of its accuracy.

Since the guidebook is intended for the general public, the author invites the visitor to verify his chronological and historical thesis through the example of Cave 2. By observing the progress of the painted decoration in such a cave, the visitor can trace the different phases of activity.

The book is usefully complemented by a time chart as well as synoptic tables devoted to the chronology of paintings, intrusive imagery, and main inscriptions. The "Checklist of sculptured intrusions at Ajanta" is perhaps the most interesting and innovative of these tables, illuminating developments that, according to Spink, were not planned or controlled by the major patrons. Here, for perhaps the first time, the author focuses on these "minor" but significant reliefs. The guide is further supplemented by brief excerpts from three of the main donative inscriptions at Ajanta, a general plan of the caves, and suggested itineraries for a visit to the site.

Obviously, this small volume was not intended to be

comprehensive; as a guidebook it tries to cover only the main questions related to the site. It is interesting that after years of study and research and a long series of scholarly publications on the site, the author has tried to synthesize his ideas for a larger audience. In fact, one of the greatest contributions of this succinct publication is its transmission of the scholarly tools of analysis to a lay audience. Walter Spink provides the reader with a "third eye" by which the caves can be viewed in a new perspective. He focuses attention on details that visitors would not usually notice, disclosing the involvement of patrons, planners, and artisans in the realization of this amazing complex.

PIA BRANCACCIO

Art and Architecture of Islam, 1250–1800. By Sheila S. Blair and Jonathan M. Bloom. 348 pp., 150 color plates, 150 black and white illustrations. *Pelican History of Art.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994. \$65.00.

The original *Pelican History of Art* series, founded by Nikolaus Pevsner almost a half-century ago, was already winding down when the first of its projected two volumes on Islamic art, authored by Oleg Grabar and the late Richard Ettinghausen, appeared in 1987 after a twenty-eight-year gestation. This second volume, produced in the much shorter span of seven years, is the inaugural volume of the series' new format, including for the first time extensive use of color illustrations (150 in all) and a much larger (28.5 × 21.5 cm) page size, adopted under the aegis of Yale University Press. Since the Islamic field lacked a textbook of real scholarly standing until the publication of Grabar and Ettinghausen's volume, whose coverage ended at 1250 C.E., the Blair and Bloom work has been anxiously awaited by those who teach courses in the later history of Islamic art.

The reviewer of a significant new textbook for which there has never been a directly comparable competitor is in a peculiar position. On the one hand, this reviewer has taught the material covered in the new volume for twenty-five years without the benefit of a quality textbook and has thus arrived at an individual conception both of the canon of works to be covered and of the weight of emphasis to be given to the various components of this vast field. Inevitably, therefore, the new book is going to disturb where it breaks new ground or disappoint where it does not cover in detail certain treasured parts of my established courses. On the other hand, the very existence of Blair and Bloom's book, whatever its strengths and problems, is a great boon, for teachers and especially for students; gratitude for its existence then automatically influences any appraisal of the work. In addition, the complex logistics of so large a project, the new format and publisher, and the

complexities of the fast-developing Islamic field all mean that many details of text and illustrations require fixing, and the reviewer is always tempted to show his erudition by enumerating these in great detail. To do so would, however, be a grave mistake. Blair and Bloom have undertaken a difficult and in some respects a thankless task—to define the boundaries and parameters of a vast field in which there is little consensus on where those boundaries lie and what those parameters should be. Their effort has been courageous, competent, and—in any fair-minded assessment—remarkably successful. It has also been in many respects quite original, an unusual feature of textbooks that must look for consensus in their potential market: the small group of professors who teach two-semester survey courses in the Islamic field in English-speaking colleges and universities.

To begin with, the book follows the Pelican format: providing a minimum of context and separating discussions of architecture from those of the other arts. Recognizing the thirteenth-century Mongol incursion into the eastern Islamic world as the watershed between the two Pelican volumes, it is organized in the inevitable post-Mongol dynastic and geographic chapters. In greater Iran, the succession of styles follows the Il-Khanids, Timurids, Safavids, and Zands; in Egypt and Syria, the Bahri and Circassian Mamluks; in Spain and the Maghreb, the Hafids, Marinids, Nasrids, Saadians, and Alawites; in Anatolia and southeast Europe, the Beyliks and the Ottomans; in India, the Sultanates, followed by the Mughals and their Deccani contemporaries. Of special interest is the detailed coverage of the art and architecture produced under Üzbek rule in Central Asia, which has to this point not received the attention or emphasis that it deserves. And the final chapter, entitled “The Legacies of Later Islamic Art,” briefly bridges Islamic art and the Western traditions that dominate the U.S. art-historical curriculum—so necessary in this era when many institutions attempt to build multicultural curricula “on the cheap” by requiring that occasional courses in Islamic art be given by any faculty member who once shook the hand of Richard Ettinghausen or audited a course with Oleg Grabar.

In their preface, the authors discuss the limitations of length and format, as well as chronological and geographical coverage, within which they will be working. The rich Islamic artistic heritage of the Balkans, now so dreadfully maimed by high explosives and incendiary shells, and the Islamic traditions of the two largest Islamic countries, Indonesia and Bangla Desh, are therefore not covered, along with the Islamic traditions of western China and sub-Saharan Africa. The decision to end the chronological coverage in 1800 was likewise arbitrary, if necessary. These limitations notwithstanding, the authors have determinedly set their sights on the broadest possible audience, an audience that, molded by conventional art history textbooks, might logically suppose Islamic art to have been a brief episode

spanning a few decades—or was it a few pages?—between the Byzantines and the Barbarian invasions. The rich and vital artistic accomplishments in the Islamic world since 1800 will no doubt await a third incarnation of the Pelican series fifty years hence.

Blair and Bloom were, then, faced at the outset with a conventional, even old-fashioned format as well as a strict set of chronological and geographic limitations. In addition, they were faced with a limited illustrations budget, which no doubt accounts for the large number of architectural photographs without perspective control (also a feature of Islamic Pelican, volume 1). The choice of works discussed and illustrated, while inevitably exhibiting conflicts with my own preferences, is intelligent and inclusive. Unlike Islamic Pelican, volume 1, which omits some admittedly overpublished but nevertheless essential images for teaching, it is hard to fault the selection of works in Islamic Pelican, volume 2, including as it must a large number of “the usual suspects.” It could be argued that the authors’ decision to avoid attaching artists’ names to unsigned miniature paintings (thus imposing a far more rigorous standard than that normally used in publications on European art) regrettably reinforces the outmoded idea of Islamic art as the product of impersonal and anonymous hands. Clearly, Blair and Bloom were not ready to accept across the board the definitions of the artistic oeuvre of major Safavid painters recently made by Stuart Cary Welch, with which this reviewer is for the most part quite comfortable. While the impression thus created may be regretted, the fundamental decision to take a conservative approach to this problem must, I think, be respected; a textbook, especially a pioneering effort such as this one, should not be viewed as defining the outer frontiers of teaching but rather as providing a baseline on which every instructor can build.

Blair and Bloom’s new Pelican text defines and reflects both the quality and the extent of current scholarship on Islamic art; it will thus inevitably draw from specialists in each individual field criticisms as to its choice of works and interpretations. For this reviewer, who wrote his Ph.D. dissertation on the mosque of Rüstem Pasha in Istanbul, the purported illustration of that monument on page 225 bears an astonishing resemblance to the later mosque of Takiçi Ibrahim Aga in the same city. Many such little problems will no doubt be speedily resolved in subsequent printings. Perhaps, should this work proceed to a revised second edition, the authors will have come to the conclusion that the painting entitled *The Nightmare of Zakhak* from Tahmasp’s great *Shahnama* is a quintessential product of the brush of the great Mir Musavvir. Perhaps not. For the moment, these points of difference must be viewed in the perspective of the whole.

Blair and Bloom took up the challenge of writing the first-ever textbook of its type in a vast and fast-developing field. In some areas, they were conservative. In others, they moved beyond the constraints of

convention and caution. Quite often it is easy, especially for the Islamic art specialist, to detect in these pages an implicit or explicit critical point of view; just as often, one imagines that somewhere someone is going to differ, perhaps quite strenuously, with that point of view. But as a result of this book students of Islamic art, and a wider lay public interested in Islamic art, are going to experience this area of study as a living and changing discipline with its own controversies and conflicts. This is the more encompassing truth and the wider aim of good teaching in the field. While continuing to follow the approach to the field I have developed over many years, I will use this volume as a textbook with great pleasure and satisfaction and will continue to find the occasional differences between the authors and myself a source of fertile thought and inquiry, as well as a highly productive dimension of teaching. For the foreseeable future this is the essential introduction to the study of Islamic art since 1250, a satisfying, provocative, and useful work from two able and courageous scholars.

WALTER B. DENNY

The Citadel of Cairo: A New Interpretation of Royal Mamluk Architecture. By Nasser O. Rabbat. 339 pp., 49 figures, 32 plates. Leiden, New York, Koin: E. J. Brill, 1995. \$74.50.

Most tourists visiting the Cairo citadel today enter it from Bab al-Jabal, located at the eastern juncture of the adjoining northern and southern parts of the enclosure. Proceeding through ramps and stairs, they head directly to the nineteenth-century Bijou Palace and the mosque of Muḥammad ʿAli, after whom the citadel has been renamed. A much smaller percentage might visit the well-preserved—though overly restored—mosque of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, which stands, almost incongruously, as the only substantial relic from the long medieval history of the citadel. Almost no visitor ventures to see the recently uncovered remains of the medieval palatial structures; indeed, none is even aware of their existence. So thoroughly was the citadel rebuilt by Muḥammad ʿAli (1805–48) that its entire medieval and Ottoman architectural history has practically disappeared without a trace.

While the book under review is not likely to change the itinerary of the casual visitor, it does present scholars with the first integrated study of the history, topography, and architecture of the citadel during the Ayyubid and early Mamluk periods. The only other comparable study of the Cairo citadel, published almost a century ago by Casanova, forms the main point of departure for the current book. Creswell's thorough and meticulous investigations of the northern Ayyubid enclosure, first published in 1924, are of only tangential interest to this study, which largely focuses on the

southern Mamluk enclosure. But since Casanova's publication, the author tells us, "scores of relevant historical, legal, and archaeological documents have come to light." These and other previously known "documents" are pooled together and thoroughly analyzed in order to produce a lively portrait of the Cairo citadel as the royal, military, administrative, and ceremonial center of the Mamluk sultanate. The reader is aided in this somewhat arduous but always rewarding journey by the author's numerous sketches and measured drawings, whose clarity and consistency create an instant familiarity with the sites discussed.

Rabbat shuns both functional and typological approaches to this complex material in favor of a chronological one that can "best describe the continuous building process that characterized the Citadel's development." One might contest the value of this chronological presentation, particularly since the monuments discussed do not display any kind of formal or stylistic development over time. The fact is, however, that the author is not harnessed by chronology in the same way that Creswell, for example, was but uses it primarily for its organizational value. In effect, the chronological skeleton supports various digressions and expansions of historical, archaeological, and especially etymological themes, the latter representing a *tour-de-force* of literary and philological erudition.

The core of the book is therefore divided into five chapters that reflect the reigns of the sultans most active in the building of the citadel, beginning with Saladin in 1176 and ending with al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in 1341. This historical narrative is introduced by two chapters: the first, "Whence the Citadel," provides an historical account of the fortification of Cairo under the Fatimids and the creation of the citadel under Saladin; the second, entitled "The Citadel Today," attempts a thorough description of the medieval remains in the citadel as they exist today, locating them stratigraphically in relation to the later structures that overlie them. Most notable among these are two superimposed basement levels of cross-vaulted bays located just south of the mosque of Muḥammad ʿAli and a *qāʿa* that was accidentally uncovered in 1985. These structures and others are only described and tentatively identified in this chapter; the full task of their identification and interpretation is left for subsequent chapters.

Chapter 3, "The Ayyubid Sultanate Acquires a New Center," examines the citadel under Saladin as well as his brother and successor al-ʿAdil. This discussion is largely based on textual evidence, since very little remains in the southern enclosure from Ayyubid times and since only a single inscription records the building activity that has taken place. The dearth of Ayyubid inscriptions in the citadel is curious, especially when compared to their sheer abundance in the citadels of Damascus and Aleppo. Furthermore, unlike the citadels and fortifications of Damascus and Aleppo, whose construction was entrusted to a number of amirs, the construction of the Cairo citadel was the sole

prerogative of the sultan, who used Frankish prisoners.

Chapters 4 and 5 deal with the citadel during the reigns of Baybars, Qalāwūn, and al-Ashraf Khalil. These chapters primarily identify the *qā'a* mentioned in chapter 2 as the one founded by al-Ashraf Khalil, hence al-Qā'a al-Ashrafiyya. Rabbat correctly links mosaics in this *qā'a* to a group of early Mamluk mosaics in Damascus and Cairo. But the precedents could have been further extended to Ayyubid mosaic restorations at the Great Mosque of Damascus, some of which show buildings with the same tripartite structure represented at this *qā'a* (Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture* [Oxford, 1952–59], vol. 1, pl. 52d).

Chapters 6 and 7 deal with the citadel during the long but interrupted reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (1310–25 and 1333–41), generally accepted as the most important ruler of the Bahri Mamluk period. Two main palatial foundations—Qaṣr al-Ablaq and Iwān al-Kabīr—occupy the centers of these two chapters, creating platforms for wide-ranging discussions of questions of patronage, ceremonial, and urban politics. Raised on the two cross-vaulted basements discussed in chapter 2, the Qaṣr al-Ablaq (the Striped Palace) is reconstructed by Rabbat as four adjoining *qā'as* that face the *maydān* below. Rabbat notes that *qā'a*-based palaces raised on a basement of cross vaults were quite common among the surviving amiral palaces near the citadel and along *darb al-Aḥmar*. In terms of size and furnishing, these palaces were probably comparable to the sultan's palace—as also in Aleppo. The main difference was location: the Qaṣr al-Ablaq rose from the most privileged part of the city, dominating its largest square.

The Iwān al-Kabīr was first built by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad as a throne hall and as the *dār al-'adl* (court of grievances or tribunal), combining in one structure the public (*'amm*) and private (*khāss*) aspects of an audience hall. This seems to have changed after al-Nāṣir's reign, when public functions shifted to Dār al-Niyāba and the *iwān* was used mainly as a ceremonial throne hall. Fortunately, a plan and some engravings were made of this palace before its accidental destruction in the first decades of the nineteenth century. The plan shows the so-called *iwān* as a shallow basilica with a wide nave that leads to a huge dome. The engravings depict a large squarish structure whose massive upper story is supported by arches resting on gigantic granite columns, walled in on two sides but left freestanding at the main façade and the side facing the *maydān*. Rabbat brilliantly uses this plan and the wealth of textual and documentary information to reconstruct the various ceremonies held at the Iwān al-Kabīr. Making effective use of graphics, he demonstrates the order and arrangement of seating for the sultan, the four judges, the court officials, and the amirs and mamluks. A plan for a private audience with the amirs of the council (*umarā' al-mashūra*) and another for the more public *dār al-'adl* session are proposed, differing mainly in the presence of attendants and petitioners in the latter.

What is mainly lacking in this highly informative discourse is any detailed discussion of the exterior appearance of this palace, which is quite unusual among medieval Islamic palaces, including all those at the citadel. Exposed to view by means of assertively placed columns, it is totally different from the courtyard-centered plans of four-*iwān* or *qā'a*-based palaces, whose exteriors present little more than a blank wall pierced by an elaborate portal. Indeed, not since the palaces at Madinat al-Zahra and not until the freestanding pavilions of the Topkapi Palace do we have an Islamic palace with such plastic qualities.

The main contribution of this book is not architectural but historical and cultural. Although Rabbat conclusively deals with the archaeological remains, their fragmentary nature and—the Iwān al-Kabīr aside—their well-known typology greatly curtail their architectural value. Rather, through these remains, Rabbat recreates the dynastic, ceremonial, and social history of the citadel. Far more than just a chronology of architectural remains, Rabbat's book is an exploration into the very fabric of Mamluk culture, written in the best historicist tradition.

YASSER TABBAÄ

Die Mamlukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien, 2 vols.

By Michael Meinecke. Vol. 1: 243 pp., 155 line drawings, 142 pls.; vol. 2: 576 pp. Glückstadt: Verlag J. J. Augustin GMBH, 1992. DM 490.

In the summer of 1974 I had the good fortune to visit Michael Meinecke in Cairo, where five years earlier he had been appointed to the Deutsches Archäologische Institut.¹ Cairo's Islamic monuments and my meeting with Dr. Meinecke made a lasting impression on me, and the two encounters greatly contributed to my subsequent involvement in Islamic art. I vividly remember a large room in Dr. Meinecke's house surrounded on all four sides by several rows of deep shelves, each with numerous boxes filled with photographs, sketches, and index cards. The thoroughness and detail of the documentation was truly astonishing, even more so since Meinecke's Mamluk project was then still in its beginning stages. In the following years the author would extend his surveys to Syria, Palestine, and southeastern Anatolia, always assisted by his wife Dr. Victoria Meinecke-Berg and a succession of notable scholars and architects, including Dorothee Sack, Heinz Gaube, Crystal Bennett, Michael Burgoyne, and Archibald Walls. The book under review, therefore, represents the culmination of more than two decades of archaeological and art-historical work and forms a landmark in the history of medieval Islamic architecture. It is also the first book to deal with the totality of Mamluk architecture, integrating its somewhat better known Cairene monuments with their lesser known counterparts in Syria and Palestine.

The book consists of two largely independent volumes: the first a chronological examination of Mamluk architecture and the second a catalogue of all standing and destroyed Mamluk monuments in Egypt, Syria, Palestine, and the Jazīra between 1250 and 1517. Overall, the work is remarkable for its comprehensive and systematic approach as well as its meticulous and thorough documentation of the monuments, whether preserved or destroyed. A total of 2,279 building acts are listed in volume 2, and these are divided into three broad classes: 1) 528 new buildings, preserved; 2) 952 new buildings, lost; and 3) 799 acts of restoration, addition, or reconstruction. Each building entry is identified by place, name, dates, and names of founder, building supervisor, and artisans. This is followed by three other headings: relevant primary sources, publication of the inscriptions, and a short bibliography. The index provides an excellent source for the study of Mamluk architecture, the patronage of various sultans and princes, and even Mamluk social and economic history. One only wishes that it also contained topographical information. While it is true that such information is often available in guidebooks, it would have been useful to include it in this gazetteer, along with a few maps of the main cities.

The documentary apparatus is amplified in volume 1 by means of 155 plans and about 575 photographs. All the plans use the same graphic conventions and are drawn throughout to the same scale. This extraordinary accomplishment allows the viewer at one glance to compare the relative size of two or more buildings, such as figs. 17–30 showing four mosques built during the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. But despite this plethora of illustrative material, there is a certain restraint in the graphic documentation, which is totally restricted to plans. There are no sections, elevations, axonometric drawings, details of building parts, or analyses of geometric ornament. Many of these renderings are available in other published sources, and one wonders why the author chose to exclude them from his own publication. There are also no transcribed inscriptions, although volume 2 includes full references to them.

The large number of photographs seems to have required placing them four or five to a plate, a layout that allows easy comparisons of architectural details but seems insufficient for appreciating interior spaces. Photographic quality is generally very good, and there are numerous hitherto unpublished views, especially of vaulting. A few photographs, however, suffer from underexposure (2d, 119b), wide-angle distortion that could have been corrected by a PC lens (6b, 13a), and an overall grayish tone. The photographs attempt to follow the text, so that they do not exhaustively document an entire building but subdivide it into its main formal components, which are then compared to similar features in other monuments.

The eight chapters of volume 1 present a series of concise investigations of most of the standing Mamluk monuments in Cairo and others in the larger Mamluk

domain. Methodologically, this volume may be most favorably compared with Creswell's *Muslim Architecture of Egypt* [Oxford, 1952–59], with its adherence to chronology, its thorough documentation, and its close attention to the formal aspects of architecture. But Creswell's austere plan is here enriched by numerous expansions and digressions, including studies of patronage (e.g., al-Zāhir Baybars); urbanization; typology (e.g., the four-*iwān* mosque); and influence, in particular the connections between the metropolitan center and the regional cities or between Ottoman and Mamluk architecture. While always informative, these digressions do sometimes overburden the chronological formalist apparatus and divert attention from the central themes of the book. But in a sense this is the price that must be paid for attempting a unified approach to the material and not relegating all descriptions to a supplementary catalogue, as some recent studies in Islamic architecture have done.

In terms of content, this volume is rather unevenly divided between Bahri and Burji Mamluk architecture, with the former and better studied period receiving four chapters and the latter only two. Chapter 1 looks at the origins and sources of Mamluk architecture in the first half of the thirteenth century, paying special attention to the local traditions of Syria, Egypt, and the Jazīra. Chapter 2 discusses the earliest Mamluk architecture under al-Zāhir Baybars (1260–77). In addition to discussing Baybars's main architectural monuments in Cairo and Damascus, Meinecke includes important investigations of his defensive works, his improvements of the infrastructure of Syrian and newly conquered Palestinian cities, and his interest in the sacred sites of Syria and Palestine. He also reevaluates the emergence of the Mamluk façade, accurately suggesting that it was derived from the blind arcading of Fatimid monuments (seen today in the Tala'īf mosque of 1165 but most likely a feature of the Fatimid palace itself) and a number of stereotomic features derived from Syria, including the *muqarnas* portal, marble inlay, and banded masonry. Chapter 3 discusses the formation of a Mamluk architectural style under Qalawūn and his successors (1279–1310). Although much of this ground is rather thoroughly covered by Creswell, Meinecke nevertheless succeeds in broadening the horizons of this pivotal period by examining connections with Damascus, Aleppo, and the reconquered crusader cities. These connections are formal (e.g., striped masonry and *muqarnas*) and ideological, in that Qalawūn and his successors and governors seem to be reaching back to significant early Islamic monuments, including the Dome of the Rock and the Great Mosque of Damascus, and even to somewhat archaic architectural forms, such as the square minaret.

Chapters 4 and 5 discuss perhaps the richest phase of Bahri Mamluk architecture, the combined reigns of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (1310–41) and his petty but architecturally significant successors (1341–82). This period is characterized by a decisive return to mosque (as

opposed to *madrassa*) building, particularly for royal patrons. Two main mosque designs were used in this period: the conservative hypostyle mosque, regularized by the orthogonal arrangement of its portals; and the more innovative four-*iwān* type, used for smaller mosques. Despite their modest size, these mosques provide a model for the grand *madrassa* of sultan Hasan and for numerous *madrassas* and mosques built in Damascus and Jerusalem. Southeastern Anatolia, on the other hand, seems only indirectly related to Cairene Mamluk architecture, being more closely linked with the more flexible architectural modes of Aleppo. Indeed, it is to Meinecke's credit that this little-known region of Anatolia and the northern Jazīra (comprising Mardin, Urfa, and Ḥiṣn Kayfā) is for the first time brought into the fold of north Syrian architecture and the larger Mamluk domain.

Chapters 6 and 7 deal with Burji Mamluk (1382–1517) architecture in Egypt and Syria. The monuments of this long period, especially those in Cairo, are characterized by increased size, height, complexity, and exterior decoration. Cairene and Syrian buildings gradually abandon the blind arcading characteristic of Bahri Mamluk façades in favor of glistening surfaces, striped or marble-encrusted, often topped by tall carved masonry domes. While it is generally known that these domes influenced their counterparts in Timurid Central Asia, Meinecke makes a case for their possible impact on Safavid domes as well.

The last chapter discusses the “afterlife” of Mamluk architecture in Cairo, Damascus, and Aleppo under Ottoman rule, convincingly arguing against the generally accepted view that late Mamluk architecture declined and was supplanted by the Ottoman style. The question of decline is easily countered by the late fifteenth-century monuments from the reigns of Qaitbāy and Qānṣūh, whose vibrancy and exceptional clarity represent a new peak in Mamluk architecture. Indeed, as Meinecke argues, the long Mamluk tradition and the wide appeal of its late style firmly resisted its domination by Ottoman architecture. With few notable sixteenth-century exceptions of direct Ottoman patronage (e.g., the Takiyya of Sultan Sulayman in Damascus), the two architectural styles develop independently and do not achieve a lasting synthesis. The Mamluk style reasserts itself between the seventeenth and the nineteenth centuries, forming a provincial and increasingly isolated tradition. According to Meinecke, “[t]he architecture of this long period, which ultimately meets its demise with modern European building ideas, is therefore to be understood less as provincial Ottoman architecture than as the closing phase of Mamluk architectural development” (p. 211).

Overall, volume 1 is more successful in dealing with Egyptian than with Syrian monuments, whose analysis seems substantially, and somewhat uncritically, derived from Herzfeld. For example, the dating by Herzfeld (and now Meinecke) of two Aleppine monuments seems open to question. The first, the so-called minaret al-

Dabbāgha al-ʿAtīqa, is dated by both as Ayyubid but is more likely an archaizing Mamluk minaret like the many Meinecke discusses (pl. 41 a–d). The second is the *bīmāristān* al-Kāmīlī, where again Herzfeld has argued for an Ayyubid date for the portal and the large court and a mid-fourteenth-century date for the remainder of the hospital. But despite Meinecke's shrewd comparison of this court to that of the Ayyubid *madrassa* al-ʿAdimiyya, no textual or archaeological evidence supports an Ayyubid phase in this building.

Somewhat more problematic are the near absence of conclusions at the end of each chapter and the lack of a comprehensive evaluation of the major monuments of the period. A case in point is the *madrassa* of Sultan Hasan, believed by many to be the most important Mamluk monument. This, I feel, could have been an occasion to go beyond formal analysis and fine points of influence into a broader investigation of the building's unusual exterior form, its highly original plan, and the peculiar circumstances of its patronage. Could the prevailing sociocultural events provide a deeper understanding of the formal innovations in this monument? Might the isolation of the four colleges in the corners of the cross and the rise of the central courtyard as a purely geometric space be related to power relations between the Mamluk state and the *ʿulamāʾ*? These questions are clearly and justifiably beyond the scope of the current book, but their future investigation will undoubtedly benefit from this significant publication.

Others, more knowledgeable in specific areas, may raise other objections. But they remain minor and do not detract from the exceptional accomplishment of this important book. In it Dr. Meinecke has laid out the foundations and the interpretive tools for more specific studies of this period.

Note

1. This review was completed several months before Professor Meinecke's untimely death in December 1994. With his passing the world of Islamic art has lost an outstanding scholar and a fine colleague.

YASSER TABBAA

Arab Social Life in the Middle Ages: An Illustrated Study. By Shirley Guthrie. 229 pages. London: Saqi Books, 1995. £45.

This book is a sociological study of the illustrations in manuscripts of al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt*. The text, often translated as “sessions,” “seances,” or “assemblies,” is a literary form of rhymed prose that came into fashion in the tenth century. The most popular version was compiled by ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Qāsim b. ʿAlī al-Ḥarīrī (1054–1122). In its fifty “sessions” the narrator, an

honest, intellectually inclined merchant named al-Ḥārith b. Hammām, describes his adventures traveling through the Arab world with the eloquent, wily vagabond Abū Zayd al-Sarūjī, who dazzles his audience with clever speeches, which mix puns, puzzles, moralizing elements, worldly wisdom, humor, and topical references. Its rich vocabulary, perfectly rhymed prose, and literary finesse made the work a continuing favorite, known through hundreds of surviving manuscripts. Such a verbal *tour-de-force* was basically an unsuitable topic for illustration, yet an illustrative tradition flourished in spurts for some century and a half in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in the Arab Near East.

Dr. Guthrie examines the illustrations to six manuscripts of al-Ḥārīrī's work. Although she does not tell us so, the six are the first illustrated copies to survive, all dated or datable to the first half of the thirteenth century. They range in quality and style and are usually assigned to different centers. Illustrations in two of them mention the reigning 'Abbasid caliph, and several are attributed to Baghdad, the capital of the 'Abbasid caliphate. Others are assigned elsewhere, either Syria or northern Mesopotamia around Mosul. None bears the name of a patron or owner, and it is often assumed, though unproven, that these manuscripts were made for sale on the open market to the urban bourgeoisie. Much of this groundwork was put forward by Oleg Grabar in *The Illustrations of the Maqamat* (Chicago, 1984), the primary study that tried to answer the puzzling question of why illustrated copies of this fundamentally unillustratable text were so popular in medieval times.

It is important to understand this background because it sets the stage for Dr. Guthrie's investigation of these illustrations as visual evidence for seven different aspects of medieval Islamic life: religion, the judiciary and ruling class, trade, urban life, rural life, women, and Arab hospitality. She selects an idea, object, or topic that is illustrated in a particular story or stories, translates the text around the miniatures, and sets the paintings in the context of the stories. She then adds information from translations of contemporary texts, such as Hilāl al-Ṣābi's *Rules and Regulations of the Abbasid Court* (trans. E. A. Salem, Beirut, 1977). In discussing one aspect of urban life, the library (pp. 113–18), for example, Dr. Guthrie illustrates the scene from the well-known Schefer manuscript showing a library in Basra. After summarizing the text, she identifies the figures and then moves on to the architectural setting, including the niches and books, adding such supplementary information as the borrowing privileges and costs encountered by the thirteenth-century geographer al-Yāqūt in a library in Merv. This method assumes that each painting is a specific and accurate depiction of a distinct entity rather than a general type—an assumption that is far from proven.

This book is most valuable for its anecdotal data. The section about childbirth (pp. 156–63), for example, includes notes about talismans, medicine, and

astrology as well as a discussion of illustrations from other Islamic manuscripts showing midwives, mothers, and infants. The section on a virtuous wife (pp. 152–56) contains a discussion of *muqarnas*, the serried tiers of niches that are said to be a hallmark of Islamic architecture and are depicted in the painting of the deserted wife and child (illustration 15).

Unfortunately, getting at the information in this study is almost impossible, for the index contains only proper names, and the reader cannot look up a subject. Nor is it easy to flip through the book and pick things out from the plates and figures, for the illustrations are dim and sometimes irritatingly cropped. Here help is at hand for at least one manuscript, the relatively poorly published St. Petersburg manuscript, which was recently exhibited at the Metropolitan Museum. The accompanying catalogue, *Pages of Perfection: Islamic Paintings and Calligraphy from the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg* (Lugano, 1995), contains superb color plates of sixteen illustrated pages from it, and they supply the visual world that engendered Dr. Guthrie's study.

SHEILA BLAIR

Burmese Crafts: Past and Present. By Sylvia Fraser-Lu. 371 + xiv pp., 64 color illustrations, 294 black and white, 60 line drawings, maps, bibliography. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1994. \$150.

Michael Symes observed on his first mission to the Court of Ava in 1795 that the Burmese were "naturally frugal and disinclined to luxury" but that they "seem to apply their superfluous wealth" to the lavish gilding of their monuments. It is a pity that this British envoy didn't have Sylvia Fraser-Lu's new book in his hands, for he could have discovered where the remainder of the country's wealth was spent. Indeed, handicrafts continue to play a major role in Burmese society, and this recent publication introduces us into this largely unknown world.

As Burma, or present-day Myanmar, inches irrevocably along the path to modernity, its rich traditional arts are increasingly in peril. Not only do changing lifestyles endanger Burmese handicrafts, but the fragile social organization providing the continuity of craft traditions is in flux. In the early 1950s craft production was in the hands of approximately 10 percent of the population, a figure surely in steady decline. Another threat stems from the tourist industry, since traditional objects are all too frequently altered to suit foreign tastes. Yet another danger is state dominance of craft cooperatives; production quotas stress quantity over quality, and the vital relationship between producer and consumer no longer exists. Such trends occurred long ago in neighboring Thailand and are probably an inevitable component in each developing nation's chaotic

race toward modernity. The gaudy baseball caps ornamented in hideous imitation *kalaga* embroidery are harbingers of worse to come. In light of these threats to handicrafts, Sylvia Fraser-Lu's comprehensive documentation of Burmese traditional arts is therefore a timely business.

The author's contributions have appeared for nearly two decades—regularly, for example, in *Arts of Asia* and in her *Burmese Lacquerware* (1985). This hefty and handsome volume by Oxford University Press not only reflects much of her previous writing but also contains a tremendous amount of new and provocative material. Its wealth of information and analysis, the generous number of rich color as well as black and white photographs and line drawings ensure that it will rank as an instant "classic."

While it emphasizes crafts of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, much of the book is devoted to tracing the ancient precedents for each of the arts. The chapter on ceramics, for example, opens with neolithic pottery, then ranges over such diverse topics as Pagan votive plaques, glazed *jātaka* tiles, clay pipes, and contemporary wares from the Shan States and Lower Burma. Likewise, the chapter entitled "The Temple and Pagoda: Arts of Brick, Stone, Stucco, and Tempera" encompasses, among other topics, Hindu-Buddhist cosmology and the sculpture, architecture, and painting from the Pyu period (ca. second through ninth centuries A.D.) to the nineteenth century. Other chapters treat wood and ivory, metalwork, precious metals and jewelry, lacquerware, textiles, and objects fashioned from palm and bamboo. In every instance, the origins of each craft are sought in the art of ancient Burma. In theory this approach is commendable, inasmuch as the surviving crafts naturally reflect an ongoing development over centuries. On the other hand, such a wide focus diminishes the attention given to recent handicrafts and their immediate antecedents in the modern era. In effect, because of its inclusiveness the book summarizes virtually the entire record of the Burmese visual arts. One wonders, however, whether the net has not been cast too widely and whether perhaps there is simply too much material to fit comfortably between the covers of a single book. References to ancient Burma are necessary, but briefer and more selective examples might have sharpened the focus on crafts.

Also, such diverse material perhaps requires a few introductory remarks to define the complex role of handicrafts in traditional societies, and in Burma specifically. For example, all members of society (from royalty to peasants) relied on hand-crafted ritual and utilitarian objects, but the function of these objects in any given group can only be understood if the social context is supplied. With such a conceptual background in place, diverse objects from various periods could more purposefully appear within a single chapter. All studies devoted to Southeast Asian crafts face the same conceptual question. A recent book on Thai handicrafts,

for example, devoted one chapter solely to objects intended for court ceremonies (W. Warren and L. Tetttoni, *Art and Crafts of Thailand* [London, 1994]). Such an approach links together the major ritual and utilitarian objects produced for the court, allowing the reader to form a clear idea about how each type of object relates to the other in a unified context.

Burmese sources referring to crafts are rare before the Restored Taung-ngu dynasty (A.D. 1597–1752) but surprisingly common in documents surviving from the Kon-baung period (A.D. 1753–1885). The immense *Royal Orders of Burma* alone furnishes abundant detail concerning workshop organization, recruitment to ateliers, and patronage among all levels of Burmese society (U Than Tun, ed. and trans., 1983–90). A summary of such information in the introduction would also have been a useful aid in understanding handicrafts in their broader social framework. Moreover, the *Royal Orders* contain quite detailed information on crafts and building—even the number of mold-made bricks an able-bodied man was expected to produce in a single day.

Each chapter contains a valuable section discussing specific production techniques. In most cases, the process is illustrated with didactic, step-by-step photographs collected by the author in actual workshops. The important stages in bronze casting, for example, are demonstrated in four carefully selected photographs, accompanied by informative captions and further explanations in the text. Other photographs are devoted to wood and ivory carving, sheet metal working, weaving, and potting. The creation of various types of lacquerware is illustrated in thirteen photographs. These "behind-the-scenes" images reflect the author's extensive travels within Burma and greatly enhance the value of the book.

The twenty-one-page bibliography is a model of comprehensiveness and an unequaled tool for those pursuing the study of handicrafts, especially since many of the listings are in somewhat obscure Burmese publications. A glossary of Burmese words and a single appendix listing the chronology of Burmese dynasties are also useful. A small number of minor errors have crept into the text, but in a volume this size a handful of editorial lapses are probably inescapable (for example, on page viii, "1907" should be "1971," and the Pyu gold plates on page 280 are upside down).

This book fills an enormous gap in our knowledge of Burmese handicrafts. Indeed, it stands alone in its broad coverage of Burma's major craft traditions. The author has generously dedicated the book to "the craftsmen of Burma, both past and present. . . . Long may they continue to serve and delight us with their skill and creativity." After completing Sylvia Fraser-Lu's rich and sympathetic survey of Burmese handicrafts, the reader shares the hope expressed in the book's dedication.

DONALD M. STADTNER

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XXVII

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THE DEPARTMENT OF THE HISTORY OF ART
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

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UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Volume 27 1997

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ISSN 0571-1371
Printed in the United States of America
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University of Michigan

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FORM, CONTENT, AND AUDIENCE: A COMMON THEME IN PAINTING AND WOODBLOCK-PRINTED BOOKS OF THE MING DYNASTY

By SCARLETT JANG

IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE MING DYNASTY (1368–1644), one extremely popular type of story told of poor scholars who, despite tremendous hardship and adversity, eventually obtained high government office by passing the civil service examination. Not only were these stories depicted in painting, but they also appeared in popular theater and woodblock-printed materials, such as illustrated *xiqu wenxue* 戲曲文學 (theater literature) and *qimengshu* 啟蒙書, elementary instructional books for children, issued by commercial publishing houses for the general public.¹

These stories crossed social boundaries and drew readers or audiences from different socioeconomic groups within the same society. While intended primarily to entertain, they also served a didactic function, revealing the desire of the Confucian professionals who wrote them to teach Confucian virtues or to control social behavior. Some of these works were intended to promote certain moral and political ideologies among the Confucian elite group itself. In addition, these stories reflect the desire of the general public for upward social mobility, a desire encouraged by practices for recruiting government officials in the second half of the Ming dynasty. These stories were adapted for their various intended readers or audiences through pictorial and literary means calculated to suit these different purposes and tastes.

In this study I compare the form, content, and intended readers or audiences for some of these stories as depicted in painting and woodblock-printed musical plays. I place the unprecedented appeal of these stories in its socioeconomic and political contexts. Through careful pictorial and literary analyses I also identify different groups of readers or audiences and the intended purposes of these stories in order to illuminate the complex issue of who read this sort of widely circulated material in the Ming dynasty.

To permit a detailed analysis, I have chosen, in addition to the play *The Story of Shang Lu Who Won Three Zhuangyuan* 狀元 (Shang Lu Sanyuan ji 商輅三元記), only four illustrated popular musical plays published during the Wanli era (1573–1619) and a set of four paintings by Xie Shichen

謝時臣 (1487–ca. 1560). This selection is made for two reasons. First, the subjects depicted in the four paintings were drawn from the four plays: *A Thousand Pieces of Gold* (*Qianjin ji* 千金記), *The Broken Kiln* (*Poyao ji* 破窯記), *The Golden Seal* (*Jinyin ji* 金印記), and *The Story of Zhu Maichen, the Woodcutter, and the Fisherman in the Midst of Wind and Snow*; hereafter *The Story of Zhu Maichen* (*Zhu Maichen fengxue yuqiao ji* 朱買臣風雪漁樵記). Second, the four plays and the set of four paintings were more or less contemporaneous, thus ensuring a meaningful comparison.

Selection of Government Officials

Generally speaking, Ming government officials were selected through recommendations, the civil service examination, government-sponsored schools, and the *yin* 蔭 system, which secured positions for sons and other relatives of high-ranking officials.² The salience of each means of selection varied, however, in different periods and under different political circumstances.

In order to staff the newly established government expeditiously, the imperial court during the reign of the first Ming emperor Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋 (1368–98) relied heavily on the Imperial Academy, whose students automatically became eligible for government posts upon graduation.³ In addition, Emperor Zhu Yuanzhang made it a duty of officials of all levels to recommend scholars worthy of public office.⁴ The policy of recommending worthy Confucian scholars for government offices—first implemented in the Han dynasty (202 B.C.–A.D. 220) but largely neglected during the Mongol Yuan dynasty (1279–1368) preceding the Ming—carried both moral and political overtones. A ruler was considered enlightened if he was willing to use men of talent and virtue, regardless of their family and educational background, for the sake of the state. Moreover, by emphasizing this time-honored Confucian government institution, Zhu Yuanzhang—a former monk and bandit-turned-emperor whom many Confucian scholars of his time disdained—could appear as an enlightened ruler and thus hope to



FIG. 1. Dai Jin (1388–1462), *Fishing by the Wei River*, hanging scroll, ink and light colors on silk, 139.6 × 75.4 cm. Courtesy National Palace Museum, Taipei (*diao* 239.96).

gain the support of the literati, the backbone of imperial China's bureaucracy. During Zhu's reign, the majority of scholars rose to official prominence through such recommendations.

The civil service examination system was established in 1373 and abolished three years later. Although the examinations were reinstated in 1384, the recommendation policy was still practiced.⁵ During the subsequent Jianwen and Yongle eras (1399–1424), many prominent court officials were recruited through recommendation—among them the grand secretary Yang Shiqi 楊士奇 (1365–1444) and the chief editor of the *Veritable Records of Ming Taizu* (*Taizu shilu* 太祖實錄) Chen Ji 陳濟 (1364–1424).

During the reign of Emperor Xuanzong 宣宗 (r. 1426–35), the recommendation policy

declined in importance, apparently because scholars took greater pride in entering officialdom by taking the civil service examination. Afraid of losing the political and ideological efficacy of the recommendation policy, the emperor sent special envoys throughout the country to search for candidates worthy of recommendation. Yet few scholars responded, the majority preferring to take the civil service examination.⁶ It was precisely because of this setback that Emperor Xuanzong presented his court officials with his own writings, including "The Song of Summoning the Recluses" ("Zhaoyin ge" 召隱歌), which promulgated his ideal of bringing virtuous scholars out of seclusion into government service through recommendations—behavior that qualified him as an enlightened ruler. He also presented a high-ranking court official with one of his own paintings depicting Zhuge Liang 朱葛亮 in seclusion; Zhuge had eventually responded to the imperial summons to serve in the Shu court during the Three Kingdoms period (222–65).⁷

Under these political circumstances and with Xuanzong's advocacy, paintings depicting the theme of imperial invitations to worthy recluses to serve in the government gained unprecedented popularity (see, for example, fig. 1). These paintings were, as I have demonstrated elsewhere, presented to the emperor as well as to court officials, reflecting the Ming imperial court's political emphasis on selecting government officials through recommendations.⁸

Some time during the Zhengtong era (1436–49), the imperial court was advised to abolish the recommendation policy, which by then existed virtually in name only.⁹ Although the court did not agree, from the late fifteenth century onward, the civil service examination became the most important channel for selection of government officials. This shift may be explained by the perceived or actual favoritism played out in the recommendation policy. A popular expression of the time best reflects this political trend: "Those who are not *jinshi* 進士 [doctorates selected by the civil service examination] are not able to enter the Hanlin Academy. Those who have not served in the Hanlin Academy can never become members of the Secretariat."¹⁰ In other words, without the *jinshi* degree, one could not expect to obtain the highest government positions.

The Ming civil service examination system was modeled after those of the Han and Tang dynasties, with one fundamental difference: its total integration with the public school system.¹¹ As early as 1369, Zhu Yuanzhang ordered that a

school be set up in every prefecture and county across the nation. Additional schools were also established for the headquarters of a number of military garrisons during the first half of the fifteenth century. By 1450, there were approximately 1,300 such schools.

In the Ming, entrance to the civil service examination was limited to those with student status (the lowest level being *shengyuan* 生員), and those who wished to take the examination had to achieve that status by first passing the entrance examination of a government-run school. Clearly, Ming public schools were designed to feed not only the Imperial Academy but also candidates for the civil service examination.

In the Ming, students enrolled in public schools received free board and monthly government stipends and were also exempted from mandatory government labor. Poor families that sent their sons to the public schools were immediately rewarded with lightened financial burdens. In addition, education brought the sons of poor families the prospect of entering officialdom. Well-to-do families of the artisan and merchant classes, for centuries at the bottom of the Chinese social hierarchy, were especially enthusiastic about sending their sons to public schools, for these young men could eventually raise a family's social status by entering officialdom. From the beginning of the sixteenth century until the very end of the Ming dynasty, the number of students enrolled in public schools increased steadily.

It is fair to say that, for the first time in Chinese history, Ming dynasty public schools were linked to the civil service examination system with the general public in mind, regardless of family background.¹² In Ming society the public's desire for upward mobility was systematically supported and encouraged by the state, and this mobility was achieved on an unprecedented scale. From the late fifteenth century onward, many high-ranking court officials rose to official prominence through these two systems. For instance, Wu Kuan 吳寬 (1435–1504), the well-known calligrapher and art collector who came from an artisan family, became *jinshi* in 1472. Li Dongyang 李東陽 (1475–1531), who became grand secretary in 1495, came from a low-ranking military family. The renowned art collector and patron Wang Daokun 汪道昆 (1525–93), son of a Huizhou salt merchant, won the *jinshi* degree in 1547.

These two systems—recommendation and civil service examination—used by the Ming imperial court to select government officials, as well as the sociopolitical context of these systems, provide

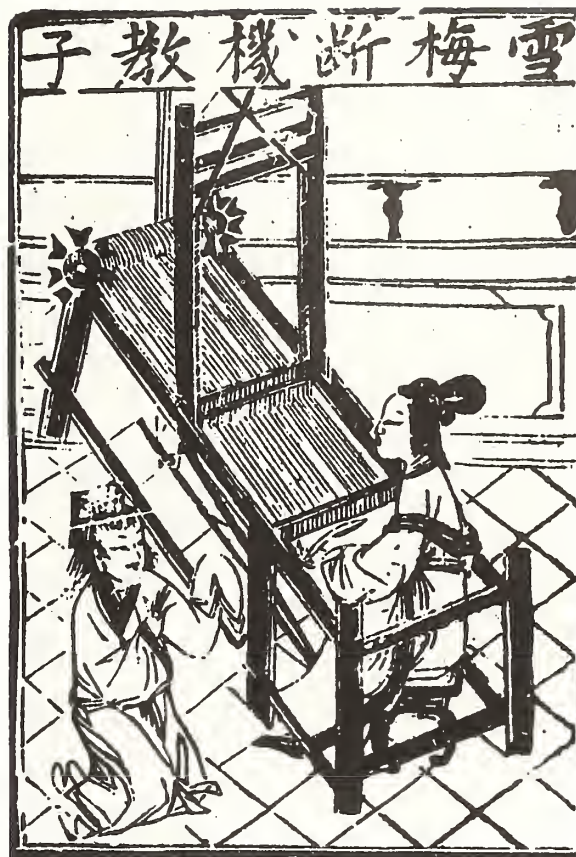


FIG. 2. *Xuemei Admonishing Her Son by Cutting off the Weaving*, woodblock print, ink on paper, 19 × 13 cm. Illustration from *Shang Lu Sanyuan ji* published by Fuchuntang.

important background for the visual materials to be considered next.

The Story of Shang Lu Who Won Three Zhuangyuan

Shang Lu 商輅 (1414–86), senior grand secretary from 1475 to 1477, was the only person in the Ming dynasty to win the highest grade in all three levels of the civil service examination (provincial, metropolitan, and palace). He appeared as a major character in *The Story of Shang Lu Who Won Three Zhuangyuan* (*Shang Lu Sanyuan ji*), a *chuanqi* 傳奇 play written by a now-unknown playwright and popular during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹³

Figures 2, 3, and 4 are illustrations from the *Shang Lu Sanyuan ji* published during the Wanli era by Fuchuntang 富春堂, a renowned commercial publishing house in Nanjing. Figure 2 depicts Shang Lu's mother Xuemei 雪梅 admonishing him not to give up his studies midway; by cutting her unfinished weaving from the loom, she demonstrates that something incomplete is useless.¹⁴



FIG. 3. *Shang Lu Leaving Home to Take the Examination*, woodblock print, ink on paper, 19 × 13 cm. Illustration from *Shang Lu Sanyuan ji* published by Fuchuntang.



FIG. 4. *Shang Lu Returning Home with Honor*, woodblock print, ink on paper, 19 × 13 cm. Illustration from *Shang Lu Sanyuan ji* published by Fuchuntang.



FIG. 5 continued.

In this illustration, Shang Lu kneels on the floor in front of his mother, who is seated at her loom, apparently giving him the admonition. Although Shang Lu's mother is not shown cutting the weaving, the caption at the top of the picture, which reads, "Xuemei admonishing her son by cutting the weaving," makes the subject of the picture clear. Figure 3 shows Shang Lu kneeling in a courtyard bidding farewell to his mother—who is accompanied by another woman, perhaps a maid—before leaving home to take the civil service examination, as indicated by the caption. In figure 4, Shang Lu, now in official attire, and his mother kneel in front of a tablet on a table; the tablet reads "Long live the emperor." With the tablet symbolizing the imperial presence, an imperial envoy standing to their left is reading an imperial edict that confers honorific official titles on Shang Lu's mother and ancestors. Interestingly, the caption at the top of the picture reads, "Returning home with honors, [Shang Lu] unites with the family." This is not, however, an arbitrary incident: the emperor usually conferred titles on family members when the successful candidate returned home with full official recognition.

These pictures from *Shang Lu Sanyuan ji*, as well as figure 12, discussed below, exhibit some pictorial features commonly seen in prints produced by Fuchuntang during the early part of the Wanli era: the relatively large, stocky human figures; the bold, unembellished line carving; the emphasis on black-

and-white contrast; the use of black areas of ink to describe the hat, hair, collar, edges of clothes, and wall; and the inclusion of a caption in a rectangular box at the top of the picture frame.¹⁵

In *Shang Lu Sanyuan ji*, the author invented many biographical details about Shang Lu and his family as well as adding supernatural and Buddhist cause-and-effect anecdotes to the story-line. Apparently these additions were literary devices intended to make Shang Lu's success story seem more interesting, more entertaining. To its readers, *Shang Lu Sanyuan ji* was not fiction but reality, for they knew of many similar real-life success stories. Moreover, while being entertained, they were encouraged and reassured that officialdom was within the reach of anyone who became educated and studied hard for the civil service examination.

In the Ming, the well-designed public school system and the civil service examination led to a sense of unprecedented optimism among people of all classes. Although the civil service examination was highly competitive and the journey to officialdom long, many members of the public zealously pursued the most gratifying reward of education, that is, entering officialdom. Public enthusiasm about the civil service is also vividly illustrated in a section of a handscroll by Qiu Ying 仇英 (1494–ca. 1552) entitled *Guanbang tu* 觀榜圖 (Reading the examination results on the bulletin board), now in the Palace Museum, Taipei (fig. 5). This section shows a large crowd gathering in

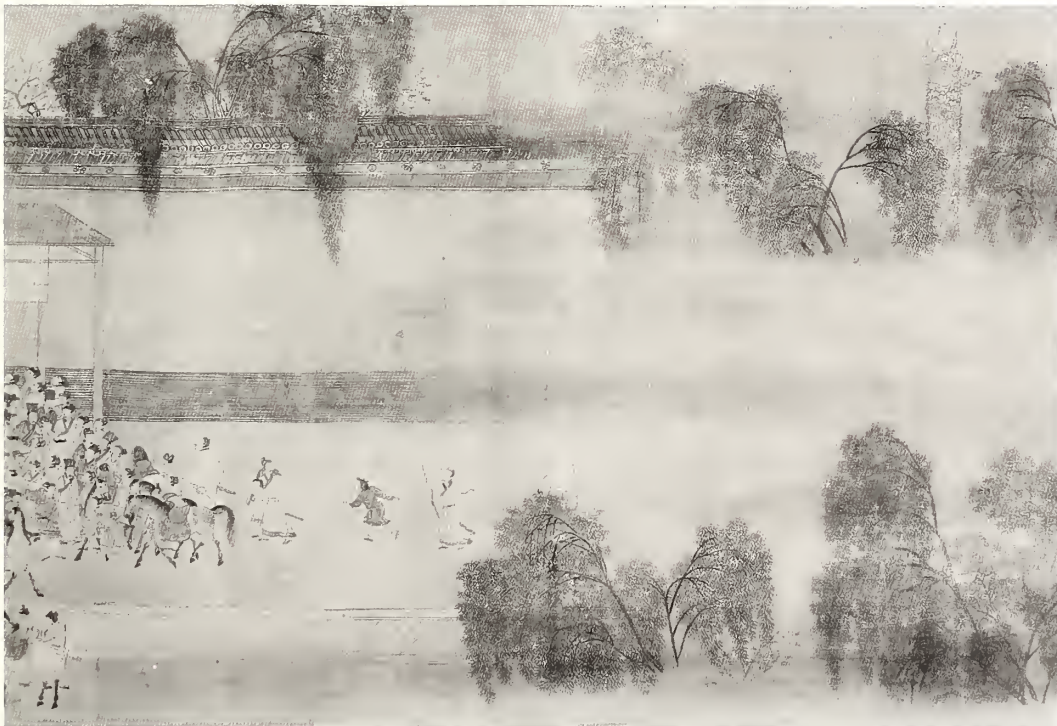


FIG. 5. Qiu Ying, *Guanbang tu*, handscroll, ink and colors on silk, 34.4 × 63.8 cm. Courtesy National Palace Museum, Taipei (mh-125).

front of a long horizontal roofed bulletin board just outside the imperial palace complex. Names of those who have passed the civil service examination are posted on the board. The crowdedness, the tilted heads of those who are close to the bulletin board, and several small groups of people engaging in animated conversations suggest an air of eagerness and anxiety. To the far left, supported by two servants, a distressed middle-aged candidate, or father of a candidate, walks away from the crowd, apparently suffering from disappointment.

Before discussing the visual and literary materials further, I will briefly contrast the court-inspired paintings (such as fig. 1) on the theme of worthy scholar-recluses being recruited to serve in the court through the recommendation system and the popular musical plays concerning men of ability and perseverance succeeding in officialdom through the examination system. The former were largely commissioned by and circulated in court circles during the first half of the Ming dynasty, while the latter were largely published by commercial publishing houses and primarily targeted the general public during the second half of the same period. The former were typically used in court circles as political rhetoric to display the imperial court's virtue in selecting officials through the time-honored recommendation system, while the latter encouraged the general public's upward social mobility through the examination. The former spoke of the Ming emperor's concern for projecting a favorable image as an enlightened ruler, while the latter emphasized the Confucian virtue of bringing honor to one's family and the attainment of worldly gains—fame, power, and wealth—that came with office-holding. Clearly, the motivations behind these two groups of works were quite different; they reflected the very different mentalities and ideologies of the ruling house and the ruled masses.

A Thousand Pieces of Gold

The *chuanqi* *A Thousand Pieces of Gold* centers on the story-cycle of Han Xin 韓信 of the Han dynasty. Stories related to Han Xin became popular in the Yuan (1279–1368). They appeared in such dramas as the *Huaiyin ji* 淮陰記 (The story of Marquis Huaiyin), *Han Gaozu ku Han Xin* 漢高祖哭韓信 (Emperor Gaozu crying over Han Xin), and *Han Xin qishi* 韓信乞食 (Han Xin beg-

ging for food),¹⁶ and they remained popular in the theater of the Ming dynasty.

A Thousand Pieces of Gold was written by Shen Cai 沈采 of the Ming, about whom little is known. It relates that, as a young scholar, Han Xin was unable to find suitable employment because, although he had high aspirations, he did not work hard to prepare himself for success. He was therefore poor and unable to support his family. Village youngsters often bullied him. One day, suffering from hunger, he went fishing, and there by the river he encountered an old woman washing clothes. Seeing the hungry Han Xin, the old woman invited him to her house and provided him with meals for several days. Moved, Han Xin promised that when he became successful, he would repay her hospitality with a thousand pieces of gold. The old woman replied that she did not expect any repayment but would like to see him find a way to establish himself. Inspired, Han Xin then studied very hard. He first passed the exam and was enlisted in the army of the Chu state, but there his talent was not properly used. He later went to the Han state and came to the attention of Liu Bang 劉邦, the future Emperor Gaozu 高祖 (r. 200–195 B.C.) of the Han dynasty. Han Xin's many successful campaigns against Liu Bang's opponent Xiang Yu 項羽 won him the title duke of Qi 齊侯. He later returned home with honors, reunited with his wife, forgave those who had bullied him in the past, and as he had promised, brought with him a thousand pieces of gold to repay the old woman's hospitality.

Several editions of *A Thousand Pieces of Gold* were published during the Ming dynasty.¹⁷ The edition discussed here, published during the Wanli era by Fuchuntang, includes fifty acts, and twenty-seven full-page illustrations accompany the text. The Han Xin story as told in this edition is based on the biography of Han Xin and other related material recorded in the *Shiji* 史記 by Sima Qian 司馬遷 of the Han. But the play incorporates a great many details or anecdotes not found in any official or historical records. For instance, Han Xin's wife plays a substantial role in *A Thousand Pieces of Gold*, even though she is nowhere to be found in the historical records. Stories involving her may have been drawn from popular material about Han Xin transmitted orally from early times.

According to the *Shiji*, Han Xin was finally beheaded by Empress Lü 呂后 [Liu Bang's wife] after his plot to overthrow Liu Bang was exposed. Having learned about the death of Han Xin, Liu

Bang, though tearful in public, was privately elated because he had long worried about a possible coup initiated by his military generals.¹⁸

A Thousand Pieces of Gold, however, ends with the episode in which Han Xin returns to his hometown with honors after being made duke of Qi. This ending was apparently meant to emphasize the positive and eliminate such negative elements as disloyalty to one's emperor through usurpation. Moreover, in developing his main characters the writer avoided qualities opposed in Confucian teachings, such as disloyalty, malevolence, and unrighteousness. Instead, he not only invented a virtuous wife for Han Xin but also emphasized that the traditional Confucian virtues found in his character, such as perseverance, forgiveness, keeping one's promise, and bravery, will in the end prevail. More important, *A Thousand Pieces of Gold* stresses that Han Xin's diligent studying was the key to his success in officialdom. A strong moralistic, didactic Confucian tone is apparent throughout the textual narrative of *A Thousand Pieces of Gold*, especially in the four-line poem that concludes each act. One example is the poem at the end of act 48, written in a colloquial fashion and resembling the ballads often issued by Buddhist temples to exhort people to good deeds:

One day he acquired a high position and wealth,
Bringing honors to his family.
How unbearable to hear about the tremendous adversity he had experienced.
But let those bygones be bygones, and
Forgive others when there is room for forgiveness.¹⁹

Aspects of the textual narrative suggest that the intended readers of *A Thousand Pieces of Gold* and other similar plays were not the highly educated cultural elite but rather the general public. The lengthy *binbai* 賓白 (dialogues) employ a simple, colloquial diction to elucidate the more abstruse arias, which are written in classical language.²⁰ The arias, sung mainly by the major characters of the story in the theatrical form of the *chuanqi*, often allude to classical literature, and they are used almost exclusively to describe the main characters' deepest thoughts and innermost feelings. *Binbai* help the reader better understand the characters. Considerable repetition of or elaboration upon some subthemes also assures that readers can follow the development of the story-line. In addition, the author of *A Thousand Pieces of Gold* devoted one-third of the play to the military campaigns or adventures of the



FIG. 6. *The Old Washerwoman Encountering Han Xin by the River*, woodblock print, ink on paper, 19 × 13 cm.
Illustration from *Qianjin ji* published by Fuchuntang.

contenders for the throne at the end of the Qin (221–206 B.C.). This action-oriented play was apparently intended to appeal to general audiences.²¹ Finally, the play is extremely didactic, with strong Confucian overtones—a kind of instructional entertainment directed at the general public, including moderately or functionally literate artisans, peasants, and merchants, shopkeepers, students of varying levels, *yamen* (衙門) functionaries, and household servants, as well as literate female members of government officials' families.²²

Episodes in *A Thousand Pieces of Gold* are selectively illustrated, with only one picture for each act. Figure 6, which accompanies act 6, illustrates the encounter between Han Xin and the washerwoman by the river. Compared to figures 2, 3, 4, and 12, this picture, also produced by Fuchuntang, displays finer, quieter, more fluid line drawing as well as thinner, more elegant-looking human figures.²³ It retains, however, many of the characteristics of Fuchuntang prints:

the relatively large human figures placed in the immediate foreground; the use of black areas of ink to denote hat, collar, and shoes; the caption in the rectangular box at the top of the picture frame; and the flatness of the composition. Although the designer attempted to enliven the illustration by adding birds in the sky and under the willow tree, the whole composition remains static, with little or no attempt to create a sense of three-dimensional space.²⁴

The minimalist pictorial approach may result from such considerations as, first, reducing the cost by devoting less time to carving. Second, the landscape elements are pushed into the background and drawn only in outline in order to keep the viewer's attention focused on the figurative narrative. Presumably these devices worked effectively for the majority of readers, who were not visually trained to absorb complicated, ambiguous pictorial representations. These simpler pictorial devices contrast strikingly with those adopted by Xie Shichen in his figures-in-landscape type of painting depicting the same episode, to be discussed shortly.

Interestingly, the way Han Xin puts both his hands in his sleeves is reminiscent of a theatrical mannerism common in Chinese opera. As a matter of fact, theatrical stage settings may have provided the woodblock illustrators with not only gestures but also ideas for their simplified, abstract compositions.²⁵ One case in point is figure 4, which appears to borrow from the theater such elements as the composition of the figure group, the stage props (i.e., the table and the tablet on it), the way the imperial envoy spreads out the imperial edict when he reads, and the way the figures kneel in front of the tablet while the imperial edict is being read.

Although figure 6 is visually simple, and although the caption reading "The old laundress encountering Han Xin by the river" identifies the episode depicted, first-time readers not acquainted with the story might not understand the picture without the aid of the text. The old woman's left hand points to the left and behind her—an ambiguous gesture. We know from the story that she is inviting Han Xin to her home for a meal, but it would be possible to infer from this image that Han Xin was asking directions. A full understanding of the picture, therefore, requires a reading of the corresponding narrative. The acts of reading the text and seeing the illustrations, carried out at approximately the same time, are



FIG. 7. Xie Shichen, *Providing the Young Man with a Meal*, hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk, 185.2 × 94.8 cm.

From a set of four paintings titled *Sijie tu*, dated 1551.

Courtesy Seikado Art Museum, Tokyo.

therefore complementary. The pictures reinforce and, to a certain degree, verify for the readers the key events narrated in the text, while the narrative clarifies the meaning of the illustrations.

To see how the same subject is treated in painting, we turn to *Providing the Young Man with a Meal* (Wangsun²⁶ Yifan 王孫一飯; fig. 7), the third in the set of four large hanging scrolls entitled *Four Superior Men* (*Sijie tu* 四傑圖) painted in 1551 by Xie Shichen, a professional painter working in the Suzhou area.²⁷ These four paintings illustrate four stories of poor scholars who succeeded in entering officialdom through the civil service examination; the four painted narratives are set,

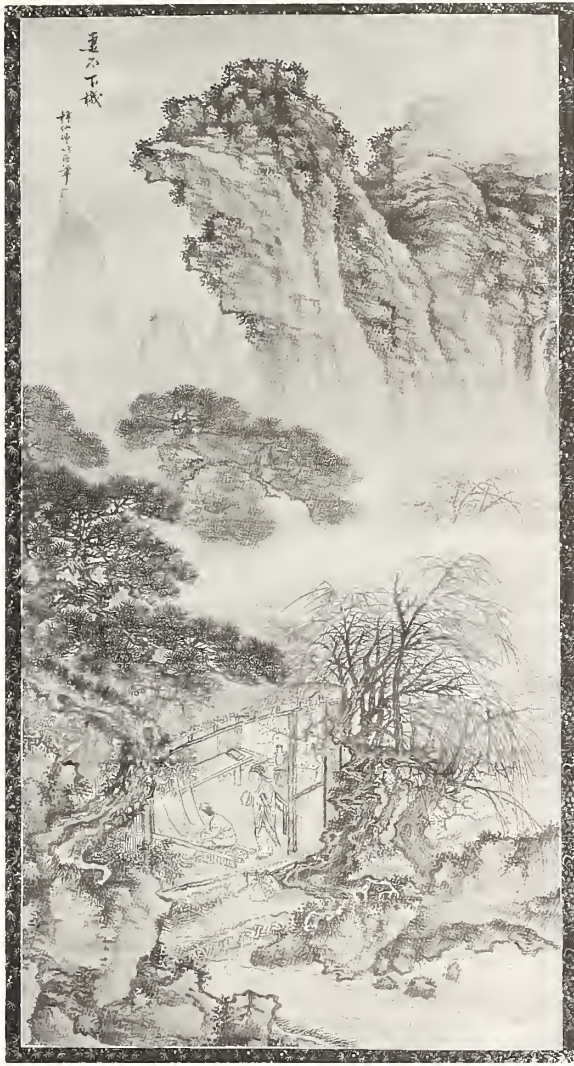


FIG. 8. Xie Shichen, *The Wife Refuses to Remove Herself from the Weaving Loom*, hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk, 185.2 × 94.8 cm. From a set of four paintings titled *Sijie tu*, dated 1551. Courtesy Seikado Art Museum, Tokyo.



FIG. 9. Xie Shichen, *Carrying the Faggots and Returning Home Late*, hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk, 185.2 × 94.8 cm. From a set of four paintings titled *Sijie tu*, dated 1551. Courtesy Seikado Art Museum, Tokyo.

respectively, in spring, summer, autumn, and winter landscapes. Each bears Xie's signature, seals, and the title of the painting. The fourth painting bears Xie's inscription: "In August of the *xin hai* 辛亥 year [1551], the 31st year of the Jiajing era, Xie Shichen of Gusu 姑蘇 depicted the stories of four superior men in four seasonal landscapes."

The subject of the painting *Providing the Young Man with a Meal* is found in Han Xin's official biography as well as in the popular theater of the time, but the subjects depicted in the three other paintings are not found in the official records about the three historical figures. They are drawn,

instead, exclusively from dramas about the three men popular since the Yuan dynasty.

The first painting in the set is titled *The Wife Refuses to Remove Herself from the Weaving Loom* (*Qibuxiaji* 妻不下機; fig. 8). The subject, taken from the popular story-cycle of Su Qin 蘇秦 of the Warring States period (480–221 B.C.), is represented in a spring landscape. The subject of the second painting *Carrying the Faggots and Returning Home Late* (*Heqiao quiwan* 荷樵歸晚; fig. 9), set in a summer landscape, is taken from the popular stories about Zhu Maichen 朱買臣 of the Han dynasty. The third (fig. 7) depicts the encounter of Han Xin and the old washer woman in an autumn

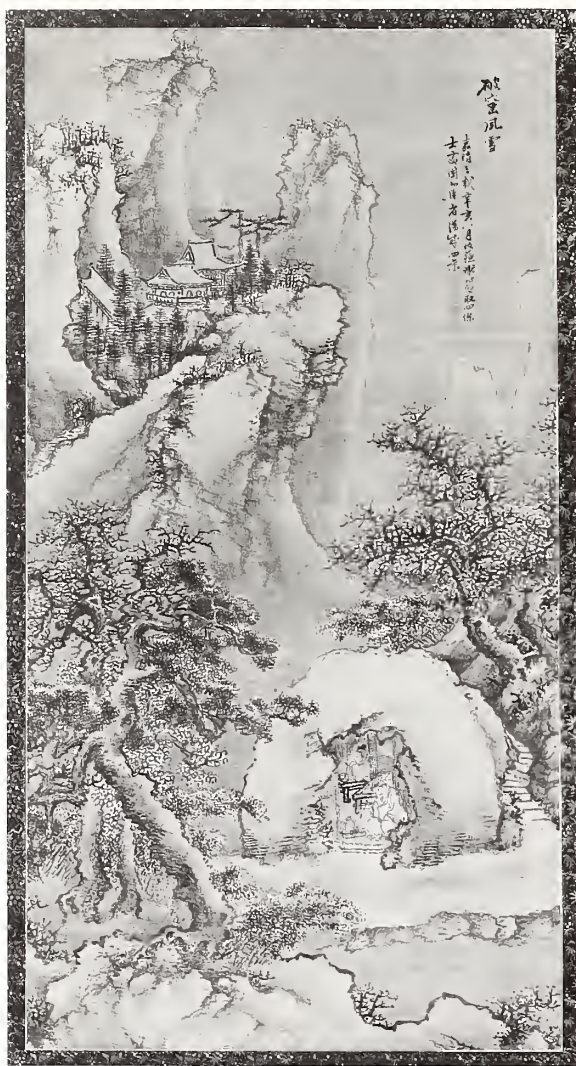


FIG. 10a. Xie Shichen, *The Broken Cave amid Wind and Snow*, hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk, 185.2 × 98.4 cm.
From a set of four paintings titled *Sijie tu*, dated 1551.
Courtesy Seikado Art Museum, Tokyo.



FIG. 10b. Detail of fig. 10a.

landscape. The subject of the last painting, *The Broken Cave amid Wind and Snow* (*Poyao fengxue* 破窑風雪; fig. 10a), taken from the popular story-cycle of Lü Mengzheng 呂蒙正 (946–1011), is set in a wintry landscape.²⁸

Providing the Young Man with a Meal (fig. 7) shows Xie Shichen's stylistic mannerisms in the rather heavy-handed outlines and modeling of the tree trunks and rocks, yet the painting is surprisingly spacious and neat in composition. Absent is the usual crowded, flat picture plane in which landscape elements accumulate layer upon layer, a mannerism especially prominent in Xie's large paintings.²⁹ In this painting, a pair of figures is placed in the center of the foreground.

Han Xin, the figure on the right seated on the river bank, is eating from a bowl with a pair of chopsticks, while the washerwoman, carrying a bamboo basket, looks on. Han Xin's fishing pole lies next to him by the river bank. While the woodblock print on the same theme shown in figure 6 follows the textual narrative of Han Xin's encounter with the washerwoman, Xie's painting conveys more literally the old washerwoman's provision of meals, depicting Han Xin eating not in the woman's house as described in the story but by the river bank.

Although the human figures are the focus of the composition, Xie reduces their scale and instead lets the landscape elements take over the pictorial surface. Xie is interested not only in telling a story but, perhaps even more, in showing off his painting skills and his familiarity with established artistic idioms and landscape painting styles. In this painting the foreground and the far-distant mountains are separated by a vast area of water. The composition is reminiscent of the Yuan "hills beyond a river" mode, while the handling of the distant hills with rounded alum rocks on the mountain tops and the moss dots in saturated dark ink calls to mind the Dong-Ju 董巨 (Dong Yuan 董源 and Juran 巨然 of the Five Dynasties, 907–60) idiom.

Xie's interest in showing off his technical versatility is immediately more recognizable when all four paintings in the set are viewed together, as they are meant to be. Their sequence by season allows the artist to exhibit the range of his artistic skills in rendering different aspects of nature in great detail and capturing the unique atmosphere of each season or of a specific time of day in a particular season—summer evening, for instance, in the case of the second painting. Only visually more sophisticated viewers could respond to such effects. By this I mean that in order to appreciate Xie's eclectic, detailed approach to painting, viewers had to be both more visually engaged with the painting and more familiar with the artistic language, conventions, and styles of Chinese landscape painting.

By contrast, the stark minimalist rendering of the same theme in the woodblock illustration shown in figure 6 requires of its viewers nothing of this sort. Its function is to illustrate simply and directly the human drama already told in the textual narrative; its goal is to ensure that the viewer easily understand the drama without the interference of landscape details and atmospheric effects, which are often superfluous to the story-line.

The Broken Kiln

The woodblock print entitled *Settling Down at the Broken Kiln* (*Poyao juzhi* 破窑居止; fig. 11) is from the play *The Broken Kiln*, published by the Chen Hanchu 陳含初 publishing house in Jianyang 建陽, Fujian during the Wanli era.³⁰ This print and the painting *The Broken Cave amid Wind and Snow* (fig. 10a), based on popular stories of Lǔ Mengzheng, demonstrate the different modes of representation in print and painting.

Lǔ Mengzheng, a historical figure, lived during the Northern Song period (960–1127). According to the *Songshi* 宋史, Lǔ Mengzheng's father, a court official, did not get along with Lǔ Mengzheng's mother, who was therefore sent away. Mengzheng went with her, and the two lived in great poverty. Mengzheng won the *jinshi* degree of the first grade in 977 and was later appointed prime minister.³¹ The *Songshi* records no more than this about Mengzheng's life before he became *jinshi*. Beginning in the late eleventh century and the early twelfth century, however, Mengzheng assumed semilegendary status. Many stories about him, colored by supernatural and superstitious details, were fabricated or borrowed



FIG. 11. *Settling Down at the Broken Kiln*, woodblock print, ink on paper, 20 × 12 cm. Illustration from the *Poyao ji* published by the Chen Hanchu publishing house.

from stories related to earlier historical figures. They are scattered in many of the *biji* 筆記 anecdotes recorded in miscellaneous notes by Song writers.³² Some were first adopted into the popular drama of the Yuan, and they became favorite subjects in Ming dynasty plays.³³

According to the Chen Hanchu edition, Mengzheng's father and grandfather were court officials, who, since they were honest and upright, did not accumulate wealth while in office. One day, after failing the spring examination held in the capital, Mengzheng and his friend found themselves in a crowd at an ornamented pavilion near the residence of the prime minister, whom they had earlier learned was about to choose a husband for his daughter. Whoever caught the embroidered silk ball tossed by his daughter from the pavilion would become the prime minister's son-in-law. Looking at the well-dressed, hopeful young men around him, Mengzheng felt acutely his situation as a poor, jobless young scholar. Assuming that the prime minister's daughter would not notice him, he retreated from the crowd to a quiet corner by



FIG. 12. *Seeing the Kiln, the Lady Sighs to Herself*, woodblock print, ink on paper, 19 × 12.5 cm. Illustration from *Poyao ji* published by Fuchuntang. Courtesy the British Museum (O.R.81.d.2).

the railings of the pavilion. But the daughter spotted him immediately and recognized that the scholarly-looking Mengzheng was the one who had appeared to her in a dream the previous night. She knew from the dream that Mengzheng would someday have a successful official career, and she therefore tossed him the silk ball.

The prime minister was reluctant to marry his daughter to the impoverished Mengzheng but finally agreed at his daughter's insistence. Yet the young couple was driven away from the prime minister's residence. While they were staying at an inn, their valuable belongings were stolen, and they had no choice but to return to Mengzheng's hometown, where they lived in a broken kiln.

While studying hard to prepare himself for the next examination, Mengzheng often went to the residences of several wealthy families and to the Mulan 木蘭 monastery nearby to beg for food. As time went by, the monks of the monastery became annoyed by his constant begging, so they decided to strike the evening bell after they had

finished their meal instead of before. One day when Mengzheng arrived, the monks had already finished eating, and there were no leftovers. Moreover, the monks ridiculed and humiliated him. A few years later, Mengzheng passed the examination, winning *jinshi* of the first grade. He and his wife then revisited the broken kiln and the monastery and forgave the monks. They also forgave the prime minister, and the whole family lived happily ever after.

Like *A Thousand Pieces of Gold*, *The Broken Kiln* stresses the point that those who studied hard would be rewarded with high government positions. It also emphasizes the hardships that Mengzheng and his wife experienced, the traditional Confucian virtues they displayed, and the happy ending. Moreover, although this play is not action-oriented, its lack of historicity and some of its supernatural elements speak strongly of its popular nature.³⁴ For instance, the capital of the Northern Song during Mengzheng's lifetime was Kaifeng, not Loyang, as proposed in the text.

As in *A Thousand Pieces of Gold*, the *binbai* of *The Broken Kiln* use colloquial diction as well as repetitions and elaborations of some subthemes in the narrative. At the end of each act is a four-line poem.

A special feature of *The Broken Kiln* is the commentary that appears on the upper margins of the printed text pages. It was made by the grand secretary of the time, Li Zhi 李贄 (*jinshi* 1583), from Fujian. Apparently, the Chen Hanchu publishing house in Fujian asked him to provide this commentary in hopes that association with such a prestigious name would promote sales.³⁵ The book also contains, at the end of each act, a kind of glossary of abstruse words, phrases, and allusions from classics and history. The glossaries include Li Zhi's notes on pronunciation and definitions of these words and allusions. The need for such glossaries attests to the popular nature of the play; they were obviously intended to help general readers better understand the textual narrative.³⁶

The Broken Kiln has twenty-nine acts but only eight illustrations, each of them full-page. *Settling Down at the Broken Kiln* (fig. 11) is the only illustration of act 9, which describes the couple's adventures after leaving the prime minister's house to settle in a deserted kiln in the wilderness, ten miles from the capital. According to the narrative, Mengzheng's wife could not help but feel sad upon seeing the broken kiln in such a desolate environment, while Mengzheng felt deeply ashamed of bringing misfortune to his wife.

The picture shows a kiln made of brick, its exterior plastered with mud, under a willow tree by a river. The drooping willow branches, the mists or clouds encircling the tree, and the churning water add a romantic atmosphere to the composition, one quite different from the sorrowful, desolate scene described in the text. In the picture Mengzheng, while pointing at the kiln, looks over his shoulder toward his wife, who, like him, appears to be smiling. They seem to be engaging in a leisurely stroll to appreciate the riverside scenery. The pictorial representation entirely contradicts not only the atmosphere of the scene but also the psychological states of the protagonists described in the corresponding passages in act 9.

Interestingly, the Lǚ Mengzheng stories found in the *biji* by Song writers maintain that Mengzheng probably lived in a deserted cave, very likely one associated with a certain Buddhist temple near Longmen, outside Loyang.³⁷ But in illustrations to this particular act (e.g., fig. 12) from various Ming editions of *The Broken Kiln* a brick kiln is always depicted.³⁸ The discrepancy between what is probably meant in the Song *biji* and what is described in Ming *chuanqi* arises from the word *yao* 窑, which could mean either “cave” or “kiln.” The former is an old, obscure usage, while the latter was and still is a common one. The use of the commonly understood meaning of *yao* in *The Broken Kiln* further indicates the play’s popular nature.

Figure 13, *The Broken Kiln Revisited* (*Youguan poyao* 游觀破窑), illustrates a passage in act 27 in which the couple revisits the broken kiln after Mengzheng has won the *jinshi* degree. Except for the addition of an attendant and a parasol (symbol of officialdom), the depiction and the placement of the human figures and the landscape elements are almost the same as in figure 11. To judge from extant visual material, during the Ming pictorial designs were commonly repeated within a single woodblock-printed book of popular theater literature, especially if the book was published by a commercial bookstore.³⁹ This repetition may reflect a lack of artistic imagination on the part of the artisan designers/carvers, who probably often used or consulted pre-existing sketches in their workshops. It could also result from economic considerations on the part of the publishers. Simplicity of composition and repetition in design of the illustrations saved time. And saving time meant saving money.

The Broken Cave amid Wind and Snow (fig. 10a), the last painting from the set of four by Xie Shichen, depicts the episode *Luozhai konghui*



FIG. 13. *The Broken Kiln Revisited*, woodblock print, ink on paper, 20 × 12 cm. Illustration from *Poyao ji* published by the Chen Hanchu bookstore.

羅齋空回 (Returning from the monastery empty-handed). This incident is not found in the official and more orthodox accounts of Lǚ’s life but is narrated in act 15 of the *chuanqi* *The Broken Kiln* published by the Chen Hanchu publishing house in Jianyang, Fujian.⁴⁰ Act 15 of the Chen Hanchu edition relates that, leaving the Mulan monastery hungry and humiliated, Mengzheng braved the strong wind and heavy snow to return to his dwelling. There he unsuccessfully tried to make a fire in a brazier. Dismayed, he composed this poem:

Nine of the ten doors of the rich and influential have
been shut to me,
Braving the wind and covered by snow, I returned
home.
Arriving home, I am ashamed to face my wife.
I tried the whole night to make a fire in the icy brazier,
Instead, I only made my face dusty.⁴¹

This painting by Xie (fig. 10a) depicts, in the frozen, snow-covered land, a group of temple buildings surrounded by pine trees in the far-distant mountain valley in the upper left of the composition. These buildings are probably meant to represent the Mulan monastery mentioned in the text. In the center of the middle-ground by a mountain path is a cave (fig. 10b). Inside, Mengzheng is seated on the ground in front of a brazier with a pair of long sticks in his right hand. His wife, seated at a table, hides both hands in her sleeves. Her pensive look echoes that of Mengzheng, who, with his head lowered, seems to carry a tremendous burden. The simple, crude furniture inside the cave, the frozen landscape, and the couple's appearance speak of the hardships they have suffered and of their helplessness. Unlike the designer/carver of *The Broken Kiln* illustrations, Xie in this painting has used pictorial devices that effectively convey the psychological state of the couple and the atmosphere of the scene.

Notably, while Xie's pictorial rendering of this episode remains faithful to the general atmosphere of the wintry scenery and the psychological state of the protagonists described in the text, he chooses to depict a cave instead of a kiln. This may indicate that Xie was familiar with the Lǔ Mengzheng story recorded in the Song dynasty *biji*. Judging from the inscriptions Xie wrote on his paintings, he had a better than average education in the classics. Unlike the anonymous artisan designers/carvers of the woodblock print illustrations discussed here, Xie belonged to a group of well-educated professional painters of the Ming, which included such artists as Wu Wei 吳偉 (1459–1508), Tang Yin 唐寅 (1470–1524), and Chen Hongshou 陳洪綬 (1598–1652), among others.

The Golden Seal

The *chuangqi* *The Golden Seal* was written by Su Fuzhi 蘇復之 (fl. 1475), about whom little is known. It concerns the success of Su Qin, a poor scholar who lived during the Warring States period (480–222 B.C.).⁴²

The Golden Seal discussed here, an edition annotated by Luo Maodeng 羅懋登 of the Ming and published during the Wanli era,⁴³ contains four chapters, forty-two acts, and twelve illustrations. According to the narrative, Su Qin came from a family that had previously produced some government officials. Although Su Qin, a Confucian

scholar, had a wide range of learning, he was unable to find employment due to the prevailing militarism of the era. Members of his family ridiculed his interest in pursuing a career in officialdom.

When the Qin state publicly announced its recruitment of talented men, Su Qin, encouraged by a supportive uncle, decided to try his luck. With money from his wife, who pawned her jewelry, and from his uncle, Su Qin set out for the Qin court, where he was interviewed by the prime minister Shang Yang 商鞅. Unfortunately, his insightful proposal of ten thousand words on state policies aroused Shang Yang's jealousy, and he was dismissed.

Returning home penniless and in tatters, Su Qin was assailed by his family. Angry, humiliated, and disappointed, he tried to commit suicide but was prevented by his uncle, who took him in. From that point on, Su Qin studied even harder. So that he would not fall asleep while studying, he would hold an awl on his thigh. Whenever he began to nod, the awl would prick his thigh as his body fell forward.

A year later, Su Qin responded to the Wei state's recruitment of able men. Impressed with his proposal to unite the six states against the Qin, the Wei court entrusted Su Qin with the task of persuading the five other states to go along with this plan. He succeeded and was made chief of the joint staff of the six states. He later returned home in glory and forgave his family.

On the upper margin of the printed text of *The Golden Seal* are notes on the pronunciation of rarely used words, and at the end of each act is a list of abstruse words or allusions from the classics and history with the annotator's explanations. Each of the twelve illustrations in *The Golden Seal* is conceived on two facing pages, and each demonstrates the designer's interest in creating illusionistic effects of space, depth, and three-dimensionality. For instance, in figure 14, which depicts Su Qin bidding farewell to his parents upon his departure for the Qin court, a sense of spaciousness and depth is suggested by the strong vertical and diagonal arrangement of the architectural elements and the grouping of the human figures. The rocks and mountains depicted on the wall or standing screen behind the seated figures are shaded with numerous dots to create certain effects of three-dimensionality and solidity, a technique borrowed from painting. The slender human figures, who are differentiated by their ages and who interact with a certain animation, are

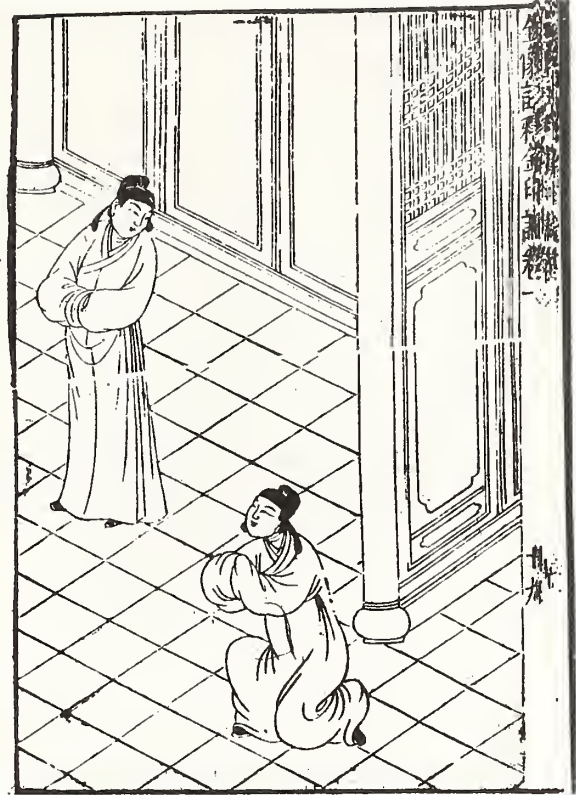


FIG. 14. *Bidding Farewell to the Parents*, woodblock print, ink on paper, 21 × 14 cm.
Illustration from *Jin ji* published during the Wanli era.

relatively in proportion to the background setting. The line drawing is fine and fluid. In these regards, the illustrations in *The Golden Seal* depart from the more primitive-looking prints in *Shang Lu Sanyuan ji*, *A Thousand Pieces of Gold*, and *The Broken Kiln* (figs. 2–4 and figs. 11–13).⁴⁴ It is also worth noting that the link to the theater mentioned earlier is again evident in the gestures and postures of the human figures and in the way seated human figures are placed in front of a wall or a standing screen that is removed from the immediate foreground, a common feature on the theater stage.

The subject of the painting *The Wife Refuses to Remove Herself from the Weaving Loom* (fig. 8) by Xie Shichen is also found in a passage from act 16 entitled “Humiliated and Ridiculed by the Whole Family” (“Yijia chixiao” 一家恥笑) of *The Golden Seal*. This act, which does not have an accompanying illustration, relates that when Su Qin returned home from the Qin court without an official appointment, his father not only called him names but tried to beat him. His brother wanted him out of the house immediately. His sister-in-law refused to serve him food. His wife,

for fear of being scolded by other family members, refused to leave the loom to greet him.⁴⁵ This passage is not found in the biography of Su Qin in the *Shiji*.

Xie represents the subject of Su Qin’s wife not leaving her loom in a spring landscape. He depicts a simply constructed and barely furnished house by a stream, set off a little from the center foreground and sheltered by old pine trees on the left and willows on the right. Within, Su Qin, having just arrived, greets his wife with hands folded in front of his chest, while his wife concentrates on weaving, as if unaware of his presence. Outside the house, a stack of books in a cloth wrapper lies by the roadside. Although Xie wrote the title of this painting in the upper left corner, only those familiar with the analogous incident narrated in *The Golden Seal* would be able to appreciate the scene depicted.

Again, like the painting *Providing the Young Man with a Meal*, the painting *The Wife Refuses to Remove Herself from the Weaving Loom* exhibits a mixture of stylistic sources—in this case, from the Zhe and Wu painting schools. The painter more or less divides the composition into three large

units: the distant mountain masses, the pines with rocks, and the willows with rocks; all appear to be on the same picture plane. This manner of composition is reminiscent of paintings by such Zhe school artists as Dai Jin 戴進 (1388–1462) and Wu Wei. On the other hand, Xie, like Shen Zhou 沈周 (1426–1509), applies rich, dark ink dots to describe the vegetation and grass growing on the mountains and rocks. The spring season is wonderfully suggested by the mists that obscure the bottom of the mountains and part of the rejuvenating willow trees, as well as by the rushing water. While this composition focuses on human drama, much of Xie's effort is channeled into displaying his skills as a landscapist. Not only does the homecoming scene present many fewer people than does the text, but the spring scenery also greatly softens the human emotion ignited by the sudden return of the penniless Su Qin, which is so poignantly recounted in the text.

The Story of Zhu Maichen

The popular *zaju* *The Story of Zhu Maichen*⁴⁶ and its illustrations (figs. 15 and 16) appear in the *Yuanquxuan* 元曲選, an anthology of selected plays of the Yuan dynasty that catered to a group of select literati readers. Pictorial and literary analyses, as well as a consideration of the economics of its publication, can help identify its readers or audience.

The *Yuanquxuan* was compiled, edited, and published by Zang Maoxun 臧懋循 (*jinshi* 1580) and was first printed in 1615 and 1616.⁴⁷ The play *The Story of Zhu Maichen* was originally written by a now-unknown Yuan playwright and remained popular in the Ming. Generally speaking, the texts of Yuan plays reprinted in the Ming were heavily edited. Not only were the *binbai* changed to reflect contemporary speech, but some plots were also altered by Ming playwrights or actors in theater troupes to suit their special purposes.⁴⁸ The works collected in the *Yuanquxuan* are no exception.⁴⁹ *The Story of Zhu Maichen* is therefore treated here as a Ming work.

A detailed discussion of this play and its illustrations is best undertaken in the context of the *Yuanquxuan* as a whole. Several characteristics of this anthology point to its intended readers. First, the publication of the *Yuanquxuan* was funded solely by the editor/compiler Zang Maoxun, who admitted that he had some difficulty paying the printing costs.⁵⁰ Limited funds meant limited

copies for circulation, which in turn meant limited readership.⁵¹ Second, the second of the twenty-six volumes of the series contains highly specialized theoretical essays by Yuan and Ming scholars on the *qu* 曲 plays. The inclusion of these essays suggests that this series was intended for a small group of readers who were not only interested in reading plays but were probably involved with writing, editing, or directing them.⁵² Third, 224 pictures were made for the 100 plays in the series. But instead of being placed near the relevant passages in the text, these pictures are all collected in the first volume of the series, which also contains Zang's prefaces and a table of contents. Their physical removal from the corresponding passages suggests that the pictures no longer served to complement the narrative, as do the prints from *A Thousand Pieces of Gold*, *The Broken Kiln*, and *The Golden Seal*. In addition, the pictorial designer claims that many of the pictures in the *Yuanquxuan* are modeled after the styles of such renowned painters as Wu Daozi 吳道子 (active ca. 710–60), Jing Hao 荆浩 (active at the end of the ninth and the first half of the tenth centuries), Wen Tong 文同 (d. 1079), Li Gonglin 李公麟 (1049–1106), Xia Gui 夏圭 (active first half of the thirteenth century), and Wu Zhen 吳鎮 (1280–1354). Those familiar with these artists' styles or styles associated with them will immediately recognize that the majority of these claims are groundless, but that is beside the point. Rather, in making art-historical references, the designer tried to appeal to readers familiar with these names and with the painting conventions associated with them. Finally, the list of abstruse words and allusions commonly appended at the end of each act in popular plays is absent. The editor must have felt that such lists were unnecessary. All these features indicate that this anthology was intended for a select group of scholars who were interested not only in musical plays but also in the theoretical aspects of the plays, as well as having some knowledge of Chinese painting conventions.

Within the *Yuanquxuan* the play *The Story of Zhu Maichen* relates that on a snowy, stormy day, Zhu Maichen had met with his friends, the woodcutter Wang and the fisherman Yang. On his way home, he encountered the official Yan Zhu 嚴助, who had been sent by the imperial court to search for talented men. Zhu presented Yan Zhu with his essay of ten thousand words on state policies. Impressed, Yan Zhu promised that he would make a recommendation to the court, and Zhu



FIG. 15. *Situ Yen Recommended [Zhu Maichen to the Court] with an Essay of a Thousand Words*, woodblock print, ink on paper, 20.8 × 14 cm. Illustration from *Zhu Maichen fengxue yuqiao ji* in *Yuanquxuan* edited by Zang Maoxun.



FIG. 16. *The Story of Zhu Maichen, the Woodcutter, and the Fisherman in the Midst of Wind and Snow*, woodblock print, ink on paper, 20.8 × 14 cm. Illustration from *Zhu Maichen fengxue yuqiao ji* in *Yuanquxuan* edited by Zang Maoxun.

was expected to take the spring examination in the following year to secure an official position. Zhu's father-in-law had long been worried that Zhu did not actively pursue an official career because he did not want to leave his beautiful wife. He therefore instructed his daughter to divorce Zhu. When spring came, Zhu Maichen, with money given him by the woodcutter Wang, went to the capital to take the examination. He was later appointed prefect of Kuaiji 會稽.

Hearing of Zhu Maichen's return, now with a high position, the father-in-law brought his daughter to see him, hoping that he would take her back. Zhu refused. He ordered his former wife to pour a basin of water on the ground, then told her that only when she had collected every drop of the water back into the basin would he take her back. At this juncture, the woodcutter Wang revealed to Zhu that the money he had

given him was in fact from the father-in-law and that the father-in-law had instructed his daughter to get divorced in order to make Zhu leave home to pursue a career in officialdom. Moved, Zhu showed his gratitude to his father-in-law and reunited with his wife.

Some plays in the *Yuanquxuan* have four full-page pictures, but the majority, like *The Story of Zhu Maichen*, have only two. Figure 15 depicts the encounter between Zhu and the official Yan Zhu on a river bank. Yan Zhu, accompanied by two attendants and a horse, is reading Zhu's essay. Zhu, standing in front of Yan Zhu in a respectful manner, seems to be waiting for Yan Zhu's response. Zhu's identity as a wood-gatherer is indicated by the sheath at his waist and a carrying pole on the ground by his feet. Figure 16 shows the mounted Zhu, now an official, watching his wife pouring a basin of water on the ground.

Human figures and their activities dominate the composition of both pictures, while landscape elements are minimal. Both employ the typical Southern Song one-corner mode of composition by way of some Zhe school masters. Each picture is divided diagonally. The foreground half is a bit more populated, containing human figures, an animal, and some landscape elements, while the other half has fewer pictorial elements, and these are horizontally oriented. Moreover, in figure 15, the compositional pairing of the imperial emissary and the talented recluse in the wilderness was adopted from paintings by many early Ming Zhe school artists (e.g., fig. 1) depicting imperial invitations to worthy recluses to serve in government.

In each of the two pictures, writing appears in a rectangular box in the upper right corner. The inscription of figure 15 reads: "Situ 司徒 Yen recommended [Zhu Maichen to the court] with an essay of ten thousand words." That of figure 16 reads: "The story of Prefect Zhu, the woodcutter, and the fisherman in the midst of wind and snow." Both phrases are taken directly from those appended to the end of the play and refer, respectively, to the play's theme and its title. It was common practice for theater troupes to paste such phrases onto the theater walls or columns as well as announcing at other public places the themes and titles of the plays to be performed.⁵³ The placement of these two pictures, together with others, right after the table of contents in the first volume of the *Yuanquxuan*, far from the text, suggests that they no longer illustrate the play but serve to announce its presentation in one of the subsequent volumes. The relation between text and image in this case is thus quite different from the complementary relation developed in *A Thousand Pieces of Gold* and *The Broken Kiln*, in which text and image are located close together.

The lower left corner of figure 16 has another line of writing claiming that this picture is after the style of Lu Zonggui 魯宗貴, apparently in an attempt to enhance its merit. Lu was a Southern Song (1127–1279) court painter who specialized in animal and bird-and-flower painting, not landscape—thus rendering this claim somewhat absurd. Yet this line of writing establishes the designer's awareness of what had become a common practice by the sixteenth century: the painter acknowledging in writing on his painting the model or style that inspired it. This practice was meaningful only to audiences that were also familiar with the names of ancient masters

and some painting conventions. In other words, this picture was made with select literati audiences in mind. This and the adoption of some stylistic and iconographic elements from Zhe school paintings, as shown in figure 15, set these two pictures apart from figures 6, 11, and 13, whose primary readers or audiences were the general public.

The visual simplicity of the illustrations in the *Yuanquxuan* is undoubtedly connected, as already discussed, with the limited funds for publishing the series. More important, the prints' less elaborate composition and less detailed pictorial elements exactly fulfilled the viewers' expectations of woodblock prints in general—expectations very different from those of painting, since prints and painting belong to separate picture-making traditions.

According to *The Story of Zhu Maichen*, after his encounter with Yan Zhu, Zhu Maichen arrived home late in the evening. His wife at first refused to open the door for him. She then forced him to sign a divorce paper. In the end, she drove him from home in the midst of a snowstorm. The textual narrative of this incident, which dominates act 3, is full of abusive language and emotional tension. These aspects of the incident and the treacherous weather mentioned in the text are absent in Xie Shichen's painting *Carrying the Faggots and Returning Home Late* (fig. 9). In this painting, Zhu Maichen, having unloaded the faggots from his shoulders, knocks on the door on a moonlit summer evening. His wife, holding a candle in her hand, approaches the door from inside. The rushing water in the foreground, the luxuriant trees and grass, the clear full moon, the drifting mists, the evening crows in the trees, and the scudding clouds describe a romantic summer-evening atmosphere. The narrative depicted here looks almost like a perfect family scene, in which the wife patiently awaits her husband and greets him with delight when he comes home from work. The romantic, idealized evening scene recalls the painting *Returning Home Late from a Spring Outing* by Dai Jin.⁵⁴ By contrast, the text describes a highly dramatic, emotionally charged incident played out on a bitterly cold, snowy evening.

To make a set of four seasonal landscapes (figs. 7–10a), Xie Shichen here ignored the season and weather conditions mentioned in the text. His departure from the textual narrative suggests that the popular stories he depicted served merely as a pretext for displaying his skills as a landscapist;

their didactic value seems lost in Xie's pictorial romanticizing.

Form, Content, and Audience

The textual narratives of *A Thousand Pieces of Gold*, *The Broken Kiln*, and *The Golden Seal* not only entertained their readers but also embodied a Confucian didactic message. The texts repeatedly and patiently promote Confucian virtues for men and women as well as the ideal of studying hard to enter officialdom, thus attaining the rewards of fame, power, and wealth and bringing honor to one's family.

The Story of Zhu Maichen in the *Yuanquxuan*, however, departs somewhat from these concerns. It emphasizes the presence of the woodcutter Wang and the fisherman Yang, who are not mentioned in Zhu Maichen's official biography in the *Hanshu* 漢書, in order to represent the ideal of a simple, harmonious life lived in the countryside. This largely elite ideal, which carried moral and political overtones, is nowhere to be found in *A Thousand Pieces of Gold*, *The Broken Kiln*, or *The Golden Seal*.⁵⁵

Interestingly, in this play the imperial court finally rewarded the woodcutter and the fisherman with land and life-long exemption from government corvée duties, specifically for their high-mindedness in living simple lives and refusing the enticements of worldly gain that come with office-holding. The passage describing these rewards is absent from the earlier Yuan dynasty play on the same subject, the *Wang Dingchen fengxue yuqiaoji* 王鼎臣風雪漁樵記.⁵⁶ Zang Maoxun, the editor/compiler of the *Yuanquxuan*, must have felt strongly about the ideal. As a member of the Ming cultural elite, Zang had been dismissed from his office as erudite of the Directorate of Education (*Guozijian boshi* 國子監博士) for openly criticizing official corruption and rebelling against set rules and social etiquette. He later lived a life of leisure, engaging in writing, reading, and visiting scenic places with friends around the Nanjing area.⁵⁷

Zang may have intended the imperial recognition of the virtues of the woodcutter and the fisherman to praise the ideal of eremitism. The presence of this ideal further suggests that this play was written and edited with readers of the literati class in mind. Moreover, although *The Story of Zhu Maichen* more or less follows the formulaic pattern common in popular plays about

the success of poor scholars, note that Zhu Maichen forgave his father-in-law and wife only after learning the truth. The ideal of forgiveness in this play is thus somewhat qualified, unlike the unconditional resolution of conflicts in *A Thousand Pieces of Gold*, *The Broken Kiln*, and *The Golden Seal*.

The four paintings by Xie Shichen move away, to various degrees, from the textual narratives in two ways. First, Xie reduces or alters the details of the human dramas and thus eases the emotional tensions expressed in the texts, the very tensions that serve as the source of entertainment on the popular level. Second, these paintings supply details of landscape and atmosphere that are absent or only sketchily mentioned in the texts—the scudding clouds, the floating mists, the moonlight, the alum-peaked mountains, the decorative, gesturing tree branches, and the frozen, snowy scenery.

In each of the four paintings, the landscape setting takes over most of the pictorial space, reducing the scale of the human figures. The more complicated compositional devices and the more detailed manner of describing nature demand that viewers be more visually engaged. Moreover, Xie's technically more sophisticated paintings display his consciously individual style by mixing the styles of three well-established schools of painting with his own distinct mannerisms.

The woodblock prints from the popular musical dramas discussed thus far, on the other hand, reflect scarcely any artistic individuality. They have in common their simple compositions, large-scale human figures, and simplified, minimal landscape elements in the background settings. The stylistic differences between the woodblock prints and the paintings, both depicting stories drawn from the same popular musical dramas, probably reflect not a sharp class distinction between the readers of the three plays and the viewers of Xie Shichen's paintings but rather the degree of buying power, visual sophistication, and differing expectations that readers brought to the media of prints and painting.

Although the designer of the prints from *The Story of Zhu Maichen* referred consciously to some practices of the Zhe school of painting, he simplified the pictorial elements, emphasizing the human figures and their activities. These stylistic similarities to other prints discussed in this essay strongly suggest that pictorial style cannot be the sole basis for determining the readership of a

given play. The literary manner and ideological content of the textual narrative, as well as the source of funding, number of copies printed, and other circumstances of publication should also be taken into consideration.

Judging from the impressive ensemble of Xie's four large silk hanging scrolls, his patron and the patron's circle of friends might have been members of the nouveau-riche class, the urban merchants who rose rapidly in the Jiangnan area beginning in the sixteenth century. These patrons, who learned to appreciate and collect paintings in emulation of the literati class, might have been somewhat familiar with the idioms and conventions of Chinese landscape painting. Yet such merchant-patrons were either unfamiliar with or uninterested in painting theories and discussions of professionalism versus amateurism by contemporary literati art critics. Xie's mixture of many stylistic sources or idioms would very likely have aroused the fury of the major literati art theorist Dong Qichang 董其昌 (1555–1636).

Finally, I want to call attention to a commentary by Li Zhi on *The Broken Kiln*. It appears on the upper margin of the first page of act 7. The act describes two villains, the innkeeper and her brother, planning to steal the belongings of Lǔ Mengzheng and his wife. Li's commentary reads:

Recently this act has not been performed in the court. It is all right to perform such vulgar and ridiculous [or jesting] material for the general public. [If this play were to be performed at all] in the court, different acts would be selected. I have witnessed many times that, being offended by this act, people in the court became very angry. Beware! Beware!⁵⁸

Although Li's criticism of act 7 is vague, a careful reading of the textual narrative reveals that the innkeeper's brother, a cold-blooded robber, thief, and murderer, was proud of what he did for a living, shamelessly calling himself a brave and heroic man. In the eyes of guardians of the Confucian code of ethics like the commentator Li Zhi, such men were not only a threat to public safety but a sign that the ruling house had failed in its duty to bring enlightenment to its subjects. Little wonder that people in the court would have been offended by this particular act.

Li Zhi's commentary on act 7 invites some further observations. First, although *The Broken Kiln* and similar plays were intended for the general public, people in the court and the literati were also possible audiences.⁵⁹ But they viewed or

possibly read acts of the plays selectively, as suggested in Li Zhi's commentary.⁶⁰ Presumably the acts of *The Broken Kiln* selected for presentation in court circles were similar to those selected for the anthologies of musical plays or dramas compiled by the literati and popular in the Ming. For instance, the act "Yuguan poyao" (*The Broken Kiln Revisited*, fig. 13) was selected for the *Cilin yizhi* 詞林一枝, an anthology compiled during the Wanli era by Huang Wenhua 黃文華; and the acts "Selection of the Outstanding" ("Xuanjun" 選俊), "Romantic Thoughts in the Inner Chamber" ("Guisi" 閨思), "Parting" ("Liqing" 離情), and "Joyous Celebrations" ("Xiqing" 喜慶) appear in the *Cilin yixiang* 詞林逸響 compiled by Xu Yu 許宇 of the Tianqi era (1621–27).⁶¹ All these acts have one thing in common—they tend to relate the romantic, joyous, or melancholic experiences of the plays' protagonists. The more dogmatic and less refined material was avoided. As a matter of fact, Qing (1644–1911) scholars wrote about the distinction between *ya* 雅 (refined) and *hua* 花 (flowery) types of musical plays, a distinction that already existed by the middle of the Ming dynasty,⁶² although the terms *ya* and *hua* were not yet in vogue with regard to popular musical plays. "Flowery" literally means "colorful and ornate." In Qing scholars' discussions, "flowery" plays were simply those more suitable for the general public's taste; it therefore had connotations of vulgarity.

Li Zhi's distinction between what was suitable for the general public and what was suitable for imperial court circles parallels a distinction that existed between dramas or plays sponsored by the gentry and those sponsored by officials and landholders in big cities during Ming and Qing times.⁶³ In his study of ritual plays in Ming and Qing China, Issei Tanaka indicates that, according to Lǔ Tiancheng 呂天成 (ca. 1577–ca. 1614), the southern plays (popular *chuanqi* of the Ming) can be divided thematically into six categories: *zhongxiao* 忠孝 (loyalty and filial piety), *jiēyì* 節義 (chastity and fidelity), *gongming* 功名 (success in officialdom), *fengqing* 風情 (romantic love), *haoxia* 豪俠 (heroes or defenders of justice), and *xianfo* 仙佛 (immortals and Buddhists).⁶⁴ Tanaka points out that among the plays or dramas sponsored by the gentry, those about loyalty and filial piety, chastity and fidelity, and success in officialdom were the most frequently chosen, while those in the last three categories tended to be far less popular. Among plays sponsored by officials and landholders in big cities, those about

romantic love were the most popular, followed by those about chivalry and about immortals and Buddhists, while the least popular concerned loyalty and filial piety, chastity and righteousness, followed by those about success in officialdom.⁶⁵ I believe that these differing preferences were closely related to the difference in sponsorship, their intended audiences, the locations where these plays were performed, and their purposes.

The gentry in traditional China consisted mainly of retired officials, who often lived in their hometowns in the countryside, and wealthy, landed literati who chose not to hold public office. The gentry were the leaders in their hometowns. They took charge of such local matters as public works and charity, as well as maintaining the local social order and standard of morality. The plays they sponsored were chosen to promote traditional Confucian virtues, in hopes that the general public would be educated and influenced while being entertained. Plays sponsored by the gentry were most often publicly performed in front of temples in the countryside during the various yearly festivals.⁶⁶

The plays sponsored by officials and landlords in big cities were, on the other hand, performed in their villas or residences.⁶⁷ The majority of these plays were intended for their own private viewing in intimate gatherings among friends and colleagues. The plays chosen were intended not to teach morals but purely to entertain. For them, adventures and romances, especially involving men and women, such as the *Xixiang ji* 西廂記 (The story of the western chamber), seemed to have held the highest entertainment value.

Although audiences for performed popular plays and readers of written ones were not identical, they greatly overlapped. Moreover, the two art forms may well have had writers in common. Many of these writers were Confucian scholars of varying degrees of literary accomplishment.⁶⁸ Although for one reason or another they did not enter officialdom, their ideology and values can, for the most part, be identified with those in power, namely the imperial court and its bureaucrats. These writers were largely responsible for spreading Confucian ideals and values among the general public.

In summary, during the second half of the Ming the court's policy on the recruitment of government officials made popular the theme of poor scholars who experienced tremendous adversity and eventually became successful officials through education and passing the civil service examination. The popularity of this theme in various visual materials from the late fifteenth century onward reflected the Ming general public's commonly held social values and aspiration to upward social mobility. The plays *A Thousand Pieces of Gold*, *The Broken Kiln*, and *The Golden Seal* were intended for general readers and were thus governed by didactic and moral preoccupations, while *The Story of Zhu Maichen* in the *Yuanquxuan*, in limited circulation among an elite group of literati readers, concerned the more selective ideals of eremitism and the imperial court's recruitment of talented men for government offices.

The stylistic differences between the woodblock prints from the popular musical plays *The Thousand Pieces of Gold*, *The Broken Kiln*, and *The Golden Seal* and the four paintings by Xie Shichen that share the same thematic sources reflect less a sharp class distinction between the readers of the prints and the viewers of the paintings than their varying degrees of visual sophistication within the same social class, as well as the audience's different expectations of prints and painting. The popular play *The Story of Zhu Maichen* and its two illustrations demonstrate, on the other hand, certain pictorial and literary modifications calculated to appeal to its select literati readers.

Finally, it should be emphasized that widely circulated success stories of aspirants to officialdom, such as those featured in theater, the printed musical plays, and the paintings discussed above, crossed social boundaries and drew readers or audiences from different socioeconomic groups. I have tried to illuminate the complexity of the issue of readership by showing how these stories were appropriated pictorially and literarily for their intended readers or audiences for different purposes in the same society during the same period.

Notes

1. One example of a *qimengshu* that features this particular theme is the woodblock-printed, illustrated *Riji daquan* 日記大全 (Complete daily instruction), published in 1542.
2. More complete information about Ming policies on the selection of government officials can be found in Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉 et al., comps., *Mingshi* 明史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), *juan* 69.
3. *Mingshi*, 1676.
4. Zhang Zhian 張治安, *Mingdai Zhengzhi zhidu yanjiu* 明代政治制度研究 (Taipei: Lianjing chubanshe, 1992), 101.
5. *Mingdai Zhengzhi*, 105.
6. *Mingdai Zhengzhi*, 102.
7. For a detailed discussion of painting and writings by Emperor Xuanzong on the ideal of obtaining virtuous scholars as imperial aides, see Ju-yu Scarlett Jang, "Issues of Public Service in the Themes of Chinese Court Painting" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1989), 312–16.
8. For a detailed analysis of the political use of this theme in the early Ming imperial court, see Jang, "Issues," chap. 4, 325–81.
9. *Mingdai Zhengzhi*, 102.
10. *Mingdai Zhengzhi*, 100. The Secretariat was the highest policy-making agency in the Ming bureaucratic hierarchy.
11. Ho Ping-ti discusses these schools, their entrance examinations, and other benefits of admission in some detail in *The Ladder of Success in Imperial China: Aspects of Social Mobility, 1368–1911* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964), 171–73.
12. In the Ming, even household slaves or servants of wealthy families found it possible to acquire some education and compete in the civil service examination. See Tadao Sakai, "Confucianism and Popular Educational Works," in *Self and Society in Ming Thought*, ed. Wm. Theodore de Bary et al. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), 337.
13. As used in this article, *chuanqi* refers to the musical plays or dramas of the Ming in the southern tradition (with more than two singing roles and an unlimited number of acts), as distinct from *zaju* 雜劇 (with a single singing role in a four-act structure) in the northern tradition, which was popular in the Yuan. For the biography of Shang Lu, see *Mingshi*, *juan* 176:4687. The *Shang Lu Sanyuan ji* was written in the Chenghua era (1465–87); see Fu Xihua, *Mingdai chuanqi quanmu* (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1959), 19. The edition used in this essay was published by Fuchuntang, a commercial publishing house in Nanjing, during the Wanli period. A facsimile reproduction of this edition is collected in the *Guben xiqu congkan* [hereafter *GBXQCK*] (Shanghai: Shangwu shuju, 1954), series I, vol. 31.
14. This episode calls to mind a famous story about Mencius. It is said that, as a young boy, Mencius did not like to study and often cut class. One day, as was his habit, he left school and came home early. Confronting him, Mencius's mother cut off the fabric she was weaving to admonish him not to give up his studies midway.
15. The inclusion of captions in rectangular boxes at the top or on each side of the picture frame is a practice with roots in Buddhist woodblock prints of the Song (960–1279) and Yuan (1279–1368) dynasties. Guo Wei-qu, *Zhongguo banhua shilue* (Beijing: Chaohua meishu chubanshe, 1962), 53.
16. For a more complete listing of Yuan dramas related to the Han Xin stories, consult, for example, Zhuang Yifu, *Gutian xiqu cunmu huikao* (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1982), and Tong Kang, *Quhai zongmu tiyao* (rpt. Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1959).
17. Other extant Ming editions of *A Thousand Pieces of Gold* include the one published in the Wanli era by Shidetang 世德堂, another well-known commercial publishing house in Nanjing; the edition with illustrations made by Qiu Ying, formerly in the collection of Fu Xihua; and the late Ming edition published by the Jiguge 汲古閣. See Fu Xihua, *Mingdai chuanqi quanmu*, 19. The Fuchuntang edition used in this essay is a facsimile reproduction of the Wanli original collected in *GBXQCK*, series I, vol. 34.
18. See the biography of Han Xin in Sima Qian, *Shiji* (rpt. Taipei: Zhonghua shuju, 1970), *juan* 92:960–61.
19. Shen Cai, ed., *Qianjin ji*, in *GBXQCK*, series I, vol. 34, *juan* 4:26b. All the translations of Chinese words and poems in this article are mine, unless otherwise indicated.

20. C. K. Wang, "Lü Meng-cheng in Yüan and Ming Drama," *Monumenta Serica* 36 (1984–85): 394.
21. Robert E. Hegel indicates that Ming and Qing literary works written for general audiences tend to be straightforward and action-oriented, with little historical accuracy, and often feature the illogical and supernatural or fantastic. Robert E. Hegel, "Distinguishing Levels of Audiences for Ming-Ch'ing Vernacular Literature: A Case Study," in *Popular Culture in Late Imperial China*, ed. David Johnson et al. (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1985), 137.
22. The seventeenth-century woodblock-printed morality book *Bu feiqian gongde li* 不費錢功德例 (Meritorious deeds at no cost) by Chen Hongmo 陳弘謨 (1474–1555) divides its readers into twelve categories based on their occupational status: local gentry, candidates for officialdom, peasants, craftsmen, merchants and dealers, soldiers, physicians and pharmacists, subordinate office workers of humble status, women, Buddhists and Daoists, household servants and slaves, and people in general. See Tadao Sakai, "Confucianism and Popular Educational Works," 351. Those categories also comprise the intended readers of *A Thousand Pieces of Gold* and similar stories. The literate or moderately literate female members of government officials' families also read this type of popular material, as shown by the group of woodblock-printed, illustrated *shuochang cihua* 說唱詞話 (Chantefable narratives) unearthed in 1967 from a Ming tomb in Jiading 嘉定 county near Shanghai. This tomb, datable from 1471 to 1478, belonged to the wife of an official of the Xuan 宣 family. It is likely that this woman was fond of reading these books when she was alive and that her family therefore decided to bury them with her; see Zhao Jingshen, "Tan Ming Chenghua kanben shuochang cihua," *Wenwu*, no. 11 (1972): 19. For a discussion of the function of these materials in connection with burial, see Ann E. McLaren, "The Discovery of the Chantefable and Nanxi-style Play from the Ming Chenghua Period," *Ming Studies* 29 (Spring 1990): 20.
23. The pictorial refinement shown in fig. 6 suggests a later date for *A Thousand Pieces of Gold* than that of *Shang Lu Sanyuan ji*; both were published by Fuchuntang during the Wanli era, as already indicated.
24. It may be argued that the static, two-dimensional quality of the picture is due to the medium and technique used in woodblock printing. In many cases, however, the same woodblock printing medium and technique are manipulated to create illusionistic effects. See, for example, the illustrations from the *Pipaji* 琵琶記 with Li Zhi's commentary and the *Lingbaodao* 靈寶刀 published in the Wanli era. Both are reproduced in *GBXQCK*, series II.
25. Wang Bomin sees the influence of the theatrical stage in the disregard for any perspective in this type of illustration to popular plays and the fact that objects or human figures both inside and outside of architecture can be seen simultaneously. Wang Bomin, *Zhongguo Banhuashi* (Hong Kong: Nantong tushu kansi, n.d.), 77–79.
26. *Wangsun* 王孫 literally means "the descendant of a royal family." It was also used honorifically to address young scholars in general.
27. The biography of Xie Shichen in various records of Ming painters is extremely sketchy. For a summary of these records about Xie, see Mary S. Lawton, *Xie Shichen: A Ming Dynasty Painter Reinterprets the Past*, a catalogue of an exhibition held from 12 January to 26 February 1978, at the David and Alfred Smart Gallery, the University of Chicago.
28. The word *poyao* in the painting title *Poyao fengxue* is here translated as "broken cave" instead of "broken kiln" because the painting depicts a cave. For further discussion of the meanings of the character *yao*, see the discussion of *The Broken Kiln* below.
29. See, for example, the painting *Clearing after Snow in a Mountain Pass*, reproduced in James Cahill, *Parting at the Shore: Chinese Painting of the Early and Middle Ming Dynasty* (New York and Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1978), pl. 77.
30. Jianyang County had been a center of the printing industry since the Song dynasty. In the Ming, the commercial bookstores there were centered in the towns of Chonghua 崇化 and Masha 麻沙. A facsimile reproduction of the Chen Hanchu edition is found in *GBXQCK*, series I, vol. 22. Other editions include the one published by Fuchuntang during the Wanli period and the *Cailou ji* 彩樓記 (The story of the ornamented pavilion) of the late Ming period.
31. Tuo Tuo 脫脫 et al., comps., *Songshi* 宋史 (rpt. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), the Biography of Lü Mengzheng, *juan* 265:9145–46.
32. For a detailed analysis of the evolution of the popularized Lü Mengzheng story-cycle from the late Song to the Ming, see Wang, "Lü Meng-cheng," 303–408.

33. See the postscript in the *Cailo ji* annotated by Huang Shang (Shanghai: Gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1956), a reprint of the same title first published during the late Ming period, p. 72. The *Cailo ji*, surviving in a manuscript that is reproduced in *GBXQCK*, series II, is now in the National Central Library, Taipei.
34. Acts 17 and 18 relate that the god Taibo 太白 sent local mountain spirits and the god of earth to protect Mengzheng's wife, who was left alone when Mengcheng went to the capital to take the examination, from being attacked by a tiger. C. K. Wang indicates that the *Poyao ji* was adapted for regional drama intended for a popular audience who could not appreciate the highly literary style in which the arias are written. See Wang, "Lǚ Meng-cheng," 393.
35. Hiring renowned scholars to write commentaries on the plays was a common practice among late Ming publishers. Famous commentators included Li Zhuowu, Tang Xianzu 湯顯祖 (*jīnshì* 1583), Chen Jiru 陳繼儒 (1558–1639), Tu Long 屠隆 (1542–1605), Yuan Hongdao 袁宏道 (1568–1610), and Xu Wei 徐渭 (1521–93), among others. See Lin Heyi, "Wanming xiqu kanxing gaikuang," *Hanxue yanjiu* 9, no. 1 (June 1991): 302–3.
36. In the *limu* 例目 (itemized general rules) that precede the main text of the musical play *Tihong ji* 題紅記, published in the Wanli era, the editor Wang Jide 王驥德 (?–1623) observes, "I have occasionally seen the practice of making notes on the pronunciations [of difficult words]. It is not designed for the literatus." Cited from Lin Heyi, *Wanming xiqu*, 304. Printed popular plays may well also have been read aloud for those who could not read. Some readers may have wanted to sing the arias while they were reading these plays (to themselves or to others). In these situations, notes on pronunciation undoubtedly came in handy. As a matter of fact, to facilitate singing, some popular printed plays also have the so-called *dianban* 點板, the commentator's notation to the lyrics of the arias to indicate musical notes. See Lin Heyi, *Wanming xiqu*, 304–5. It is recorded in *Taoan mengyi* 陶菴夢憶 by Zhang Dai 張岱 (active during the Congchen era 1628–43) that when the play *Pipaji* was performed in front of a temple during the early Tianqi era (1621–27), an old man in the audience carefully checked what was being sung on stage against a printed copy of the play he held in his hand. When anything was omitted, this man, together with other audience members, would roar with dissatisfaction, forcing the performers to start the play all over again. Cited from Wang Anqi, *Mingdai chuanguqi zhi juchang jiqi ishu* (The theater and art of the *chuanguqi* plays of the Ming) (Taipei: Xuesheng shuju, 1986), 132. This anecdote suggests that printed popular musical plays were also used as theater scripts.
37. Wang, "Lǚ Meng-cheng," 25.
38. Figure 12 is an illustration from *The Broken Kiln*, published by Fuchuntang during the Wanli era. A copy of this edition is in the collection of the British Library (O.R.81.d2). The National Central Library in Taipei, Taiwan, also has a copy.
39. In fact, during the Ming similar pictorial composition and figure types also cropped up in illustrations to different plays published by different bookstores. Wang Bomin, *Zhongguo banhua shi*, 84. It is reasonable to assume that the similarity was related to the fact that during the Ming, woodblock carvers or pictorial designers moved rather freely among publishing houses and printing centers. The best case in point is the Huizhou carvers and woodblock-print designers of the late Ming, many of whom moved from their native places to such printing centers as Nanjing, Suzhou, and Hangzhou. Zhou Wu, *Huizhou Banhuashi lunji* (Anhui: Anhui jienmin chubanshe, 1983), 12. The active business of buying and selling used woodblocks in the Ming also helps to explain the similarity.
40. By official and more orthodox material, I mean, for example, *Songshi*, *Zizhi tongjian changbian* 資治通鑑長編 compiled by Li Tao 李燾 (1115–84), and the *Xinke mingchen beichuan wanyan zhiji* 新刻名臣碑傳琬琰之集 compiled by Du Dagui 杜大珪 in 1194. Cf. Wang, "Lǚ Meng-cheng," 315.
41. *Poyao ji*, *GBXQCK*, series I, vol. 22, *juan shang*: 43b.
42. Plays about Su Qin were popular in the Yuan and Ming dynasties. For recorded and extant plays concerning Su Qin, see Fu Xihua, *Mingdai chuanguqi quanmu*, 30 and 28 and Zhuang Yifu, *Gutian xiqu cunmu huikao*, 32.
43. The Wanli edition of *The Golden Seal* with Luo Maodeng's annotation is reproduced in the *GBXQCK*, series I, vol. 27. We do not know where and by whom this edition was published.
44. Zhou Wu indicates that the Anhui 安徽 style (from the Wanli period to early Qing) of woodblock prints is characterized by its great attention to meticulously and elegantly drawn details, slender figures, fine, fluid line drawing, and the use of geometric patterns to decorate the floor and wall, simultaneously creating an air of scholarly elegance and luxuriousness. See Zhou Wu, *Huipai*

- bahuashi lunji*, 13. The more sophisticated pictorial features of the illustrations to *The Golden Seal* may suggest some Anhui stylistic influence.
45. The *Jinyin hezong ji* 金印合縱記 (The story of the golden seal and the uniting of the six states) is a *chuangqi* edited by Gao Yiwei 高一韋, published during the Congchen era, based on *The Golden Seal*. It contains a full-page picture entitled *The Tattered Fur Garment* (*Biqiu* 蔽裘), illustrating the same episode. See Gao Yiwei ed., *Jinyin hezong ji*, a recut published by the Nuanhongshi 暖紅室 in 1919 (?). For a reproduction of this picture, see Fu Xihua ed., *Zhongguo kudian wenxue banhua xuanji* (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1981), pl. 562. This picture shows the commotion ignited by the return of Su Qin, depicted in a dark, tattered garment.
 46. The title of this drama is abbreviated to *Yuqiao ji* 漁樵記 (The story of the woodcutter and the fisherman) in some records of Yang and Ming dramas. In some Ming dynasty records, the story of Zhu Maichen is titled *Wang Dingchen fengxue yuqiao ji*. It has been suggested that the name Zhu Maichen was changed to the name Wang Dingchen in order to avoid the Ming imperial family name Zhu. See Shao Zengqi, *Yaun ming Beizaju kaolue* (Henan: Chongzhou kuji chubanshe, 1985), 519.
 47. There are ninety-four Yuan plays and six Ming dramas in the 100 *juan* of the *Yuanquxuan*. The first 50 *juan* of the series were printed in 1615 and the rest in 1616. See Xu Fuming, "Zang Maoxun yu yuanquxuan," in *Yuan zaju lunji*, 2 vols., ed. Li Xiusheng et al. (Tianjin: Baihua wenyi chubanshe, 1985), 1:147–48. There are several editions of the *Yuanquxuan*. The one used in this essay is the Wanli original published by Zang Maoxun's Diaochongguan 雕蟲館, now in the collection of the National Central Library, Taipei.
 48. Zang indicates that most of the *binbai* in the Yuan plays were done by actors in theater troupes. These *binbai* were crude and vulgar. He therefore changed them and eliminated unnecessary ones whenever it suited his purposes. See Zang's 1615 preface to the *Yaunquxuan* and his letter to Xie Zhaozhi 謝肇淛 (*jinsi* 1592) recorded in Zang Maoxun, *Fubaotang ji* 負苞堂集 (rpt. Shanghai: Gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1958), 92. Patrick Hanan points out that in the Ming dynasty popular plays underwent successive adaptations. There were a number of motives for this phenomenon: a play's songs may have become too old-fashioned; sometimes it was necessary to adapt a play to suit the conventions of the drama of another locality; or it may have been necessary to conform to approved standards. See Patrick D. Hanan, "The Nature and Content of the Yue-fu hong-shan," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 24, no. 2 (1963): 355. See also Yin Ming, "Yuan zaju zhongde binbai shi shuei xie de," and Li Dake, "Yuan Zaju de jiazhi," in *Yuan zaju lun ji*, ed. Li Xiusheng et al., 135 and 138–39.
 49. Yen Dunyi, *Yuanju chenyi* (Beijing: Chonghua shuju, 1960), 250–51 and Xu Fuming, "Zang Maoxun yu yuanquxuan," 145 and 148–49.
 50. Xu Fuming, "Zang Maoxun yu yuanquxuan," 148.
 51. The *Yuanquxuan* was not the only title published by Zang Maoxun. He also published anthologies of poetry, histories, and *tanci* 彈詞. See Xu Suofang, *Yuanquxuan jia Zang Maoxun* (Beijing: Zhongguo xiqu chubanshe, 1985), 37. Information obtained from Zang's personal letters to his acquaintances suggests strongly that books he published were intended mainly for a literati audience. Two such letters reveal that Zang would typically send copies of newly published titles to his acquaintances in government and ask them to advertise these books among their colleagues. See Zang's letters to Huang Ruting 黃汝亨 (1558–1626) and a certain Yao Tongcan 姚通參 recorded in *Fubaotang ji*, 84–85 and 88.
 52. In fact, from the middle of the Ming onward, dramas had become part of China's literati culture. Some of the Ming literati, such as Xu We, Xu Lin 徐霖 (1462–1538), Chen Jiru, and Zhu Quan 朱權 (1378–1448), were renowned playwrights. Others, such as Zhang Dai and Ruan Dacheng 阮大鍼 (1587–1646), owned private theater troupes, and still others were involved with the directing and actual performing on stage. For a detailed study of this phenomenon, see Wang Anqi, "Mingdai siren jiayue yu jiazhai yenxi," *Kukong wenwu yuekan* 7, no. 12 (March 1990): 64–77.
 53. Hu Zhongshi, "Timu chengming kao," *Xiqu yenyiu* 4 (1981): 155.
 54. This painting by Dai Jin is reproduced in *Kugong shuhua tulu*, 11 vols. (Taipei: Guoli kukong powuyuan, 1991), 6:99.
 55. The ideal of eremitism is also emphasized in the *Fuxin ji* 負薪記 (The story of [Zhu Maichen] carrying the faggots) and its accompanying picture in the *Wanhua qingyin* 萬壑清音 (Elegant sounds from the myriad ravines), an anthology of selected acts from various musical plays compiled by Zhiyun Jushi 止雲居士 (pseud.) and published in 1624. The accompanying picture depicts a literati gathering of none other than the recluses Zhu Maichen

- and his friends the woodcutter and the fisherman in a rustic house by a river. This anthology is not available to me. For a reproduction of the picture in question, see Fu Xihua, *Zhongguo kudian wenxue banhua xuanji*, pl. 366.
56. This earlier play is the *Wang Dingchen fengxue yuqiao ji* (see n. 46 above), which features in the *Zaju xuan* 雜劇選 (Selected *zaju* plays) compiled by Xijizi 息機子 (pseud.) of the Ming and published in 1598.
 57. Xu Fuming, "Zang Maoxun yu yuanquxuan," 143.
 58. *Poyao ji*, GBXQCK, series I, vol. 22, *juan shang*:33a.
 59. Li Kaixian 李開先 (1501–68) records that in the Hungwu era, the imperial court regularly gave each of the princes several hundred volumes of plays as gifts. Emperor Wuzong 武宗 (r. 1506–21) handsomely rewarded those who presented him with good plays. Cited from Hu Shiying, *Huaben xiaoshuo gailun* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980), 2:362.
 60. It was common practice in the Ming to select some acts from plays to be performed in the court and among the literati class, especially in the case of longer plays, some of which had more than forty acts. Wang Anqi, "Mingdai de siren jiaoyue he jiazhai yenxi," 74–76.
 61. See the *Cailo ji* annotated by Huang Shang, p. 74.
 62. See Gao Yilong, "Yi su wei ben," *Xiqu yenjiu* 33 (1990): 18–19.
 63. There were, of course, plays sponsored by other groups in Ming society. Some were sponsored by the court; others were performed regularly in permanent or semipermanent theaters; yet others were performed irregularly in inns, tea houses, and wine shops in towns as well as in cities. Wang Anqi, *Mingdai chuanguqi zhi juchang jiqi yishu*, 137–71.
 64. Tanaka Issei, *Chugoku saishi engeki kenkyu* (The study of ritual theaters in China) (Tokyo: Toyo bunka kenkyujo, 1981), 337.
 65. Tanaka, *Chugoku saishi*, 351.
 66. Tanaka, *Chugoku saishi*, 335 and 353–54, points out that the plays sponsored by the gentry also included those performed for their clan members on such occasions as weddings, funerals, birthdays, and capping ceremonies for young men. He sees no obvious distinction between the plays the gentry chose for the general public and those they chose for their clan members in terms of the popularity ranking among the six categories; the gentry's preferences, he suggests, were not much different from those of the general public. They liked to see their sons succeed in officialdom, and they hoped that their clan members would be moral and righteous. Another reason, I believe, is that plays for the clan members of the gentry were, in most cases, and still are, publicly performed and were therefore also viewed by the general public.
 67. Tanaka, *Chugoku saishi*, 356.
 68. During the Southern Song, Yuan, and the early Ming, a group of specialized writers produced manuscripts for theatrical performers and storytellers. These writers—who had their own guild, the *shuhui* 書會 (literally, "book club")—were mainly scholars who had failed the civil service examination. Some were government employees of low standing or physicians, diviners, or merchants, as well as experienced actors who were literate. Private tutors and village school teachers may also have been *shuhui* members. See also David Johnson's observations on the authors of literature written for a popular audience in Ming and Qing times in "Chinese Popular Literature and Its Context," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, and Reviews* 3 (1981): 230. In a few cases, one could even find among them the so-called *minggong* 名公 (renowned scholars or scholar-officials). The *shuhui* organization might also have been responsible for the carving and publication of their written materials. In the Ming, the *shulin* 書林 (literally, "book forest") organization was similar to the *shuhui*, and its members had similar backgrounds. See Hu Shiying, *Huaben xiaoshuo gailun*, 65–70.

NOTES ON THE EARLY YUAN ANTIQUÉ ART MARKET IN HANGZHOU

By ANKENEY WEITZ

THE TRADE IN ANTIQUE ART HAS A LONG HISTORY IN China, going back at least as early as the Han dynasty.¹ This history has been built upon the amassing of the imperial art collections during periods of stability, followed by the partial or complete dispersal of such collections during dynastic transitions. In keeping with this cycle of accumulation and loss, the antique art market witnessed a rapid expansion during the early years of the Yuan dynasty. With the fall of the Southern Song capital to the new Mongol regime based in Dadu in 1276, a number of objects that had previously been sealed away in Song imperial palaces and aristocratic mansions were suddenly found circulating among private collectors.

Although the conquest spelled disaster for many residents of the south, it did have the fortuitous effect of reunifying Chinese territory after more than 140 years of political division. This reunification affected the art market in the former Song territories since the new administrators assigned to consolidate Yuan rule in the south brought with them art objects from the north. Some of these objects had even come from the Jin imperial collection after its dispersal during the Mongol sack of Kaifeng in 1234.² In short, the political and social disruptions of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, including the Mongol conquest of Song territory and the installation of the Yuan administrative system, helped create the conditions for a geographically integrated art market on a scale that had not been witnessed for several centuries.³

Hangzhou figured prominently in this newly integrated art market for several reasons. The city's status as the political and cultural capital of the Southern Song meant that wealth and its attributes—notably art collections—had long been concentrated here. Equally important was the peaceful surrender of the capital by Empress Dowager Xie 謝太后 (1210–83) in 1276, an act that mercifully saved Hangzhou from the destruction suffered by other southern cities. When the Yuan general Bayan 伯顏 (1236–94) and his officers entered the city, they took immediate measures to seal off palaces and government offices, thereby preventing looting. Given the preservation

of its governmental and commercial infrastructure, Hangzhou not surprisingly remained a major southern hub of administration and trade throughout the early Yuan, which only served to increase the accumulation of wealth and political power in the city.⁴ In this environment, Hangzhou's cultural scene also prospered.

The accelerated social mobility accompanying the dynastic transition also spurred the Hangzhou antique art market. Some Song loyalists, finding themselves without a consistent source of income, were forced to sell off their cherished artworks, while newly wealthy Yuan officials eagerly sought to acquire the artistic accouterments appropriate to their recently assumed political and social status. The sudden change in fortunes of both groups created a flurry of buying, selling, and trading of antique art objects. Hangzhou's network of art dealers, scroll mounters, restorers, and connoisseurs responded to the increased need, providing services to art collectors from far and wide.⁵ In short, during the last quarter of the thirteenth century Hangzhou became the center of the newly expanded market in antique art due to the large number of art objects available there, the relative affluence of the many bureaucratic and mercantile families living in the city, and a strong network of dealers, mounters, and other art world professionals.

Places of the Art Market

Within Hangzhou, the trade in antique art took place at many different sites, both public and private. Although many art objects changed hands in private residences, some restaurants, wine shops, and teahouses also sold the paintings displayed on their walls.⁶ Collectors also frequented antique shops, painting galleries, and open markets. Perhaps the best known antique shop in Hangzhou was the Kang 康 family shop, where in 1285 Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫 (1254–1322) bought a volume of the Song model calligraphy exemplar *Chunhuage tie* 淳化閣帖.⁷ Other collectors acquired archaic bronzes, jades, and *qin* 琴 at this shop, which was still in existence as late as 1338.⁸ Early

Yuan records also refer to painting galleries (*huasi* 畫肆)⁹ and dealers (*changmairen* 常賣人) specializing in painting.¹⁰ Calligraphic works were to be found at bookstores (*shupu* 書舖), where on occasion illustrated books and documents, and sometimes even paintings, could be bought.¹¹

In addition to these more permanent establishments, avid collectors combed Hangzhou's open streetside markets for the chance find. One clever collector, Old You 老游, found a valuable painting by the Five Dynasties painter Sun Mengqing 孫夢卿 in the basket of an itinerant peddler. Although the painting bore the inscription and seals of Song Emperor Huizong 宋徽宗, Old You paid a pittance for the work; after personally remounting the scroll, he sold it at a substantial profit.¹² Another collector browsing the food stalls in the street unexpectedly noticed a vendor baking biscuits on an ancient Zhou dynasty platter with a 130-character inscription. The collector bought the biscuits, platter and all.¹³ These and other anecdotes paint a picture of early Yuan Hangzhou as a paradise for art collectors. A collector who kept his eyes open might find some extraordinary object that had been lost or looted during the war and then had fallen into the hands of someone who had not the faintest idea what it was or what it was worth.

The most remarkable public site where art objects changed hands in early Yuan Hangzhou was the Guangjiku 廣濟庫, a government storehouse that had been established to safeguard property confiscated by the Yuan armies from the Song palaces.¹⁴ Both Fu Shen and Marsha Weidner have clearly demonstrated that the confiscated Song imperial art collection was quickly transferred to the Yuan capital at Dadu, but a few, isolated notes from Yuan sources not consulted by these scholars reveal that some imperial artworks and documents were deliberately left behind in Hangzhou and later sold by the Guangjiku.¹⁵ The early Yuan connoisseur Zhou Mi 周密 (1232–97) recorded official property (*guanwu* 官物)—including books from the Song imperial collection (*neifu gushu* 內府故書), curios, and paintings—appearing for sale at the Guangjiku.¹⁶ Somewhat later in the dynasty, Huang Jin 黃潛 (1277–1357) in his “Record of the Guangjiku” 廣濟庫記 (1340) noted that

國朝既取宋，分命重臣行中書省事蒞治其地。乃即其帑藏置廣濟庫以肆焉。

When the present dynasty conquered the Song, a decree ordered that important officials be assigned to

the Branch Central Secretariats and begin to govern the [Song] territories. Whatever [Song imperial property] remained in the treasury was to be transferred to the Guangjiku and sold off [for cash].¹⁷

Huang Jin goes on to state that the administrators of the Guangjiku submitted the revenue from these sales to the central government at Dadu.

Although the administrators of the Guangjiku remain nameless, they probably lacked connoisseurial sophistication. According to Tao Zongyi 陶宗儀 (b. 1316) the storehouse administrators named members of prominent Hangzhou families to staff the storehouse.¹⁸ These formerly well-to-do Hangzhou men presumably possessed the special expertise in connoisseurship and commerce necessary to the successful marketing of the confiscated Song property. Nonetheless, a position in the Guangjiku clearly did not count as a prestigious official appointment; staffers served here merely to fulfill their corvée duty.

Among the works that surfaced at the Guangjiku were: a miniature stone mountain with an inscription by Emperor Huizong, an illustrated pharmaceutical manual (*Bencao* 本草), an intensely sought-after fragment of a wall painting depicting bamboo attributed to the noted Song scholar and painter Su Shi 蘇軾, and a version of *Han Xizai's Night Banquet* 韓熙載夜宴圖 ascribed to the Five Dynasties painter Zhou Wenju 周文矩.¹⁹ Many other art objects circulating in the early Yuan art market bore Song imperial provenance, and some may have passed through the Guangjiku on their way back to the commodity sphere.²⁰

As a government institution involved in the wholesaling of Chinese art and other cultural artifacts, the Guangjiku reveals the ambiguous attitude of the Yuan government toward imperial art collecting. Throughout much of Chinese history the appropriation and preservation of the former dynasty's art collection served as an act of political legitimation, symbolizing the transference of dynastic power.²¹ Khubilai Khan (1215–94), on the recommendation of his Chinese advisers, acknowledged the power of imperial collections as a political symbol by having some (or most) of the Song collection shipped to his capital at Dadu. Yet the merchandising of the remaining Song cultural property in Hangzhou points to the Yuan government's ambivalence toward the symbolic or cultural value of these assets; some art objects apparently served only as commodities to be used for the economic benefit of the state.²² This ambivalence played a significant

role in the growth of the private art market during the last quarter of the thirteenth century.

Participants in the Art Market

Clearly, given the unceremonious treatment of imperial cultural property at the Guangjiku, not all participants in the early Yuan art world conformed to the stereotype of erudite gentlemen whose pure, disinterested love for art prompts them to acquire, display, and trade it. In fact, a whole catalogue of shameless characters populated this world. In this roster appears the conniving bronze broker Shen Dazheng 沈大整, who sold a bronze tripod (*ding* 鼎) of questionable authenticity at a huge profit (the price was five genuine bronze vessels plus 25 silver ingots [*ding* 錠]) to Dong Zan 董瓚.²³ We also read of the great collections of Yang Zhen 楊鎮 (d. after 1293), son-in-law of the Song Emperor Lizong 宋理宗 (r. 1225–65) and perfidious defector to the Yuan army during the last days of its conquest.²⁴ Yang acquired some of his treasures through seemingly ungentlemanly tactics. For instance, he exacted (*suoqu* 索去)—possibly as a bribe or political payoff—a wall fragment ascribed to Su Shi from the unfortunate and somewhat lower-placed Central Asian official, Lian Xigong 廉希貢 (ca. 1240–ca. 1320).²⁵ Even the Hangzhou corvée-labor staff of the Guangjiku was sullied by intimate participation in the sale of objects from the former imperial collections.

As for the art collectors, Yuan sources depict a highly varied group of powerful or formerly powerful men with an equally varied range of motives. Taking as a representative group those listed in Zhou Mi's catalogue of contemporary collections (*Yunyan guoyan lu* 雲煙過眼錄), we find that many of the Hangzhou-area collectors were highly placed Yuan officials. Five of these office-holding collectors were of foreign origin (Central Asians and Mongols), while seventeen were from northern China, and five were coopted former Song officials. As for unemployed Song loyalists who still owned art collections, Zhou Mi (himself a loyalist) listed only eight men.

Among the office-holding collectors recorded by Zhou Mi appears the name of one Wang Huchen 王虎臣 (d. after 1295).²⁶ A native of Wenzhou, a coastal area in modern Zhejiang Province, Wang had served in the Song bureaucracy in its final years as the junior prefect of Changzhou. In the third month of 1275, with Yuan forces

surrounding the city, Wang surrendered and defected to the Yuan army. When Song forces later retook the city, Wang led a Yuan battalion in the renewed siege. For his crucial military service, he was rewarded with a powerful position in the Yuan government.

In the 1290s Wang showed up in Hangzhou with a sizable art collection. Since he belonged to the Yuan bureaucratic elite, Wang Huchen's ownership of art objects is not in itself particularly notable; what is interesting is that Zhou Mi, a noted Song loyalist, fraternized with Wang, a despised traitor to the Song cause. Further, Wang's collection contained many paintings in which themes of loyalty and reclusion figured prominently, including Mi Fu's 米芾 landscape portrait of his own Haiyue Retreat, a Tang painting of the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove, and an illustrated version of the *Classic of Filial Piety*.²⁷ From the derisive accounts of his behavior by his contemporaries (he was even accused of destroying an examination hall and Confucian temple in Huzhou in order to construct a military garrison) we know that Wang was seen as lacking in the specific moral and social virtues expressed in these paintings.²⁸ We may surmise that by acquiring these particular works and displaying them to his "friends" at social gatherings, Wang was attempting to appropriate the values embodied in them and thereby project a more positive image of himself to men of more steadfast principle, such as Zhou Mi.

One of the most prominent players in Zhou Mi's Hangzhou art collecting circle was Xu Yan 徐炎 (d. 1301), a native of Dongping circuit in modern Shandong Province. In the early years of Mongol rule in the north Xu Yan's talent had already been recognized by several of the scholars who gathered in Dongping under the protection of the local military leader, Myriarch Yan Shi 嚴實. Through these connections Xu eventually obtained a recommendation to serve in the central government at Dadu, and by 1286 he had risen to the important post of investigation commissioner (rank 3A) in Hunan. Xu arrived in Hangzhou in 1291 as the second privy councilor in the Branch Secretariat (rank 2B). During his seven years in the former Song capital, Xu took an active stance in promoting Confucian scholarship; he is even credited with founding the famed West Lake Academy on the old grounds of the former Imperial University.²⁹

Xu Yan further endeared himself to southern scholars, including Song loyalists, for his

willingness to recommend talented men for government position; his strong political connections in Dadu made his recommendations all the more effectual.³⁰ Among those he named for service or promotion were the painter Huang Gongwang 黃公望 (1269–1354); the poet Liu Jiansun 劉將孫 (b. 1257), son of the loyalist poet and essayist Liu Chenweng 劉辰翁 (1232–97); and Zhang Ying 張瑛 (1260–1325), son-in-law of the loyalist scholar Mou Yan 牟巘 (1227–1311). Mou Yan gratefully acknowledged Xu Yan's help in finding a government position for his son-in-law; in practically the same breath, he praised his scholarly erudition, even comparing him to the Song intellectual Sima Guang 司馬光.³¹

Unlike traitors such as Wang Huchen, Xu Yan figured among the top echelon of Yuan officials whom southern scholars could and did admire; his art collections and connoisseurial skill only served to promote his reputation as a man of learning and discernment. Among the items in Xu's possession, Zhou Mi showed particular interest in a version of Wang Shen's 王詵 *Misty River and Serried Peaks* (*Yanjiang diezhang tu* 煙江疊嶂圖), which bore a famous colophon by Su Shi.³² Xu Yan also collected Tang and Song calligraphies, unusual inkstones, and jade pieces, all in keeping with his scholarly persona. Although his collection, as recorded by Zhou Mi, was not the largest or finest in Hangzhou, it provided an aura of taste for this northern scholar of great power and achievement.

As Xu Yan and his northern colleagues began to acquire art, some of the venerable Hangzhou collecting families were slowly displaced. Among these less fortunate collectors we find the southern scholar and former Song official Xie Yixiu 謝奕修 (ca. 1220–ca. 1290). A first cousin of Empress Dowager Xie, the power behind the throne during the last years of the crumbling Song dynasty, Xie Yixiu maintained his loyalty to the Song until his death.³³ With no source of income, however, Xie was forced to rely upon his sizable art collection to sustain him financially. Many of the art objects in his possession had come from the Song palaces at the behest of his imperial cousin, who on the verge of her surrender to the Yuan army in 1276 found herself unable to keep her personal art collection. She sent some of it off to Xie Yixiu for safekeeping, but within twenty years Xie had fallen on such hard times that he could no longer maintain the collection.³⁴ Among the works Xie sold was Mi Fu's *Coral Tree* (*Shanhu tie* 珊瑚帖); the northern official Guo Youzhi 郭祐之 (d. 1302) became the new owner of the work.³⁵

This transaction mirrored the general trend in art ownership in early Yuan Hangzhou, with objects frequently moving from the hands of former Song aristocrats to those of the newly empowered northern ruling class.

As the social and political profile of the Hangzhou art collector shifted from Song aristocrat-scholar to Yuan bureaucrat, some of the former group found new careers within the flourishing Hangzhou art world. These disenfranchised southerners found a ready market for their scholarly skills, such as mounting, restoring, and connoisseurship. The transfer of southern scholars into these new occupations often occurred under profound duress; for instance, a talented mounter named Wang Zuwen 王祖文 confessed to Zhao Wen 趙文 his embarrassment at his new status:

〔謁余曰：〕《昔吾祖吾父皆儒也。吾不能世其業而業此；吾羞焉。》

Previously, both my grandfather and father were Confucian scholars. I could not continue their occupation and so made this [mounting] my work; I am ashamed of this.³⁶

A few connoisseurs made a business out of their skills, working as professional authenticators; others provided their expertise on a more informal or semiprofessional basis. Among the professionals, Li He 李和, an impoverished Hangzhou scholar, was known for his integrity:

… 鬻故書為業；尤精於碑刻。凡博古之家所藏，必使之過目。或有贗本，求一印識；雖邀之酒食，惠以錢物，則毅然卻之… 有李和鑑定石刻印。

in order to eat [Li He] made an occupation out of old books; he was especially talented at [appraising] stele inscriptions. The antiquarian families took whatever they collected to have him take a look. Some who had forgeries would [still] seek an authenticating seal; but even though they invited him for wine and dinner, or enticed him with [extra] money and gifts, Li resolutely refused. The legend of his seal read: *Li He jianding shike yin* (Seal of Li He authenticating stone inscriptions).³⁷

Li He's inflexible judgments had an economic as well as ethical foundation; since he relied on his expertise for sustenance, his reputation for honesty was essential.

Other southern scholars with greater financial resources or social prominence acted as semiprofessional connoisseurs or deal-makers. Zhou Mi, a loyalist scholar whose only visible form of

support was the generosity of his wealthy in-laws, probably offered his respected connoisseurial advice to well-placed friends and acquaintances.³⁸ This role is suggested not only by the number of collections he was invited to view but also by the rapidity with which the objects he catalogued changed hands, his intense concern with the provenance of art objects, his occasional citation of prices paid, and his summary evaluations of authenticity and quality.³⁹ Now and then Zhou Mi also received requests from acquaintances to help find new owners for objects in their collections; in these cases he acted as an informal agent or dealer. Zhou Mi's writings on art may be artifacts of his life as a semiprofessional connoisseur and dealer.

Although no evidence demonstrates that Zhou was paid for his connoisseurial services, he probably reaped social invitations and possibly gifts in return for his efforts.⁴⁰ Yuan Jue's 袁桷 (1266–1327) disparaging remark that Zhou Mi “slightly blemished his character” by engaging in connoisseurial activities that brought him in contact with “prominent men” does, however, signal a more than trifling involvement in the art market.⁴¹ As Yuan Jue insinuated, Zhou's semiprofessional interest in art may ultimately explain his fraternizing with turncoat officials like Wang Huchen.

Such alliances between southerners and northerners, or between Song loyalists and high Yuan officials, often centered on art collecting and connoisseurial activities, suggesting that art was an important vehicle of social interaction and even political integration in early Yuan Hangzhou. Far from spurning each other, northern officials and southern loyalists were eager to be acquainted, and cultural activities—including art collecting and appreciation—provided an important point of contact. As attested in Zhou Mi's notes, as well as in other contemporary accounts, men of widely varying position and background met frequently to view new acquisitions or to compare their collections.⁴²

Through these contacts, the relatively impoverished southern scholars were able to view and enjoy art that they did not have the means to own themselves. They also found that powerful northerners could provide certain services, not the least of which was recommendation for bureaucratic office. Even Song loyalists, who had no desire to take up office themselves, often had their sons' future careers in mind when socializing with Yuan officials. As noted above, men of the older generation appreciated Xu Yan's help in placing

their talented and well-educated sons in government positions. Many other northern officials also engaged in the same practice, thereby attracting southern scholars into their social networks.

From the viewpoint of northern and Central Asian officials, who in some cases lacked the cultural sophistication of their southern friends, developing social ties with local elites enhanced their intellectual and political reputations. Li Ti 李倜 (ca. 1250–ca. 1320s), a Yuan soldier, official, collector, painter, and calligrapher from Taiyuan in Shanxi Province, began his career in the Yuan military at the age of eighteen.⁴³ During the Song-Yuan war, Li participated in the pacification of Sichuan; thereafter he continued to climb the bureaucratic ladder. In 1297 Li was posted to a civilian office in Jiangxi Province, where the six members of a local society of Song *yimin* 逸民 (left-over subjects) were so pleased by Li's artistic skills and discernment (and perhaps patronage) that they named him an honorary member of their group.⁴⁴ Li Ti is not an isolated case; throughout the writings of this period, we find northern Chinese and Central Asian officials insinuating themselves into southern elite society through their practice and/or patronage of the arts.⁴⁵

The Exchange and Circulation of Antique Art

Within the politically and geographically heterogeneous group of early Yuan art collectors and connoisseurs, art objects circulated as a kind of social currency. Yet in acknowledging this circulation we need not limit ourselves to a simple formula such as: ownership of art equals social prestige. Rather, by investigating the modes by which art circulated, we may more clearly define the role that art played within early Yuan elite society. The goal of such an inquiry is to uncover the social structures embodied in and defined by the exchange of art during this period.

On a rhetorical level, Chinese collectors have long defended trading one artwork for another as the preferred mode of acquisition. The classic statement of this preference appears in the Song dynasty connoisseur Mi Fu's *Huashi* 畫史, where he explained why scholar-collectors eschewed the buying and selling of art:

書畫不可論價，士人難以貨取，所以通書畫博易，自是雅致。今人收一物與性命，俱大可笑。人生適目之事，看久即厭，時易新玩；兩適其欲，乃是達者。

With painting and calligraphy you can't discuss price. Scholars find it difficult to treat them [just like any other] goods, and so they generally trade paintings and calligraphies, and in this way maintain their refinement. Nowadays when someone obtains an object, he [cherishes it] like his life; this is really laughable. What men find pleasing to the eye will, after long viewing, become tiring. When this happens [the collector] will trade it for a new plaything, and both parties will satisfy their desires, which is the intelligent way.⁴⁶

Mi Fu's defense of barter turns on two major ideas: the maintenance of the collector's refinement (a socially constructed ideal) and the sharing of aesthetic pleasure with the other transactor. The mutual enjoyment of the artwork, what Mi Fu refers to as "both parties satisfying their desires," was usually heightened by the inclusion of inscriptions and seals on the work. Through these residual attributes of the previous owners, the trading partners essentially acquired emblems of each other, thereby cementing their relationship. Trades thus brought the maximum social benefit to the collector.

Moreover, as at least one anthropologist has noted, a society's placement of a certain category of objects above monetary exchange allows the elite factions of that society to maintain their authority over those objects.⁴⁷ Assuming that all Chinese art collectors followed the interdiction against buying or selling art (with which even Mi Fu did not comply), only socially prominent individuals who inherited art could ever hope to become collectors. Thus, the rhetorical emphasis on the nonmonetary exchange of art can be seen as a ploy of the scholarly elite to maintain cultural hegemony over the circulation of art.

In reality, the constant social mobility of educated and land-holding elites in traditional China made this whole idea impractical. And it is almost axiomatic that during periods of heightened social flux, such as the Song-Yuan transition, the buying and selling of art increases dramatically. In Yuan dynasty colophons, inscriptions, and catalogues (including Zhou Mi's), the acquisition of an artwork by purchase is frequently noted, sometimes including the price paid. The existence of this custom in the thirteenth century (and earlier) controverts the recently advanced theory that a long-standing taboo against discussing prices paid for art was finally overcome in the sixteenth century or, alternatively, the eighteenth century.⁴⁸ Clearly, the acknowledgment of the mercantile aspects of art collecting has had a longer history than envisioned by some modern scholars.

In both the bartered and monetary exchange of art, the process of coming to agreement on the relative value of a work was often fraught with scheming and manipulation, as indicated somewhat later in the dynasty by Tang Hou 湯垕 (late thirteenth–fourteenth century) in his diatribe against the philistines he felt were invading the art market:

書畫之好，本土大夫適興寄意而已。有力收購，有目力鑒賞。遇勝日，有好懷，彼此出示，較量高下，並不欲相與誇奇鬥異。今之輕薄子則不然，縱目力略知一二，見人好物故貶剝疵類；用心計購，至於必得。倘不得，則生活毀謗，必欲此物名譽不彰。若賞鑒高尚之士，固不待說破。平常目力未定者。或為所惑。已收一物，性命與俱，妄自稱譽。人或欲之必作說難阻得善價而後已。此皆心術不正，不可不鑒。

The love of calligraphy and painting originally was simply for the pleasure of scholars. Those with [financial] means acquired [artworks]; those with a sensitive eye appreciated them. On beautiful days, they would bring out good and bad pieces alike to compare their merits and defects; they had no interest in exaggerating or fighting over the uniqueness [of their own pieces]. The frivolous people of today are no longer like [the disinterested scholars of former days]. If they have a rudimentary appreciation of art, when they see fine works belonging to others, they intentionally disparage them as faulty, and then invent clever schemes to make sure they obtain them. If they do not succeed, then they spread slander [about the works], or make sure that the works' good reputation does not become known. As for superior scholars with disinterested connoisseurship, they certainly are not misled by such talk. But people whose appreciative skills are only mediocre are sometimes deluded. Any object they acquire they value as they would their own lives and heap reckless praise on it. If another person desires the artwork, the [owner] will make difficulties and speak of obstacles until he receives a superior price. Since all these schemes are improper, one must discriminate with care.⁴⁹

Due in part to the nefarious practices of some collectors, most cash purchases and bartered trades followed certain social rituals. As suggested by Tang Hou, the characters and cultural knowledge of the two transactors were often unequal, so agents or connoisseurs were frequently called upon to initiate or mediate the transaction.

Accounts of mediated sales and trades abound in the early Yuan literature on collecting. In the well-known preface to his *Manual on Bamboo Painting* (*Xizhai zhupu* 息齋竹譜), Li Kan 李衍 (1245–1320) tells of seeing a painting by Wen Tong 文同 (1019–79) that the southern connoisseur-dealer Wang Zhi 王芝 (d. after 1301) had borrowed

from the collection of a certain government scribe. Upon unrolling the work, Li fell deeply in love with it and sent Wang Zhi back to the owner with an offer to purchase it at a “good price” (*shanjia* 善價). Although these negotiations did not bear fruit, Li Kan was able to acquire the painting the following spring when he ran into another agent taking the painting around to show potential buyers.⁵⁰ Several examples from Zhou Mi’s notebook also testify to the role of agents in the art market. In the eighth month of 1293 an unnamed agent brought to Zhou Mi’s studio a group of art objects that Qiao Kuicheng 喬簣成 (ca. 1250s–after 1313) wanted to sell (*qiushou* 求售); Zhou carefully noted the price asked for each piece.⁵¹ Later that same year, during a visit to Xianyu Shu’s 鮮于樞 (1246–1302) studio, Zhou Mi and another collector were shown several paintings and an inlaid knife that had been sent over by Si Jin 司進 (active late thirteenth century) to be sold (*jishouzhe* 寄售者).⁵² In the latter episode Xianyu Shu appears to have been functioning as the middleman.

The seller apparently specified a base or asking price but allowed the agent some freedom to negotiate with potential buyers. When the agent failed to secure a buyer willing to pay the asking price, he returned the art object to the original owner. This also was the case with three paintings owned by Xie Ruweng 謝如翁 that were being shown to collectors in early 1292 by his agent Zhang Xingzhi 張性之. When Zhang was unable to sell them at the asking price, he sent them back to Xie.⁵³

The go-between, whether acting in a professional or amateur capacity, brought to the transaction his most valuable commodity: knowledge. If the beginning collector were to take to heart Tang Hou’s admonitions about the tricks of unscrupulous shysters, he would certainly seek an admired connoisseur’s opinion before plunging into a deal. Similarly, an experienced collector with fine pieces needed protection from those who would malign his pieces in order to bring down their value. The common use of middlemen also insulated two friendly collectors from the socially unpleasant aspects of the negotiation process, such as open discussion of the price, disagreement about the conditions of the exchange, or even rejection of well-intentioned offers. In this respect, the go-between acted to protect the individual collector, as well as to enhance the often congenial relationship between two collectors.

In addition to trading and selling antique art

objects, early Yuan collectors and bureaucrats also commonly used art as gifts and bribes. Although these practices began much earlier in Chinese history, they became even more common during the early Yuan primarily because of the abolition of the civil service examination system.⁵⁴ In the absence of exams, personal recommendation increased in prominence as a strategy for government recruitment and promotion; cultivating strong personal relationships became an even higher priority for bureaucrats and would-be civil servants. Presents or bribes, especially in the form of fine art, were effective in building and maintaining these relationships. The relative availability of antique art in the burgeoning market also contributed to the popularity of the practice.

Within the textual record it is admittedly difficult to distinguish a gift from a bribe. The early Yuan statesman Wang Yun 王惲 (1227–1304) unwittingly exposed the pretense that bribes were gifts in a colophon written on a scroll by Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅 (1045–1105):

臨安漕副喬仲山，予為御史稿吏也。庚寅冬南行遺杭，仲山以是帖贖予。或有以真贋為問者。予曰：《初未嘗經意，唯其無心於得，渠無求而見。贖取與兩間皆出自然。若有不為嗜好所玩者，故喜為收之。至於書之真贋，君其問諸墨卿。》

Qiao Zhongshan [Kuicheng], who is now assistant commissioner of the [Liangzhe General Salt Distribution Commission] in Lin’an [Hangzhou], was a drafter [in the Central Censorate] when I was a censor. In the winter of 1290, I passed through Hangzhou on my [return from my] southern mission, and [Qiao] gave me this *tie* as a farewell present. Someone asked me whether it was genuine or fake, and I replied: “I have never given that any thought, it is merely that [I] obtained it without coveting it, [just as] you view it without having sought to. Giving and receiving between two parties always happens naturally; and if you are someone who does not become addicted to that which you enjoy, you happily receive it. As for the authenticity of this calligraphy; sir, [ask] that question of those bribe-taking officials.”⁵⁵

Wang Yun’s defense of the pure and disinterested nature of gift-giving paradoxically affirmed the status of the gift as a token of social or political ingratiation. This is painfully clear in the last sentence, where he acknowledged the gist of the question (whether or not the scroll possessed real monetary value based on its authenticity) and then shrugged off the implication.

We will never know whether political considerations motivated this particular gift exchange; however, several features do raise questions about

the purity of Qiao's intentions. First, although the two men had met twenty years earlier, they were not particularly close friends at any time during their lives. Wang Yun also held a significantly higher official position than Qiao Kuicheng.⁵⁶ Further, Wang had just completed a highly successful tour of duty suppressing rebels in Fujian and received the gift in Hangzhou during a short layover on his trip north to the capital. When he arrived at his destination, he accepted an important promotion to Hanlin Academician (rank 2A). He was once again in direct contact with his many colleagues at the central court and thus in a perfect position to promote Qiao's career.⁵⁷ None of this *proves* that Qiao had ulterior motives in giving the scroll to Wang; however, the giving of the gift was most certainly an act of personal ingratiation, which could only strengthen the men's relationship. Finally, even if we take Wang Yun at his word ("giving and receiving between two parties always happens naturally"), his statement ultimately does admit to the taking of art as bribes among Yuan government officials.

In regard to the use of art as gifts and bribes, the circulation of antique art within Hangzhou can be seen as structurally integrated with the institutionalized social practices of the bureaucratic and educated elite. On a rhetorical level, the collection and connoisseurship of art existed in a pure sphere of disinterested aesthetic pleasure; in reality, these activities were intimately connected to the political, social, and economic concerns of officials and would-be bureaucrats. Yet it is worth noting that giving or receiving an art object as a gift or bribe did not necessarily diminish the object's artistic significance or undermine the aesthetic enjoyment that the new owner received from it. Rather, among Chinese scholar-officials aesthetic enjoyment was itself a valuable commodity. And giving aesthetic enjoyment in order to achieve a particular political goal was somehow still purer than giving cash or jewels.

Conclusion: The Art Market, Art History, and the Production of Art

Shifting our perspective to the production of new art in the Yuan, we may perceive that many features of the antique art market discussed in this article contributed to the development and

acceptance during the Yuan of an aesthetic founded on the antique. This "return to the past," while not exactly new, became the major aesthetic criterion in painting and calligraphy of the Yuan dynasty, resulting in an art based upon art history.

What role did the expanded market in antique art play in the development of this new aesthetic? Of greatest significance was the increased availability of antique paintings due to social and political upheaval, which in turn meant that more collectors and artists were able to see higher quality works by the traditional masters than had been possible previously. This greater availability increased the opportunities for studying, copying, and imitating antique works.

Also of note was the shifting profile of the collector from the culturally sophisticated Song aristocrat to the newly empowered Yuan bureaucrat. This new clientele easily fell prey to the forger's creations. It should come as no surprise that Chen Lin 陳琳, a student of Zhao Mengfu and a practitioner of the new classicism, was commended for his faithful copies (read forgeries?) of old masterpieces.⁵⁸ In other words, it was but a few short steps from demand for antique art because of its identifiable market value to production of forgeries (intentional or not) to genuinely creative reuse of antique models. Further, we may surmise that the growing use of paintings as gifts and bribes by the Yuan bureaucratic class also produced a demand for affordable contemporary works that did not reek of the Song court style. The "return to the past" answered this need appropriately. A host of other critical factors have been identified by scholars as contributing to the Yuan "return to the past"; I simply propose that the structure of the early Yuan art market be added to the list since it fostered demand for the antique and encouraged production of new art based upon classical models.

Finally, as Joseph Alsop has pointed out, it is virtually impossible to divorce the art market from the production of art history.⁵⁹ In the early Yuan, both the aesthetic and extra-aesthetic concerns of bureaucrat-collectors shaped the transmission of art—including art-historical and critical writing—and the production of new art. The antique art market, as an economic, social, and even political institution, functioned as a vital organ in such transmission and therefore underlies what we know today as the history of Chinese art.

Notes

- For surveys of the Chinese art market and art collecting, see Joseph Alsop, *The Rare Art Traditions: The History of Art Collecting and Its Linked Phenomena Wherever These Have Appeared* (New York: Princeton University Press and Harper and Row, 1982), 212–53; Yang Renkai, *Guobao chenfu lu* (Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1991), 1–54; and Michael Sullivan, “Some Notes on the Social History of Chinese Art,” in *Studies in the Art of China and South-east Asia*, vol. 1 (London: Pindar Press, 1991), 92–97.
- See Zhou Mi, *Yunyan guoyan lu*, *Lidai huajia shi wenji* ed. (Taipei: Xuesheng shuju, 1973). This catalogue of early Yuan collections in Hangzhou mentions that many of these objects bore Jin imperial seals. According to Zhou’s records, Zhao Mengfu even owned two jade ornaments from the Jin harem.
- Marilyn Fu, “The Impact of Re-unification: Northern Elements in the Life and Art of Hsien-yu Shu (1257?–1302) and Their Relationship to Early Yuan Literati Culture,” in *China under Mongol Rule*, ed. John Langlois (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 430–31.
- Although the Jiangzhe Branch Secretariat was first established in Yangzhou, its offices were moved to Hangzhou in 1285. Several pendant commissions, such as the Hangzhou Salt Distribution Commission (established in 1277), were located here at an earlier date.
- Hangzhou mounters were in particular demand. Early Yuan records mention several cases in which collectors brought an artwork acquired in another part of the empire to Hangzhou for remounting. In one telling case, Xu Yan, acting as a courier for Vice Censor-in-chief Cui Yu 崔彧, brought a famous painting by Yan Liben 閻立本 (600–674) to Hangzhou for remounting; see Zhou Mi, *Yunyan guoyan lu*, xia:19a–b. Xianyu Shu also mentioned obtaining a scroll of calligraphy by northern masters in Dadu in 1285 and then having it mounted in Qiantang in 1290; see Xianyu Shu, *Kunxuezhai zalu* 困學齋雜錄, *Wenyuange siku quanshu* ed. (Taipei: Shangwu, 1983–89), 21–22. Extant Yuan dynasty colophons also mention similar incidents: examples include Guo Youzhi’s inscriptions on a Tang copy of *Lanting xu tie* 蘭亭序帖 (now in the Beijing Palace Museum) and on Ouyang Xun’s 歐陽詢 (557–641) *Mengdian tie* 夢奠帖 (Liaoning Museum); and Zhao Mengfu’s inscription on Han Huang’s 韓滉 (723–87) *Five Oxen* 五牛圖 (Beijing Palace Museum).
- Jacques Gernet, *Daily Life in China on the Eve of the Mongol Invasion, 1250–1276* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962), 49; Sullivan, “Social History of Chinese Art,” 95–96. Despite the title of Gernet’s book, many of his sources date from the early Yuan period.
- Zhao Mengfu, *Songxuezhai wenji* 宋雪齋文集, *Lidai huajia shi wenji* ed., 9:424–27.
- Zhou Mi, *Yunyan guoyan lu*, shang:13b.
- Zhang Zhihan 張之翰 (1243–96), *Xiyan ji* 西巖集, *Wenyuange siku quanshu* ed., 17:11.
- For Yuan dynasty uses of this term, see Zhou Mi, *Zhiyatang zachao* 志雅堂雜鈔, *Biji xubian* ed. (Taipei: Guangwen shuju, 1969), 37; and Xianyu Shu, *Kunxuezhai zalu*, 28b; For a record of a colophon by Xianyu Shu using the term, see Bian Yongyu 卞永譽 (1645–1712), *Shigutang shuhua huikao*, shu 式古堂書畫彙考·書 (Shanghai: Shanghai gujian chubanshe, 1991), 6:23. The Song dynasty connoisseur Mi Fu (1051–1107) also used the term in *Huashi*, *Huapin congshu* ed. (Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1982), 209.
- Zhao Mengfu, *Songxuezhai wenji*, 9:425; Zhou Mi, *Yunyan guoyan lu*, 2:36a–b.
- Zhou Mi, *Zhiyatang zachao*, 17.
- Xianyu Shu, *Kunxuezhai zalu*, 24b.
- On the Guangjiku, see Zhou Mi, *Guixin zashi* 癸辛雜識 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980), 167; Zhou Mi, *Zhiyatang zachao*, 42; Huang Jin, *Huang jinhua xiansheng wenji* 黃金華先生文集, *Sibu congkan* ed. (Shanghai: Shangwu, 1920–36), 9:8a–9b; Wanli Hangzhou fuzhi 萬歷杭州府志, ed. Chen Shan (1579 ed. in the Central National Library, Taipei), 97:13a; Song Lian 宋濂 (1310–81) et al., *Yuanshi* 元史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 16:338; Tao Zongyi 陶宗儀 (b. 1316), *Chuogeng lu* 輟耕錄, *Sibu congkan* ed., 10:7a; and Ankeney Weitz, “Collecting and Connoisseurship in Early Yuan China: Zhou Mi’s *Yunyan guoyan lu*” (Ph.D. diss., University of Kansas, 1994), 23–34.
- Fu Shen, *Yuandai huangshi shuhua shoucang shilue* (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1981), 3–4; and Marsha Weidner, “Painting and Patronage at the Mongol Court of China, 1260–1368” (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1982), 8. For the original sources, see Wang Shidian 王士點 (d. 1359), *Yuan Mishujian zhi* 元秘書監志, *Wenyuange siku quanshu* ed., 5:11b–12a; and Song Lian et al., *Yuanshi*, 9:7b.
- Zhou Mi, *Guixin zashi*, 166–67; and Zhou Mi, *Zhiyatang zachao*, 42–43.

17. Huang Jin, *Huang Jinhua xiansheng wenji*, 9:8a–9a.
18. Tao Zongyi, *Chuogeng lu*, 10:7a.
19. Zhou Mi, *Guixin zashi*, 166; and Zhou Mi, *Zhiyatang zachao*, 43; 150–51.
20. Fu Shen explains the profusion of works with Song imperial provenances in the hands of early Yuan collectors as the result of pilfering from the Song collection during the last days of the dynasty. But this late Song dispersal can account for only part of the phenomenon. See Fu Shen, *Yuandai huangshi shuhua shoucang*, 5.
21. See Lothar Ledderose, “Some Observations on the Imperial Art Collection in China,” *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society* 43 (1978–79): 35–36.
22. The Yuan treatment of the Song imperial cultural property as a source of cash revenue was not without precedent; the Jurchen Jin dynasty, which occupied the northern part of China from 1127 until 1234, had also relied on income from sales of the confiscated Song imperial collections. In his “Record of Ancient Objects,” the Jin loyalist Yuan Haowen 元好文 stated that his father obtained several objects at government-sponsored sales of the Song dynasty Xuanhe Palace collection. The items purchased by Yuan’s father were mainly miniature stone mountains, inkstones, and other semiprecious stones. See Yuan Haowen, “Guwu pu 古物譜,” in *Guochao wenlei* 國朝文類, comp. Su Tianjue 蘇天爵 (1294–1352), *Sibu congkan* ed., 45:1a.
23. Zhou Mi, *Zhiyatang zachao*, 37.
24. On the eve of the surrender of Hangzhou, Yang Zhen was seen smuggling the young successors to the throne out of Hangzhou. Yet he soon deserted the Song cause and in the early Yuan resurfaced as the junior vice councilor (rank 2A) of the Jiangxi Branch Secretariat. For a comprehensive list of materials on Yang Zhen, see Chang Bide et al., *Songren chuanji ziliao suoyin* (Taipei: Dingwen shuju, 1974), 3144; and Wang Deyi et al., *Yuanren chuanji ziliao suoyin* (Taipei: Xinhua feng chubangongsi, 1979–82), 1535. Among the more interesting items is a bitter condemnation of both Yang Zhen’s elegant lifestyle and his insensitivity toward those who chose to remain loyal; see Wei Chu 魏初 (late thirteenth century), *Qingya ji* 青崖集, *Wenyuange siku chuanshu* ed., 1:1a–2a. For Yang Zhen’s collection of bronze vessels, see Xianyu Shu, *Kunxuezhai zalu*, 25. In Zhou Mi’s *Yunyan guoyan lu*, the following items were cited as belonging to Yang at one time or another: Bian Luan 邊鸞, *Mallow Flower*; a round emerald *hu* 壺; Anonymous Tang, *Lanting xu tie* (now in the Beijing Palace Museum); Ouyang Xun, *Mengdian tie* (now in the Liaoning Provincial Museum); Bian Luan, *Five-colored Hibiscus*; Su Shi, *Bamboo and Rock* (a wall fragment from the Song imperial library). He also owned a scroll of calligraphy by Suo Jing 索靖; see Zhou Mi, *Zhiyatang zachao*, 11.
25. Zhou Mi, *Zhiyatang zachao*, 43; Zhou Mi, *Yunyan guoyan lu*, xia:4b. Lian Xigong was the son of the Uighur official Boru Khaya (1197–1265) and younger brother of the famous early Yuan statesman Lian Xixian 廉希憲 (1231–80). Xianyu Shu referred to Lian as one of his closest companions and described him as “well-read and having a general understanding of the great principles. . . . As a person, he was quiet, had few pleasures, and firmly maintained his moral integrity” (*Kunxuezhai zalu*, 7b).
26. On Wang Huchen see Song Lian et al., *Yuanshi*, 8:164, 127:3107, 10:215; Liu Yiqing 劉一清 (fourteenth century), *Qiantang yishi* 錢塘遺事 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1985), 7:6b–8a; *Songji sanchao zhengyao* 宋季三朝政要, *Baibu congshu jicheng* ed. (Taipei: Yinwen yinshuguan, 1965–), 5:6b; Lu You 陸友 (mid-fourteenth century), *Yanbei zazhi* 硯北雜志, *Biji xiaoshuo daguan* ed. (Taipei: Xinxing shudian, 1962), 2:11b; *Suzhou fuzhi* 蘇州府志, ed. Lu Tai (ms. ed. of Wanli reign period [1573–1619] in the Central National Library, Taipei), 20:19; Wang Ao 王鏊 (1450–1524), *Gu-Su zhi* 姑蘇志, *Wenyuange siku quanshu* ed., 3:35b; and *Zhishun Zhenjiang zhi* 至順鎮江志, comp. Yu Xilu 俞希魯 (1279–1369), *Wanwei biechang* ed. (Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguang, 1981), 17:32.
27. Zhou Mi, *Yunyan guoyan lu*, 1:29a–30b.
28. For this anecdote, see Lu You, *Yanbei zazhi*, 2:11b.
29. *Wanli Hangzhou fuzhi*, 61:24a–b.
30. See preface to a volume of Xu Yan’s poems entitled *Poems from the Studio of the Orchid Lover* (*Ailanyuan shijuan* 愛蘭軒詩卷), in Wang Yun 王惲 (1227–1304), *Qiujuan daquanji* 秋澗大全集, *Yuanren wenji zhenben congkan* ed. (Taipei: Xinwenfeng chubangongsi, 1985), 33:12b. Wang explains that the title of the collection refers to Xu Yan’s delight in searching out talented recluses, symbolized by the fragrant orchid blooming in obscurity.
31. Mou Yan 牟巖 (1227–1311), *Lingyang ji* 陵陽集, *Wenyuange siku quanshu* ed., 15:7a–b.
32. Two versions of the painting, probably both unrelated to the one seen by Zhou Mi in the 1290s, are now in the Shanghai Museum. One bears a copy of the Su Shi colophon. See Xu Bangda, “Wang Shen shuimo *Yanjiang diezhang tu* juan zhenwei

- kaobian," *Zhongguohua yanjiu* 2 (Sept. 1982): 296–303; and Xu Bangda, *Gu shuhua wei'e kaobian* (Nanjing: Jiangsu gujian chubanshe, 1984), 1:213–16.
33. For a list of sources on Xie Yixiu, see Chang Bide et al., *Songren chuanji ziliao suoyin*, 4123; see also Zhou Mi, *Guixin zashi*, 95.
 34. See Zhou Mi's notes on Xie Yixiu's collection in *Yunyan guoyan lu*, xia:26b. My reading of this difficult passage is as follows: Zhou states that many of the scrolls listed in Xie's inventory came originally from the collection of Jia Sidao 賈似道 and that later they were sent to Xie Tang 謝堂. I take Xie Tang to mean the Empress Dowager Xie, who would certainly have been in a position to confiscate some or all of Jia Sidao's personal collection after his murder in 1275. Zhou also says that when Xie Tang was unable to maintain the collection (perhaps due to the empress's surrender), some items were sent to a man named Qiweng 起翁. Elsewhere Zhou provides the surname of Qiweng as Xie, so I take this to be a reference to Xie Yixiu, whose collection is, after all, the topic of the passage.
 35. This scroll, now in the Beijing Palace Museum, still bears Xie Yixiu's inscription. It is reproduced in *Zhonghua wuqiannian wenwu jikan*, fashubian, vol. 2 (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1984), 136–42, 251–52. The notes in that source incorrectly transcribe Xie's inscription and therefore do not attribute it to him. For a reading of the inscription, see Weitz, "Collecting and Connoisseurship," 534.
 36. Zhao Wen 趙文 (1239–1315), *Qingshan ji* 青山集, *Wenyuange siku chuanshu* ed., 2:14a–b.
 37. Yang Yu 楊瑀 (1285–1361), *Shanju xinhua* 山居新話, *Biji xiaoshuo daguan* ed., 13a. Also quoted in Tian Rucheng 田汝成 (*jinshi* 1526), *Xihu youlan zhi* 西湖遊覽志, *Zhongguo wenxue cankao ziliao congshu* ed. (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1965), 18:2a.
 38. This is the conclusion of Zhou Mi's biographer, Jennifer Jay, who believes that Zhou Mi's wife, née Yang, was a descendant of Yang Cunzhong 楊存中 (1102–66), on whose estate the couple lived after the collapse of the Song. See Jennifer Jay, *A Change in Dynasties: Loyalty in Thirteenth-century China* (Bellingham: Center for East Asian Studies, Western Washington University, 1991), 205; and Dai Biaoyuan 戴表元 (1244–1310), *Shanyuan wenji* 剡源文集, *Sibu congkan* ed., 10:7b–9b.
 39. See Zhou Mi's *Yunyan guoyan lu* and *Zhiyatang zachao*.
 40. Although Jennifer Jay posits that Zhou Mi worked as an art dealer, no proof of such activity exists in the textual record, and it is unlikely that Zhou received monetary remuneration for whatever services he did perform. Jay, *A Change in Dynasties*, 222.
 41. Yuan Jue 袁桷 (1266–1327), *Qingrong jushi ji* 清容居士集, *Sibu congkan* ed., 33:574; also discussed in Jay, *A Change in Dynasties*, 240. It should be noted that Zhou Mi did not act alone; other loyalists like Mou Yan, Dai Biaoyuan, and even Gong Kai 龔開 (1222–1307) socialized with Yuan officials.
 42. The varied guest list for a party held at Zhou Mi's residence in 1286, during which he unveiled his newly restored version of the *Orchid Pavilion Preface*, is a good example; see Dai Biaoyuan, *Shanyuan wenji*, 10:7b–9b. Similar guest lists, in which both prominent northern officials and southern loyalists are named, appear in Lu You, *Yanbei zashi*, shang:15; and Bian Yongyu, *Shigutang shuhua huikao*, shu, 6:15b–16b. Marilyn Fu [Wong Gleysteen] also quotes and comments on Liu Guan's 柳貫 (1270–1342) reminiscences of scholarly gatherings in Hangzhou attended by both northern and southern gentlemen; see Fu, "The Impact of Re-unification," 376–79.
 43. On Li Ti, see Zhang Guangbin, "Yuandai Shanxi liang-Li xueshi shengping ji shuhua," *Gugong xueshu jikan* 4, no. 3 (1987): 1–31; and Chen Gaohua, *Yuandai huaji shiliao* (Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1980), 122–31.
 44. Zhao Wen, *Qingshan ji*, 4:33b. This source records an inscription on a group portrait of the "Seven Leftover Subjects," in which Li Ti's rather incongruous presence is explained.
 45. Marilyn Fu [Wong Gleysteen]'s study of Xianyu Shu demonstrates this phenomenon in detail; see "The Impact of Re-unification." On the adoption of Chinese cultural practices by Central Asians, see Chen Yuan, *Yuan xiyuren huahua kao* (1935, rpt. Taipei: Jiusi chubanshe, 1977); trans. Ch'ien Hsing-hai and L. Carrington Goodrich, *Western and Central Asians in China under the Mongols: Their Transformation into Chinese* (Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 1989).
 46. Mi Fu, *Huashi*, 203. As noted below, Mi Fu's statement quoted here expresses an ideal to which even Mi did not adhere. In fact, throughout his writings on art Mi delighted in citing the prices he had paid for objects in his possession. See, for instance, *Huashi*, 194, 196, 207, 209, 211, 215, 219; and Mi Fu, *Shushi* 書史, trans. in Lothar Ledderose, *Mi Fu and the Classical Tradition of Chinese Calligraphy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 100, 103, 107.

47. Igor Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process," in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 77–78.
48. See Craig Clunas, *Superfluous Things: Material Culture and Social Status in Early Modern China* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1991), 118–19; and Sandi Chin and Cheng-chi Hsu, "Anhui Merchant Culture and Patronage," in *Shadows of Mt. Huang: Chinese Painting and Printing of the Anhui School*, ed. James Cahill (Berkeley, University Art Museum, 1981), 24. In fact, the citation of prices paid for art objects appeared even earlier in writings on Chinese art. Zhang Huaiguan 張懷瓘 and Zhang Yanyuan 張彥遠 in the Tang; Mi Fu in the Song; and Zhou Mi in the Yuan all discussed prices, suggesting that the taboo may be a creation of modern art-historical literature. See Zhang Huaiguan, *Shugu* 書估, in *Fashu yaolu* 法書要錄, comp. Zhang Yanyuan (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1986), 4:112–16; Zhang Yanyuan, *Lidai minghua ji* 歷代名畫記, trans. in William Reynolds Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts on Chinese Painting*, vol. 1 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1954), 194–202; Mi Fu, *Huashi*, 194, 196, 207, 209, 211, 215, 219; and Mi Fu, *Shushi*, 100, 103, 107. For prices cited by Zhou Mi, see Weitz, "Collecting and Connoisseurship," appendix E.
49. Tang Hou 湯垕 (late thirteenth–fourteenth centuries), *Hualun* 畫論, *Meishu congshu* ed. (Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1963 and 1975), 5; trans. in *Early Chinese Texts on Painting*, eds. Susan Bush and Hsiao-yen Shih (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985), 259. I have made modifications to the translation appearing there.
50. Li Kan 李衍 (1245–1320), *Xizhai zhupu* 息齋竹譜, in *Lidai lunhua mingzhuo huipian*, comp. Shen Zicheng (Beijing: Wenwu, 1982), 153–54; trans. in Arthur Kao, "The Life and Art of Li K'an" (Ph.D. diss., University of Kansas, 1979), 205–6.
51. Zhou Mi, *Zhiyatang zachao*, 13–14.
52. Zhou Mi, *Zhiyatang zachao*, 15–16.
53. Zhou Mi, *Zhiyatang zachao*, 151–52. The text reads: "he did not reach the asking price and returned them" (*buji choujia huanzhi* 不及酬價還之). The identities of both Xie Ruweng and Zhang Xingzhi are unknown.
54. Several scholars have pointed out the Chinese practice of using art as bribes. R. C. Rudolph brought to light the story of a Song magistrate who "ordered people brought before him for criminal offenses to pay their fines in early bronzes. In this way he created a collection of fifty or sixty pieces." R. C. Rudolph, "Preliminary Notes on Sung Archaeology," *Journal of Asian Studies* 22, no. 2 (1963): 175. The citation is from Ye Mengde 葉夢得 (1077–1148), *Shilin bishu luhua* 石林避暑錄話 (Shanghai: Shanghai shuju, 1990), 3:10a–b. Waikam Ho also commented on the widespread use of paintings as bribes in the late Northern Song, calling it a "vulgarization of the art." Waikam Ho et al., *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1980), xxviii. Ho probably based his comment on a statement by Cai Tao 蔡條: "the love and appreciation [of art] is practiced everywhere, and the world treats it as merchandise and bribes; this is indeed a fault of our age." See Cai Tao (late eleventh century), *Tieweishan congkan* 鐵圍山叢談, *Baibu congshu* ed., 4:23b; trans. in Alsop, *Rare Art Traditions*, 146. In the Yuan, Tang Hou criticized the numerous fake paintings presented to the Southern Song minister Jia Sidao by subordinates hoping to forward their careers. See Tang Hou, *Hualun*, 7. For a more in-depth discussion of gifts and bribes in the early Yuan, see Weitz, "Collecting and Connoisseurship," 164–71.
55. Wang Yun, *Qiuqian daquan ji*, 72:12b–13a. Wang Yun refers to his "southern mission," which occurred in 1290 and involved the suppression of rebellions in Fujian Province. Wang had held the position of investigating censor from 1268 to 1272, so the two men had been acquainted for about twenty years.
56. I have not found further mention of Qiao Kuicheng in Wang Yun's voluminous writings. Except for the short period that they worked together in the Central Secretariat early in their careers, there is no evidence that they were long-term colleagues. In 1290 (when the exchange took place), Wang was an investigation commissioner in the Regional Investigation Office (rank 3A), while Qiao was assistant commissioner of the Liangzhe General Salt Distribution Commission (rank 5).
57. For Wang Yun's biography, see Herbert Franke, "Wang Yun (1227–1304): A Transmitter of Chinese Values," in *Yuan Thought: Chinese Thought and Religion under the Mongols*, ed. Hok-lam Chan and Wm. Theodore de Bary (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), 153–96.
58. Xia Wenyan 夏文彥, *Tuhui baojian* 圖繪寶鑑, *Huashi congshu* ed. (Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1962), 5:127.
59. Alsop even refers to art history and art collecting as "Siamese twins," commenting that "art history goes hand in hand with art collecting at all times." See Alsop, *Rare Art Traditions*, 16, 100–136.

QIU YING'S DELICATE STYLE

BY ELLEN JOHNSTON LAING

THE ARTIST QIU YING 仇英 WAS BORN IN TAICANG 太倉 in present-day Jiangsu Province in South China, probably in 1494, and moved to nearby Suzhou, where he became a pupil of Zhou Chen 周臣 (ca. 1500–ca. 1535). Qiu Ying was later honored as one of the Four Great Masters of the Ming dynasty, yet information about his life is sparse at best; his birth and death dates are not certain, although current scholarship accepts 1494 as his birth date and 1552 as his death date. Considering his fame, Qiu Ying has received little sustained attention overall. In 1961 Martie W. Young wrote a dissertation on him, and in 1985 Stephen Little published a lengthy but narrowly focused study detailing Qiu's relationships with literati painters and calligraphers, as well as with other members of the cultural elite of Suzhou and its environs.¹ Little also addressed several questions about Qiu of concern to twentieth-century biographers, such as his exact birth and death dates and his supposed illiteracy.

The majority of Qiu's paintings are undated, making it difficult to trace his artistic development. He was an immensely versatile artist, commanding a wide range of styles and subjects far beyond the capabilities of his contemporaries. One compilation lists, amazingly, more than thirty artists in whose styles Qiu supposedly worked. This very proliferation of styles and subjects connected with Qiu's paintings compounds the problems surrounding any definition of his oeuvre, as does the multitude of third-rate and even hack works attributed to him, a situation also lamented by Young. "Qiu Ying" paintings were clearly a mainstay of the forgery industry, which catered to both the wealthy collector and the Suzhou tourist souvenir market.

Neither Young nor Little established a repertoire of traits particular to Qiu Ying's individual brushwork style, which would determine a standard for authenticating his work. Qiu's immediate artistic sources have been ignored and his own attainments neglected. As a consequence, historians of Chinese art often gloss over Qiu Ying because they are at a loss about how to understand him and how to present his achievements. Even Max Loehr admitted, "it is not easy to pin

down the real Ch'iu Ying [Qiu Ying]."² James Cahill complained that Qiu was "strangely invisible."³ Xu Bangda, however, claimed that "his brush touch could be detected."⁴ It is Xu's conviction that informs this article, whose goal is twofold: first, to define through visual analysis the salient features, and thus the stylistic standards, of Qiu Ying's delicate-style figures and architecture;⁵ second, to employ these touchstones as criteria to reject the authenticity of three hanging scrolls and one album, all long considered to be genuine works by the master.

Features of Qiu Ying's Delicate Style

Qiu Ying sometimes depicted figures in the ancient mode without supporting background and apparently never painted pure landscape without figures. His figures and buildings are often minuscule and difficult to analyze; yet, with some work, certain distinguishing features can be discerned.

To establish the principal features of Qiu's delicate style, I will focus on details from thirteen paintings representing a range of techniques, media, and formats as well as a range in the scale of figures and their settings from medium in size to miniature.⁶ Two examples are rendered in *baimiao* 白描 ink only on paper: the hanging scroll *Fishing by a Willow Bank* (National Palace Museum, Taipei) and the handscroll *A Donkey for Mr. Zhu: Soliciting Pledges for Its Purchase* (Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Washington DC). Executed in ink and light color on paper are three handscrolls: *Picking Lotus* (present location unknown; fig. 1), *A Beauty in Spring Thoughts* (National Palace Museum, Taipei), *Zhao Mengfu* 趙孟頫 Writing "The Heart Sutra" in Exchange for Tea, possibly painted during the early 1540s (Cleveland Museum of Art); three hanging scrolls: *Fisherman's Flute Heard over the Lake* (Nelson-Atkins Gallery, Kansas City; fig. 2), *A Lady in a Pavilion Overlooking a Lake* (Boston Museum of Fine Arts; fig. 3), and *Thatched Pavilion under Bamboo and Wutong Trees* (which bears an inscription by Wang Chong 王寵 who died in 1533, thus providing a *terminus*



FIG. 1. Qiu Ying, *Picking Lotus*, handscroll, ink and light color on paper, dimensions unavailable.
Present location unknown. After slides courtesy of James Cahill.



FIG. 2. Qiu Ying, *Fisherman's Flute Heard over the Lake*, hanging scroll, ink and light color on paper, 159.7 × 84.2 cm. The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City. Gift of John M. Crawford in honor of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art.



FIG. 3. Qiu Ying, *A Lady in a Pavilion Overlooking a Lake*, hanging scroll, ink and light color on paper, 89.5 × 37.3 cm. Chinese and Japanese Special Fund. Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

ante quem for this scroll; Shanghai Museum; fig. 4); and one album leaf: *Zhuangzi* 莊子 (which also bears a poem inscribed by Wang Chong, thus dating it to before 1533; Kurokawa Institute, Japan; fig. 5).⁷ Representative of color on silk and of the somewhat heavier use of color and ink on silk are the hanging scroll *Awaiting the Ferry by an Autumn River* (National Palace Museum, Taipei) and two hand scrolls: *Eastern Grove* (National Palace Museum, Taipei; fig. 6) and *The Garden for*

Self-Enjoyment (Cleveland Museum of Art). The final example is a silk handscroll painted in the meticulous *gongbi* 工筆 heavy color approach: *Spring Morning in the Han Palace* (National Palace Museum, Taipei; fig. 7).

Accurate descriptive drawing was Qiu Ying's special talent; it makes his people look more real and "alive" than those by other artists who rely upon inherited brush stroke formulae rather than visual observation. Qiu Ying never depicts



FIG. 4. Qiu Ying, *Thatched Pavilion under Bamboo and Wutong Trees*, before 1533, hanging scroll, ink and light color on paper, 148.8 × 57.2 cm. Shanghai Museum. After *Tōsō genmin meiga taikan* (Tokyo: Otsuka Kōgeisha, 1929), 277.



FIG. 5. Qiu Ying, *Zhuangzi*, album leaf, ink and light color on paper, 38.6 × 30 cm. Kurokawa Institute, Japan. After Sirén, *Chinese Painting*, 6:pl. 238.

clothing according to a conventional schematic linear pattern but carefully constructs it to reflect the underlying body and its position. The placement of torsos and heads always precisely conveys the activity of the individual depicted. Thus, as seen, for example, in *Zhao Mengfu Writing "The Heart Sutra"* (fig. 8a), *Eastern Grove* (fig. 8b), *Awaiting the Ferry by an Autumn River* (fig. 8c), and in the portraitist in *Spring Morning in the Han Palace* (fig. 8d), gowns rest upon shoulders; collars encircle necks; sleeves drape over raised lower arms; at the elbow, sleeve folds peak and are tucked into each other. The fabric of a full gown is slack between the knees or spreads taut over legs. The sitters' buttocks occupy a good portion of their rattan stools. In *Fisherman's Flute Heard over the Lake*, the fluting fisherman (fig. 8e) has thrust his fishing pole under his body to free his hands for music-making; his head is turned to the correct degree to play the instrument; and his sleeve accurately reflects the position of his raised right arm. In both the older rustic who pulls the rope of the recalcitrant donkey in *Donkey for Mr. Zhu* (fig. 8f) and the tousle-headed boy who fans the brazier heating his master's wine in *Fisherman's*



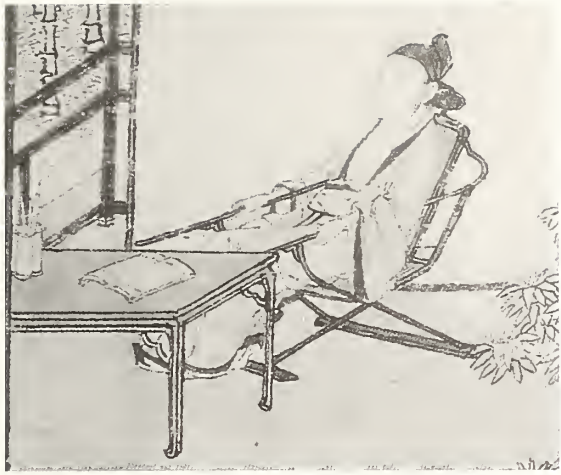
FIG. 6. Qiu Ying, *Eastern Grove*, section of a handscroll, before 1524, ink and color on silk, 29.5 × 136.4 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.



FIG. 7. Qiu Ying, *Spring Morning in the Han Palace*, section of a handscroll, ink and color on silk, 30.6 × 574.1 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.



FIG. 8. a) Qiu Ying, *Zhao Mengfu Writing "The Heart Sutra" in Exchange for Tea*, detail of two men, early 1540s (?), handscroll, ink and light color on paper. © The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1997, John L. Severance Fund, 1963.102; b) Qiu Ying, *Eastern Grove*, detail of two men; c) Qiu Ying, *Awaiting the Ferry by an Autumn River*, detail of seated man, hanging scroll, ink and color on silk. National Palace Museum, Taipei; d) Qiu Ying, *Spring Morning in the Han Palace*, detail of portraittist; e) Qiu Ying, *Fisherman's Flute Heard over the Lake*, detail of fluting fisherman; f) Qiu Ying, *A Donkey for Mr. Zhu: Soliciting Pledges for Its Purchase*, detail of servant, handscroll, ink on paper. Courtesy Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution (1987.213); g) Qiu Ying, *Fisherman's Flute Heard over the Lake*, detail of servant; h) Qiu Ying (copy after?), *A Lady Playing the Harp in a Pavilion* (see fig. 22), detail of listener.



a



b

Flute Heard over the Lake (fig. 8g), shirt sleeves define the extended or bent arm, collars hug their shoulders, and necks thrust their heads forward.

The posture of people sitting in an array of chairs is physically correct and appropriate, sometimes conveying certain specific activities or moods. The scholar resting in his recliner in *Thatched Hut under Bamboo and Wutong Trees* (fig. 9a) fits snugly into the chair and is securely supported by its structure. This is the perfect picture of a retired scholar or official, as indicated in the poems inscribed above.⁸ In the six scenes where Sima Guang 司馬光 is depicted in his *Garden for Self-Enjoyment*, he is always, although tiny in scale, comfortable in his surroundings. Three scenes in this scroll show Sima in three entirely different moods as revealed in his postures. In his Reading Hall (fig. 9b) Sima sits at a small table. With his hands in his sleeves, he leans forward and tilts his head as he ponders the document spread on the table before him. His brush and inkstone are to one side. Close examination reveals that he is actually sitting at an angle to the table, turned slightly to his left, thereby facilitating any note-taking he might wish to do. Here Sima is formal yet alert. In the Studio for Planting Bamboo (fig. 9c), Sima sits on a faldstool, one arm casually draped over the back of the chair, one leg bent under his body, as he supervises the placement of bamboo plants. Here Sima is informal and more active as he converses with his servant. In his Pavilion for Watering Plants (fig. 9d), he sits on a low platform and leans against an arm rest. His left knee is drawn up to support his outstretched left arm, his face tilted upward. Here Sima is relaxed but thoughtful.



c



d

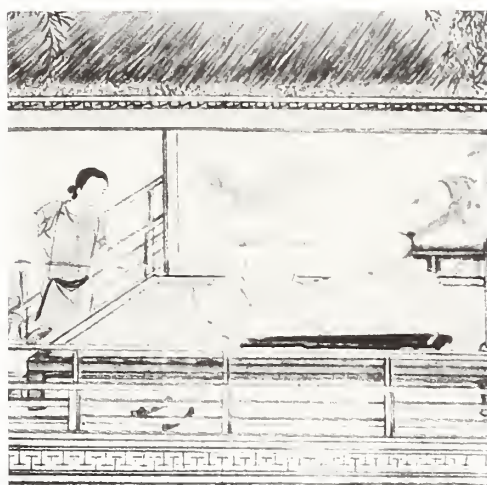
FIG. 9. a) Qiu Ying, *Thatched Hut under Bamboo and Wutong Trees*, detail of resting scholar; b) Qiu Ying, *The Garden for Self-Enjoyment*, detail of Sima Guang in his Reading Hall, handscroll, ink and light color on silk. © The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1997, Leonard C. Hanna, Jr., Fund, 1978.67; c) Qiu Ying, *The Garden for Self-Enjoyment*, detail of Sima Guang in his Studio for Planting Bamboo; d) Qiu Ying, *The Garden for Self-Enjoyment*, detail of Sima Guang in his Pavilion for Watering Plants.



a



b



c



d

In *Fisherman's Flute Heard over the Lake* the man in a lakeside pavilion listening to the fisherman's flute (fig. 10a) sits well back on the platform and leans his back against the rail. The fisherman in *Fishing by a Willow Bank* (fig. 10b) is firmly situated on the stern of the skiff. On the portly side (his breasts sag a bit, and he has a small paunch), he slouches somewhat. His horizontal leg clearly lies on the platform, the pressure causing the calf to bulge slightly, and the sole of his foot is properly turned upward. The fisherman's right hand clearly grasps the fishing pole; the other presses

it against his thigh. In contrast, the fisherman in a fan painting supposedly by Qiu Ying, *Fisherman in a Boat on a Willow Stream* (National Palace Museum, Taipei) is in danger of slipping off his perch at the stern of his boat. His legs are stiffly rendered, and his too-large hands are awkwardly stuck on top of the paddle he purports to hold.⁹ Even lower on the spectrum, a fisherman playing the flute under the moon in another fan painting attributed to Qiu Ying (National Palace Museum, Taipei) is a stick figure.¹⁰

Qiu Ying was not averse to depicting men in



FIG. 11. a) Qiu Ying, *A Donkey for Mr. Zhu*, detail of scholar;
b) Li Gonglin, *Five Horses and Grooms*,
detail, handscroll, ink on paper, apparently lost.
After Sirén, *Chinese Painting*, 3:pl. 192.

casual dress or near nudity, as in *Thatched Hut under Bamboo and Wutong Trees* (fig. 9a), *Fishing by a Willow Bank* (fig. 10b), *Picking Lotus* (fig. 10c), and the *Zhuangzi* album leaf (fig. 10d). Thin, slightly modulated lines contour the shapes of flaccid arms and legs—flaccid because little sense of skeletal structure is evident in the lower leg or the arms, although Qiu goes so far in rendering the anatomy of the scholar listening to the fisherman's flute as to indicate the hairs on the lower arms and legs. In these figures, ankle, knee, and elbow joints are indicated with a curved line. Feet and hands caused problems for Qiu Ying: feet frequently look puffy and paddle-shaped, while fingers are often rendered with a schematic series of straight parallel lines.

For the most part, Qiu Ying prefers either three-quarters or profile views. Pairs of figures are most often depicted in these two contrasting postures. Some postures are repeated in different pictures, even though the figures are rendered in slightly different drawing styles. The

pose of Zhao Mengfu seated in three-quarters view with head tilted downward in *Writing "The Heart Sutra"* (fig. 8a) is identical to that of the scholar waiting for the ferry in autumn (fig. 8c). Another set of similar figures, those in profile, is seen in the seated monk in *Writing "The Heart Sutra"* (fig. 8a), in the left-hand scholar of *Eastern Grove* (fig. 8b), and in the artist painting an empress's portrait in *Spring Morning in the Han Palace* (fig. 8d). Each figure is bent slightly forward. The back center seam of the robe is indicated by a single line about one-quarter of the way from the far side of the body. These figures also share identical rendering of facial features, in particular the strongly rounded forehead and the jutting nose, which give specificity to the face.

The typical masculine figure in Qiu Ying's art has a large, squarish face with a high forehead, a sparse, drooping moustache, and a wispy beard; the eyes are placed in an askew position. The source for this facial configuration is the eleventh-century *baimiao* expert Li Gonglin 李公麟. As pointed out several years ago, the scholar figure in Qiu Ying's *Donkey for Mr. Zhu* (fig. 11a) is extremely close to a groom depicted in Li's *Five Horses and Grooms*, datable to 1090 (presumed lost; fig. 11b).¹¹ A major difference is that Qiu Ying has made the face appear less plump by strongly indenting the orbital rim.

Li Gonglin is also the source of the fine line Qiu used to depict his figure of Zhao Mengfu in *Writing "The Heart Sutra"* (fig. 8a). This austere technique demands direct and pure drawing. As used by Li Gonglin, it primarily employs straight lines and does not admit brush flourishes such as hook backs or strongly accented beginnings or ends of strokes. It does allow, however, for slight broadening of the line width where the brush turns on angles. In *Writing "The Heart Sutra,"* Qiu Ying introduced a more curvilinear version of this fine-line mode but, true to Li Gonglin, avoids hook backs and embellishments. Qiu was able to preserve much of this abstemious style in small-scale figures, such as that of the scholar in *Fisherman's Flute Heard over the Lake* (fig. 10a), even though the dry line has lost some of its glyphic fluidity. In addition, in *Donkey for Mr. Zhu* and *Fisherman's Flute Heard over the Lake*, the rendering of two servants is similar, despite the fact that the two are of different age and engaged in entirely different tasks (fig. 8f). The brushwork here is more staccato, reflecting the more angular emphasis associated with Southern Song court



FIG. 12. Li Song, *Skeleton Puppet Show*, fan, ink and color on silk, dimensions unavailable. Palace Museum, Beijing. After *Songren huace* (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1957), 58.

painters, such as Li Song 李嵩 (fig. 12), but with more economical use of line. Sometimes, adopting a Song device widely used in fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century figure depiction, Qiu Ying strengthens a line with white, as in the left-hand gentleman in *Eastern Grove* (fig. 8b) or the scholar in *Awaiting the Ferry by an Autumn River* (fig. 8c).

Qiu Ying did not need to study Li Gonglin directly; more recent sources for this general male facial type were available. It was used by Zhou Chen, Qiu Ying's teacher, as well as by figure painters like Wu Wei 吳偉 (1459–1508) working in Nanjing. On one of Wu Wei's scrolls entitled *The North Sea Spirit* (National Palace Museum, Taipei; fig. 13), the Suzhou master Shen Zhou 沈周 (1427–1509) wrote a colophon that reconfirms connections between Nanjing and Suzhou artistic circles. The impressive spirit has features identical to those seen in Qiu Ying's male figures: squarish face, sparse facial hair, and telltale, strongly askew eyes.

As seen in *A Beauty in Spring Thoughts* (fig. 14a) and *Spring Morning in the Han Palace* (fig. 14b), Qiu Ying's women are all petite and slender.¹² Their shoulders slant downward at an angle. Their necks are slender (but not skinny) and slightly tapered. Their heads are oval. Their basic costume usually consists of a long skirt bound just below the bust with long sashes and knotted ties, blouses with full sleeves or narrow cuffs, and



FIG. 13. Wu Wei, *The North Sea Spirit*, hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 158.4 × 93.2 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.



FIG. 14. a) Qiu Ying, *A Beauty in Spring Thoughts*, detail, handscroll, ink and light color on paper. National Palace Museum, Taipei; b) Qiu Ying, *Spring Morning in the Han Palace*, detail; c) Qiu Ying (?), *Yang Guifei*, detail (see fig. 28).



sometimes narrow stoles. Lapels, even if multiple, are neatly flat. Their hair is done in soft puffs or chignons, which cover the ears. In drawing, the lines carefully render straight folds and creases, curving only when demanded, for instance by the fall of the skirt over the feet. A few hooked lines may be found at sleeve elbows.

The favored view of the female face is three-quarters. A curved line often defines the chin;

there might be another at the line of Venus on the neck. The contour of the face is even and regular. The indentation at the orbital rim is barely perceptible. Eyes are placed in the middle of the face, halfway between chin and hairline. They are usually askew: if one eye is directly on the central horizontal axis of the face, the other will be placed at an acute angle to this axis. Although the eyes may be placed some distance apart, a bit of the face is always visible beyond the corner of the far eye. The far eye is at the very edge of the face only when the head is turned beyond the three-quarters view. Eyebrows are thin, short arcs, often pointed in the center. Sometimes one eyebrow will be arched and the other pointed or tending toward the straight. The nose is rendered as if in "profile" by a single line demarcating the bridge, then curving around the tip of the nose and along the nostril wings; sometimes a small accentuation marks a nostril. Occasionally, even though the face is in three-quarters view, the nose will be delineated as if in a frontal view: two lines to mark the bridge and the tip, with nostrils more completely defined. Lips are rarely completely indicated. They are usually small and thin. The corners are pulled sharply upward into a V-shaped smile. A small dot may accentuate the lower lip.

These stylistic characteristics contrast, for example, with those in feminine figures by Qiu's older contemporary, Tang Yin 唐寅 (1470–1524). In his depiction of *Lady Ban Holding a Fan*



FIG. 15. Tang Yin, *Lady Ban Holding a Fan*, hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, 150.4 × 63.6 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.



FIG. 16. *Procession of Ladies*, detail, mural in tomb of Princess Yongtai, dated 706. After T. Akiyama et al., *Arts of China*, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1968), color pl. 10.



FIG. 17. *Toilette Scene*, detail, mural in a tomb at Baisha, ca. 1099. After Su Bai, *Baisha Song mu* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1975), pl. 37.

(National Palace Museum, Taipei; fig. 15), Tang uses more erratic line work to depict garments. Bodice lapels are softly ruffled rather than flat. The shape of Tang's female head more nearly approaches the spherical, and consequently the face is rounder and broader. Eyes may be slightly askew, but the far-side eye is always directly on the orbital rim. Eyebrows are nearly horizontal with but a slight arch. Both upper and lower lips are clearly indicated. They form a "rose-bud,"

small but full and rounded, never thin and angled. The ears are often visible.

Qiu Ying's formulation of the feminine face, as described above, has no exact counterpart in previous art. The Tang dynasty facial type as seen in the tomb of Princess Yongtai 永泰公主 (dated 706) has a round face, full cheeks, large mouth, and wide eyebrows (fig. 16). Song dynasty artists preferred a different facial type. In the murals in a tomb at Baisha 白沙, Honan, assigned a date of



FIG. 18. *A Woman*, detail, mural in Yongle Gong, fourteenth century. After *Yongle Gong* (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1964), pl. 171.



FIG. 19. Anonymous, *Cockfight*, early Ming, once attributed to Liu Songnian, fan, ink and color on silk, dimensions unavailable. Palace Museum, Beijing. After *Yuanren huace*, vol. 1 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1959).

around 1099 (fig. 17), faces are somewhat plump but tend toward the rectangular. Brows are long and horizontal and lips fully defined. The facial configuration used by some artists in the Southern Song painting academy comes the closest to providing a prototype for Qiu Ying's faces. In Li Song's *Skeleton Puppet Show* (Palace Museum, Beijing; fig. 12) the faces are narrow, and the line of Venus is indicated. The eyebrows rise strongly in the center, and the chin is outlined. The mouth, however, is completely defined, and the eyes are not askew. Yuan dynasty painters again preferred a heavy face, now with wide jowls, as well as full lips and either rounded, arching eyebrows or horizontal brows. These features are evident, for example, in the feminine figures in the mid-fourteenth-century narrative murals at Yongle Gong 永樂宮 in Shanxi Province (fig. 18).

As already noted, Qiu Ying's masculine faces derive from Li Gonglin and are also similar to those depicted by fifteenth-century Nanjing artists such as Wu Wei. But Wu Wei's plump, soft feminine faces are not the models for Qiu Ying's women. We must conclude, then, that one of Qiu

Ying's personal achievements in figure painting was the creation of a distinct feminine facial and figural type. This distinct figure type can be taken as a hallmark of his hand.

Qiu Ying's *Spring Morning in the Han Palace* (fig. 7) is distantly related to Southern Song courtly styles such as that in the anonymous *Ladies Classic of Filial Piety*.¹³ The late fifteenth-century artist Du Jin 杜堇 did paint a series of ladies in palatial settings, and he is known to have spent time in Suzhou, but his figures are the hefty women of the Tang tradition. It is more likely that the intermediate source between the Song dynasty and Qiu Ying's time are the renditions on fans (fig. 19) that were once assigned to Song masters but are obviously late Yuan or early Ming reflections of earlier scenes of palace life,¹⁴ or works like the larger hanging scroll depiction of a palace or upper-class courtyard with the tipsy owner returning home on horseback and servants hastening to welcome him.¹⁵ Such paintings were undoubtedly available to sixteenth-century artists and must have inspired *Spring Morning in the Han Palace*. They share the general scheme of small-scale



FIG. 20. Anonymous, *Gentlemen Admiring Paintings*, fourteenth century, album leaf, ink and color on silk, 24.5 × 15.7 cm. Suzhou Museum. After *Suzhou bowuguan canghua ji* (n.p.: Wenwu chubanshe, 1963), 2.

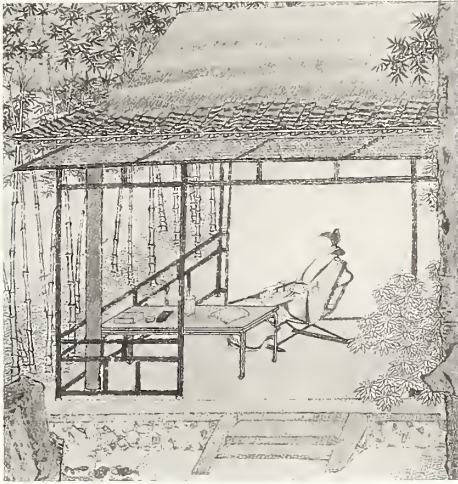
figures in palace buildings and courtyards. They also share the detailed rendition of architecture, the depiction of inhabitants of each pavilion and chamber, as well as the insistence upon furnishing each room with stools, stands, tables, standing screens (often complete with paintings on their surfaces), and tables loaded with decorative and practical wine jars, vases holding coral branches, platters, and serving bowls. These paintings also share the slender female figures with Qiu Ying's *Spring Morning in the Han Palace*. An additional similarity is the rapport between the women, who exchange glances as they carry out their tasks. The more complicated arrangement of women in groups seen in Qiu's Ying's *Spring Morning in the Han Palace* must come from the same pictorial matrix.

Another source, associated primarily with the

Southern Song artist Liu Songnian 劉松年, is the numerous close-up views of scholars gathered on terraces enjoying learned pastimes such as calligraphy, poetry, music, painting, and chess.¹⁶ The large-scale figures are surrounded by screens, furniture, and tables laden with scholarly accouterments. Although none of these works is from the hand of Liu, a fine example of this genre, probably from the late Song or early Yuan, is still extant (Suzhou Museum; fig. 20). The large number of paintings depicting scholars at their pastimes, often repeating certain poses and gestures, suggests that such images were common and readily available in later centuries. Indeed, Qiu Ying's domestics with round faces and wide shoulders, often pictured bending slightly at the waist, come out of this tradition, as do Tang Yin's servant figures.¹⁷

A major difference between the earlier fan paintings of palace scenes or those of scholarly gatherings and works by Qiu Ying is, of course, the extraordinarily high degree of polish and finish with which Qiu renders his figures and objects. Complex scrolls like *Spring Morning in the Han Palace* required an orderly and precise mind to arrange and accommodate the many layers of disparate images from background to foreground into an exacting and harmonious form. Crucial to understanding Qiu Ying's personal brush style is the recognition that first and foremost he conscientiously observed reality and scrupulously transferred what he saw into his pictures. He was a superb draftsman who excelled in faultlessly depicting the human figure, architecture, objects, and nature, even sometimes in miniature. Although he employed his own brush patterns and conventions, these were always rendered with total awareness of observable reality.

An unabashed sensualist, Qiu delighted in depicting manmade objects in luxurious surroundings. *Thatched Hut under Bamboo and Wutong Trees* (fig. 21a), *Eastern Grove* (fig. 6), *Spring Morning in the Han Palace* (fig. 7), *Picking Lotus* (fig. 10c), *Fisherman's Flute Heard over a Lake* (fig. 21b), *A Lady in a Pavilion Overlooking a Lake* (fig. 21c), and *Garden for Self-Enjoyment* (figs. 21d, e) demonstrate his superb draftsmanship in rendering such objects. His buildings, pavilions, and terraces are always rendered as three-dimensional architecture enclosing interior spaces, never merely perfunctory façades or haphazard structures. Sections of buildings are joined architecturally, whether the connections be vertical as in two-storied pavilions or horizontal as in halls and



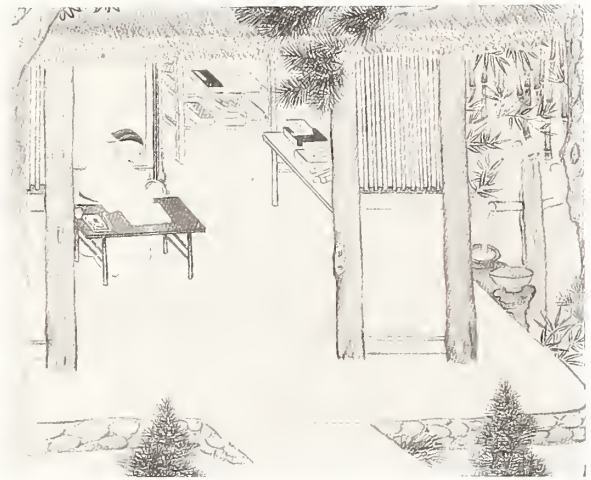
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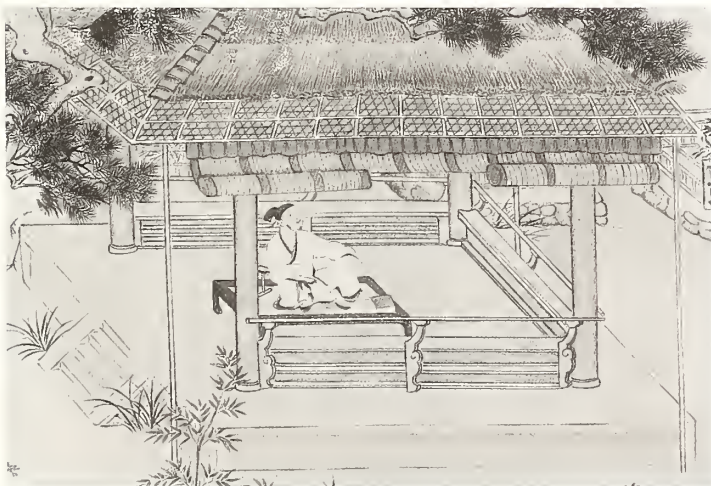
b



c



d



e

FIG. 21. a) Qiu Ying, *Thatched Hut under Bamboo and Wutong Trees*, detail of architecture; b) Qiu Ying, *Fisherman's Flute Heard over a Lake*, detail of architecture; c) Qiu Ying, *A Lady in a Pavilion Overlooking a Lake*, detail of architecture; d) Qiu Ying, *The Garden for Self-Enjoyment*, detail of Sima Guang's Reading Hall; e) Qiu Ying, *The Garden for Self-Enjoyment*, detail of Sima Guang's Pavilion for Watering Flowers.



FIG. 22. Qiu Ying (copy after?), *Lady Playing the Harp in a Pavilion*, hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 70.6 × 30.1 cm. Chinese and Japanese Special Fund. Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

attached service rooms. The architecture is completely comprehensible as defining spaces designed for living. Architectural details are accurately rendered. Qiu Ying fastidiously delineates the foundations of buildings, their wooden pillars and posts, railings and latticed wall partitions, roofs and gable ornaments, curtains and rolled-up blinds, extended eaves and awnings. Visible interiors, whether occupied or vacant, are always furnished with standing screens, on which may be depicted landscape paintings, and tables set

with books, antiquities, or incense paraphernalia.

Fisherman's Flute Heard over the Lake (fig. 2) and *A Lady in a Pavilion Overlooking a Lake* (fig. 3) show two more traits of Qiu Ying's artistry: his fondness for multiple layers and his extreme sensitivity to nature. Here groves of trees lend themselves to the distinguishing characteristics of Qiu's brush observed by Laurence Sickman:

[In *Fisherman's Flute Heard over the Lake*] one might point out how successfully Ch'iu Ying [Qiu Ying] has handled the rich mass of leaves drawn in several different kinds of outline, a method employed to convey the variety and multiplicity of growth. A less skilled hand could easily fall into monotony, confusion, or mere virtuosity.¹⁸

Further, Qiu Ying indulged in multiple and intricate overlaps of foliage and architecture. His deep sensitivity to natural form far exceeded that of other artists. Consequently, his plants always grow out of the soil; branch and leaf are in correct relation to each other; grass blades cluster properly. He rarely used pepper dots or other generic "foliage" conventions when he could, instead, depict rushes, reeds, grasses, or lotus leaves.

Authenticity of Works Attributed to Qiu Ying

The above findings offer a sound basis for judging the authenticity of several paintings long attributed to Qiu Ying: *Lady Playing the Harp in a Pavilion*, the two garden paintings now in the Chion-in in Kyoto, and the album of illustrations to stories now in the Palace Museum, Beijing.

In *Lady Playing the Harp in a Pavilion* (fig. 22) a young woman seated in a pavilion performs on a harp for a gentleman listener. She is accompanied by a maiden, half hidden behind a pillar, playing the clappers. The pavilion is beneath two tall pine trees and is fronted by low stones. Below a mountainous valley heavily shrouded with thick clouds is a small stalactite cavern from which issues a stream. A girl carrying a spray of flowers crosses the flat bridge spanning the brook. The scroll bears Qiu Ying's name.¹⁹ A colophon by Wen Peng 文彭 (1497–1573) asserts that he saw the painting in the home of Zhou Fenglai 周鳳來 (1523–55). Toward the end of 1542 Chen Shun 陳淳 (1483–1544), a Suzhou native, traveled to Kunshan to visit Zhou Fenglai and there saw this painting; upon Zhou's request Chen composed a colophon for it. Chen's statement, written on a



a



b



c



d



e

FIG. 23. a) Qiu Ying (copy after?), *Lady Playing the Harp in a Pavilion*, detail of lady harpist; b) Qiu Ying, *Spring Morning in the Han Palace*, detail of lady harpist; c) Qiu Ying (copy after?), *Lady Playing the Harp in a Pavilion*, detail of girl; d) Qiu Ying (copy after?), *Lady Playing the Harp in a Pavilion*, detail of architecture; e) Qiu Ying (?), *Yang Guifei*, detail of lady harpist (see fig. 28).

piece of paper, is now mounted above the silk of the painting.

A comparison of the figures of the gentleman and the lady musician in this picture with similar figures in authentic paintings by Qiu Ying reveals peculiarities in the drawing inconsistent with the hand of Qiu Ying. In the figure of the gentleman (fig. 8h), lines that in a genuine Qiu Ying picture realistically describe fabric folds and creases as determined by the body beneath them are here converted into curving surface patterns that convey no sense of the form or bulk of either the fabric or the underlying anatomical structure. The lady harpist (fig. 23a), unlike her sister from *Spring Morning in the Han Palace* (fig. 23b), has no right knee. Her hip and thigh are merged as

if a single anatomical unit. Her hands do not pluck the harp strings, as do those of the lady from *Spring Morning in the Han Palace*, but exhibit meaningless gestures. The figure of the little girl holding a spray of flowers and crossing the bridge is maladroit in both pose and movement (fig. 23c). Although the interior furnishings resemble those by Qiu Ying, especially in such details as the landscape on the standing screen, other aspects of the architecture are inaccurate, such as the slender posts supporting the canopy as well as on its fringe (fig. 23d). The rendering of the roof thatch is mechanical, and that of tree trunks is brittle and stiff. *A Lady Playing the Harp in a Pavilion* is, thus, a close but uninspired copy of an original work by Qiu.



FIG. 24. Qiu Ying (?), *The Golden Valley Garden*, hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 224 × 130 cm. Chion-in, Kyoto.

Two famous garden paintings associated with Qiu Ying, *The Golden Valley Garden* (fig. 24) and *Banqueting in the Peach and Plum Garden on a Spring Night* (fig. 25), are large hanging scrolls now owned by the Chion-in in Kyoto, Japan. At first glance, these two scrolls win approbation because of their delightful setting and attractive colors. They have long been considered prime examples of Qiu Ying's artistry. Further, because of their identical size, medium, and documentation, and because they both depict elaborate gardens, they have often been considered a pair. There is no legitimate reason to consider them a pair, for in Japan Chinese paintings were often cut down to fit into the interior spaces of Japanese buildings. Moreover, the subjects depicted do not lend themselves to thematic unity. It is not known exactly when or how these two pictures were taken



FIG. 25. Qiu Ying (?), *Banqueting in the Peach and Plum Garden on a Spring Night*, hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 224 × 130 cm. Chion-in, Kyoto

to Japan, but they were listed on an inventory of the Chion-in abbot's residence made between 1772 and 1780 as well as included in a catalogue of treasures in shrines and temples prepared in 1792.²⁰

In neither case is the subject of the painting specified by inscription directly on the painting or the label. In the inventory of temple treasures, both scrolls were simply called "Palace Figures by Qiu Ying." As revealed in recent research, the fabulous but rarely depicted Golden Valley Garden belonging to the wealthy third-century Shi Chong 石崇 is probably not actually the garden represented in one of the Chion-in scenes.²¹ Yet the second Chion-in garden painting attributed to Qiu Ying, usually referred to as *On a Spring Night Banqueting in the Peach and Plum Garden*, unquestionably illustrates an event in the career of

the Tang dynasty poet Li Bai 李白 (701–62). By Li Bai's time gatherings of poets to feast and versify routinely ended with the poems being collected and provided with a preface by one member of the group. Writing about the Tang period, Stephen Owen estimates that "there were once hundreds, perhaps thousands of such collections for parties and partings" and that often only the prefaces to these banquet poem collections have survived.²² This is exactly the situation for Li Bai's party in the Peach Garden. The only extant record of it is Li's own preface to the poems composed on this occasion; the poems themselves are lost. Although popularly known as *On a Spring Night Banqueting in the Peach and Plum Garden*, Li's preface is actually titled *On a Spring Night Banqueting with Relatives in the Peach Blossom Garden*.

"On a Spring Night Banqueting in the Peach and Plum Garden" enjoyed steady popularity as a painting subject. The earliest depiction, known only through its inclusion in a list of painting titles, is credited to a Northern Song (1060–1125) dynasty artist, Zhan Deshun 戰德淳. Nearly twenty examples are extant from later times.²³ The theme is closely associated with the name of Qiu Ying: at least seven surviving versions are attributed to him, along with one recorded version.²⁴ Three of the seven extant versions are similar to the Chion-in composition.²⁵ The remaining three are independent compositions.²⁶ "On a Spring Night Banqueting in the Peach and Plum Garden" pictures typically depict between four and seven gentlemen gathered around an oblong table, attended by one to six servants, both male

and female. The men are presented in various groups in poses of drinking, writing, and eating; candles and lanterns among blossoming peach and sometimes pear trees provide the requisite nighttime and springtime setting. "On a Spring Night Banqueting in the Peach and Plum Garden" carries several levels of meaning, and depictions of it could have several possible social functions. It was an appropriate theme both to commemorate a family gathering and to extend felicitations on a birthday. As celebrations of the bonds of family, friends, and disciples, scrolls of this theme might upon occasion have been either hung on the wall or hand held to provide the proper setting for an event.²⁷

Banqueting in the Peach and Plum Garden immediately recalls in its terrace setting, as well as in the figures grouped around a laden table and the servants preparing refreshments, the famous *Literary Gathering* attributed to the Song emperor Huizong 徽宗 (1082–1135), which, in its present incarnation, seems to be a later copy (National Palace Museum, Taipei).²⁸ The Song colored style was continued in such later works as *The Elegant Gathering in the Apricot Garden*, assigned to Xie Huan 謝環 (early fifteenth century; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; fig. 26), although some scholars doubt this attribution. In this scroll, the large figures, rendered in opaque pigments, are somewhat akin to those in *Banqueting in the Peach and Plum Garden* and *The Golden Valley Garden*. The drawing of the garments and the broad faces of the men in both *The Golden Valley Garden* and *Banqueting in the Peach and*



FIG. 26. Xie Huan, *The Elegant Gathering in the Apricot Garden*, 1437, section of handscroll, ink and color on silk, 34.87 × 236.87 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, The Dillon Fund Gift (1989.141.2), New York.



FIG. 27a. Qiu Ying (?), *Banqueting in the Peach and Plum Garden on a Spring Night*, detail.

Plum Garden derives from formal presentations like *The Elegant Gathering in the Apricot Garden*.

There are, however, questions about the authenticity of these two famous garden paintings in the Chion-in. Closer scrutiny of *Banqueting* and *The Golden Valley Garden* reveals haphazard drawing and downright coarseness, not to mention mistakes totally out of keeping with Qiu Ying's fastidious approach. For example, in *Banqueting* the scholar seated to the right of the table seems to have lost his hand, for his sleeve ends in a stub. The rendering of the robes of the scholar seen in back view is a muddled mass of lines, and his shoe protrudes from his robe at an ungainly angle (fig. 27a). In *The Golden Valley Garden* the askew eyes of the host who welcomes a visitor are exaggerated to the point of caricature, and the servant bringing in an album has mislaid his shoe (fig. 27b). These stylistic mutilations and discrepancies indicate that *Banqueting in the Peach and Plum Garden* and *The Golden Valley Garden* are at best copies of a Qiu Ying original, perhaps several generations removed. This negative evaluation



FIG. 27b. Qiu Ying (?), *The Golden Valley Garden*, detail.

comes as no surprise, for Osvald Sirén, writing forty years ago, was also unimpressed by these scrolls, finding that their colors in particular "have been applied without much regard to light and shade or the tactile qualities of the objects."²⁹ In addition, he felt that the figures were lacking in "individual features or expressions." These observations led Sirén to censure these two scrolls, and others like them, as products of a workshop. No evidence supports the contention that Qiu Ying might have headed an atelier, but this is not necessarily what Sirén had in mind when he said:

These pictures, like so many others of the large compositions which are provided with Ch'iu Ying's [Qiu Ying's] signature, seem to be the result of a well-organized co-operation of a group of painters under the direction of a master who no doubt was responsible for the design and the colour composition, but only to a small extent for the actual execution and brushwork.³⁰

Sirén's description conjures up the brisk industriousness of a *Suzhou pian* 蘇州片 shop.

Outright forgeries have a venerable history in China. Within the last thirty years a burgeoning literature has exposed the vast, endemic presence of a veritable forgery industry throughout China,³¹ an industry that, according to one contemporary scholar, had three major high tides: the Northern Song, the late Ming, and the late Qing.³² In the twentieth century, forgery reached an unsurpassed apogee in the master Zhang Daqian 張大千 (1899–1983).³³

According to Yang Chenbin, in Ming-Qing Suzhou the locales for the sale of fake paintings, known as *Suzhou pian*, were Shangtang Street 上塘街, Tiger Hill, and Taohua Wu 桃花塢, as well as Zhuangzhu Lane 專諸巷, near Chang Gate 閶門.³⁴ Suzhou fakers produced an extraordinarily wide assortment of painted goods: colored bird-and-flower themes associated with the names of Five Dynasties, Song, and Yuan masters; *baimiao* figure paintings, such as lohans or stories of Tao Qian's 陶潛 life; and replicas of famous compositions, such as *The Elegant Gathering in the Western Garden*. Blue-and-green landscapes, a category in which Qiu Ying excelled, were favorites among the Suzhou fakers. Often these were complicated scenes executed in fresh, appealing color and meticulous detail on silk. Writings and colophons by famous calligraphers of all periods were produced in Ming-Qing Suzhou as well. Many fake figure paintings in color also originated in the Suzhou forgery shops.³⁵

Considering the sheer beauty of Qiu Ying's paintings, the fact that he often illustrated popular legends, historical events, or famous people (subjects that might appeal to the less learned as well as the scholarly among potential buyers), and his reputation as one of the Four Great Masters of the Ming dynasty, it is no surprise that he was one of the most frequently forged of all Chinese painters.³⁶ Collectors and connoisseurs have always been aware of these forgeries, and notes about them litter older Chinese writings,³⁷ whether specific claims that a particular painting is fake (*wei* 偽, *buzhen* 不真, *jia* 假) or more sweeping observations, such as Shi Yunyu's 石韞玉 (1756–1837) “*gongbi* [meticulous style] paintings are all falsely signed Shifu 實父 [Qiu Ying].”³⁸ Laments about the vast numbers of defective scrolls associated with Qiu Ying also appear in modern studies of the artist.³⁹ A colored painting of ladies listening to a flutist and another of ladies gathering lotuses, long accepted as Qiu Ying's (both in the

Shanghai Museum), are now castigated as “good examples of Suzhou fakes.”⁴⁰

A ten-leaf album (now in the Palace Museum, Beijing) illustrating traditional stories has won acclaim as a prime-quality, genuine work by Qiu Ying. It was recorded in Pei Jingfu's 裴景福 1924 catalogue⁴¹ and published several decades ago when in the hands of a Hong Kong collector.⁴² After entering the Palace Museum in Beijing, it became the subject of an article by a museum staff member⁴³ and was published in excellent color.⁴⁴ Recent publications give identical measurements for each leaf, but the leaves actually differ in their dimensions. All but two bear the name and seals of Qiu Ying. Unfortunately, the pictures in this album so seduce the viewer with their interesting subjects, rich detail, and lavish colors that any evidence casting doubt on their authenticity is easily overlooked. Yet, as Martie Young recognized three decades ago,⁴⁵ the leaves in this album vary in quality. Young felt uneasy about the authenticity of half of them and did not give the album his top mark. Now that the album is available for close scrutiny, each leaf shows evident weaknesses.⁴⁶

In the first leaf, *Collecting Willow Floss*, which illustrates a poem by Yang Wanli 楊萬里 (1124–1206), the poses of the two children tumbling over each other as they try to grasp the floss are ineptly rendered and the figures flat. The house in the background has sloppily rendered areas: the gable is inaccurately drawn, and the ends of the vertical lines of the gable slats continue over the lower supporting beam; in the grille of the window below the gable the vertical lines spill over onto the fence in front. The second leaf, depicting the famous eighth-century beauty Yang Guifei 楊貴妃 at her toilette (fig. 28), is the best picture in the album. Even so, the drawing of the faces appears hesitant; the strings of the harp should continue to the end of the support; and the harp frame lacks the expected ornament. Particularly worrisome here are the hands of the women; those of the harpist, for example, are not rendered as if she were plucking the strings but instead are awkwardly splayed (fig. 23e). A woman in this picture (fig. 14c) has almost no shoulders compared to a similar figure in *Spring Morning the Han Palace* (fig. 14b).

In the third leaf, depicting the sixth-century B.C. Xiao Shi 簫史 and his flutist wife, some of the standing figures are remarkably thin and insubstantial, and their clothing lacks volume.



FIG. 28. Qiu Ying (?), *Yang Guifei*, leaf from album *Figures and Stories*, ink and color on silk, 41.1 × 33.8 cm (? accurate dimensions uncertain). Palace Museum, Beijing. After *Qiu Ying Renwu gushi ce*.

There are many inconsistencies in the architectural setting: the roof and brackets of the halls at the left of the terrace are totally muddled; the terrace wall is presented straight on, but the stairway leading to its top is presented from an angle. In the landscape passages, the twisted pine in the lower right corner is contorted with an exaggerated movement, and the area between the tree branches is not finished off.

In the fourth leaf, depicting the legendary musician Bo Ya 伯牙 seated in a pavilion, the figure carrying a gourd on a stick and approaching the pavilion is presumably (if the identification of this picture is correct) intended to represent his woodcutter listener. The figures are out of proportion to each other, with Bo Ya, although further away, being larger in scale than his friend. The stunted figure of the friend is especially



FIG. 29. Qiu Ying (?), *Admiring Antiquities*, leaf from album *Figures and Stories*, ink and color on silk, 41.1 × 33.8 cm (? accurate dimensions uncertain). Palace Museum, Beijing. After *Qiu Ying Renwu gushi ce*.

awkwardly rendered, with a head too large for his body. In the architecture, the juncture between the musician's room and the kitchen is faultily articulated. In the kitchen, the utensils are perfunctorily rendered, and a suspended tea pot (or jar?) hovers puzzlingly somewhere between inside and outside the window.

The major flaw in the fifth leaf (fig. 29), a scene of admiring antiquities, is the imprecise

rendering of the many large bronze and ceramic vessels in confused arrangements on the ground and the tables. Most of the vessels are lopsided. The faces of the *Six Idlers of the Pine Grove* in leaf six are mechanically rendered, as is the landscape setting. The brushwork on the tree trunks is both thin and stiff. The drawing of the face of the gentleman standing next to a pine tree is particularly poor.



FIG. 30. Qiu Ying (?), *Confucius Asking the Way*, leaf from album *Figures and Stories*, ink and color on silk, 41.1 × 33.8 cm (? accurate dimensions uncertain). Palace Museum, Beijing. After *Qiu Ying Renwu gushi ce*.

In leaf seven, which depicts Confucius waiting in his carriage while his disciple asks the way, one of the bands on the carriage canopy does not lie flat (fig. 30). Most distressingly, although the vehicle is meant to be stationary (the reins are slack), the horse's legs are shown as if in motion. Even more strangely, only the rear of the horse is depicted. The brushwork of the rocks at the upper right is haphazard, and the

massed foliage, while reminiscent of Qiu Ying, is muddled.

In leaf eight, an illustration to the "Autumn Water" chapter of the *Zhuangzi*, a man leans awkwardly on a rock, which does not support him. Both he and his too-thin female companion are placed on a bank so steep that they are in danger of sliding down it. Leaf nine depicts the poem "Lute at Xunyang" by Bai Juyi 白居易 (772–

846). Here the highly mannered tree trunks verge on the grotesque, and space is improperly handled—there is, for example, insufficient room in a narrow passage with steep sides to accommodate the houseboat that is being poled into it. The figure inside a distant skiff is skimpily rendered. Leaf ten is a version of the well-known composition depicting Han dynasty Wang Zhaojun 王昭君 fording a stream in a camel cart as she leaves China. There are minor inaccuracies in the rendering of the roof of the rear compartment of the camel cart, and the men, horses, and camel in the distant dunes are sketchy.

Throughout the album are servants so poorly rendered that they appear to be crippled, anorectic women, distorted faces, ineptly or mechanically rendered garments. Background and settings are marred by defects ranging from haphazardly textured rocks to grotesquely mannered tree trunks to imprecisely described antiquities. There are compositional errors and infelicities. Architecture is often inaccurately drawn.

Rejecting these pictures on the basis of such seemingly trivial faults may seem to be overly rigid. But these are all small pictures, and Qiu Ying excelled at describing figures and objects in miniature. Yet none of his skills in this technique is

apparent in this album. It is doubtful that Qiu Ying's high artistic standards and demand for accuracy, for correct pose and proportion would have permitted him to acknowledge such inferior paintings as these by signing his name and impressing his seals on them. Indeed, his passion for perfection often led him (as noted elsewhere) to make minor adjustments and changes when completing a painting. Clearly, more than one hand, but none of them Qiu Ying's, produced the leaves that make up this album.

In conclusion, an analysis of Qiu Ying's delicate brush style has led to the reappraisal of his received oeuvre. Some paintings, it is true, have long wavered on the margins of acceptability. Under close scrutiny, the luster of other paintings, long accepted as among Qiu Ying's artistic gems, dims. It is always painful to see old favorites fall under stiff scrutiny. But the result is the inauguration of a new body of the master's works in which fine paintings demonstrably by him substitute for scrolls clearly not from his hand or, worse, poor pictures piously retained in his oeuvre because no one has closely examined and compared them. The anguish of accepting the truth is offset by the pleasure of acquiring a new, clarified understanding of the artist and his creations.

Notes

1. Martie W. Young, "The Paintings of Ch'iu Ying: A Preliminary Survey" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1961); Stephen Little, "The Demon Queller and the Art of Qiu Ying (Ch'iu Ying)," *Artibus Asiae* 46 (1985): 5–128.
2. Max Loehr, *The Great Painters of China* (New York: Harper and Row, 1980), 285.
3. James Cahill, *Parting at the Shore: Chinese Painting of the Early and Middle Ming Dynasty, 1368–1580* (New York: Weatherhill, 1978), 203.
4. Xu Bangda, *Gu shuhua weio kaobian* (n.p.: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1984), 2:36.
5. "Delicate" is used here to distinguish these from the rougher, more flamboyant approach to figure painting seen in the two well-known large scrolls *Conversation in Shade of Wutong Trees* and *Passing a Summer Day in the Shade of Banana Palms*, both in the National Palace Museum, Taipei. These scrolls are frequently reproduced: inter alia, *Qiu Ying zuopin zhan tumu* (An exhibition of works by Qiu Ying) (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1989), nos. 10 and 11.
6. Those of the following works that are already adequately illustrated elsewhere are not reproduced here except as details. For *Fishing by a Willow Bank*, see *Qiu Ying zuopin zhan tumu*, 13–14, 70. For *A Donkey for Mr. Zhu*, see Marilyn and Shen Fu, *Studies in Connoisseurship: Chinese Paintings from the Arthur M. Sackler Collection in New York and Princeton* (Princeton: The Art Museum, 1974), 88–89. For *A Beauty in Spring Thoughts*, see *Qiu Ying zuopin zhan tumu*, 75–76. For *Zhao Mengfu Writing "The Heart Sutra"*, see *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting: The Collections of the Nelson Gallery–Atkins Museum, Kansas City, and The Cleveland Museum of Art* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1980), 204. For *Awaiting the Ferry by an Autumn River*, see *Qiu Ying zuopin zhan tumu*, 3–6, 66. For *The Garden for Self-Enjoyment*, see *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting*, 207.
7. The identification of this figure as possibly Zhuangzi comes from the reference to a Lacquer Garden in the poem written at the top of the picture. Zhuangzi once resided in a Lacquer Garden.
8. See my "Five Early Paintings by Ch'iu Ying," *Taida Journal of Art History*, no. 4 (1997): 234–35.
9. Reproduced in *Qiu Ying zuopin zhan tumu*, no. 19; detail on p. 58.
10. Reproduced in *Qiu Ying zuopin zhan tumu*, no. 18.
11. Marilyn and Shen Fu, *Studies in Connoisseurship*, 90.
12. The following discussion of Qiu Ying's feminine figure type is based upon my paper "Notes on Qiu Ying's Figure Paintings," presented at the Symposium on Painting of the Ming Dynasty, Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1 December 1988.
13. Three sets of these illustrations are brought together and discussed by Julia K. Murray, "The Ladies Classic of Filial Piety and Sung Textual Illustration: Problems of Reconstruction and Artistic Context," *Ars Orientalis* 18 (1989): 95–129.
14. Presented and discussed in Ellen Johnston Laing, "Six Late Yuan Dynasty Figure Paintings," *Oriental Art* 20 (1974): 305–16.
15. Reproduced in Xu Senyu, ed., *Yiyuan duoying* (Gems of Chinese fine arts) (Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1955), 10.
16. This genre, possibly going back to the tenth century, was discussed in my "Scholars and Sages: A Study in Chinese Figure Painting" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1967), 90–100.
17. Anne De Coursey Clapp, *The Painting of T'ang Yin* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 97.
18. Laurence Sickman, ed., *Chinese Painting and Calligraphy in the Collection of John M. Crawford, Jr.* (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 1962), 141.
19. While the Boston painting with its colophons by Wen and Chen is recorded under the title *Playing the Harp* in two sources (Gu Fu 顧復, *Pingsheng zhuangguan* 平生壯觀 [preface 1692; Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1962], *juan* 10:100, and Wu Xiu 吳修, *Qingxia lunhua jueju* 青霞館論畫絕句 [preface 1824; *Meishu congshu* ed.], 2/6, 216), the composition is described under the title *East Mountain Harpist* in Li Zuoxian's 李佐賢 catalogue (*Shuhua jianying* 書畫鑑影, preface 1871, *Yishu shangjian xuanzhen* [Taipei: Hanhua chubanshe, 1970], 21:18a–b). *East Mountain Harpist* apparently refers to stories about Xie An 謝安 (A.D. 320–85), whose love of music and of dalliances in his East Mountain garden estate was legendary (see Fang Xuanling et al., *Jin Shu* [Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974], vol. 4, *juan* 79:2072–77). A third, unpublished version of this composition in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore has neither signature nor colophons.
20. "Kinkoku-en, Tōri-en," *Bijutsu kenkyu* 121 (January 1942): 25–26.
21. Ellen Johnston Laing, "Ch'iu Ying's Two Garden

- Paintings Belonging to the Chion-in, Kyoto," *Proceedings, International Colloquium on Chinese Art History, 1991. Painting and Calligraphy, Part I* (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1992), 336–57.
22. Stephen Owen, *Poetry of the Early T'ang* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), 276.
 23. For a list of some of these, see my "Ch'iu Ying's Two Garden Paintings."
 24. *Shibaizhai shuhua lu* 十百齋書畫錄 (n.p., n.d), *juan* 21:5a.
 25. One of these, now in the Boston of Museum of Fine Arts, is reproduced in Charles Fabens Kelley, "A Problem of Identification," *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, n.f. 9 (1933): fig. 3; the second, in the Kumita collection in Japan, is reproduced in Suzuki Kei, *Chūgoku kaiga sōgō zuroku* (Comprehensive illustrated catalogue of Chinese painting) (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1982), 4 (JP 17-012). The third, unpublished, belongs to Tokyo University (I am grateful to Kohara Hironobu for bringing the latter to my attention).
 26. These three are: a hanging scroll in the Art Institute of Chicago (Kelley, "Problem of Identification," fig. 1; Kelley discusses these paintings on pp. 17–20); a handscroll in the Fine Arts Gallery of San Diego, reproduced in The Fine Arts Gallery of San Diego, *Catalogue: A Selective Listing of All the Collections of the Fine Arts Society* (San Diego: Fine Arts Gallery, 1960); and a handscroll in the National Palace Museum, Taipei, listed in National Palace Museum, *Gugong shuhua lu* 1956, 2nd rev. ed. (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1965), vol. 4, *juan* 8:43.
 27. See my "Ch'iu Ying's Two Garden Paintings."
 28. *Chinese Art Treasures* (Washington, DC: Skira, 1961–62), no. 31, and elsewhere.
 29. Osvald Sirén, *Chinese Painting: Leading Masters and Principles* (New York: Ronald Press, 1956–58), 4:214.
 30. Sirén, *Chinese Painting*, 4:214.
 31. Writing in 1962, Wang Yikun recounted his personal knowledge of forgery enterprises in the late Qing and early Republican era as they flourished in Beijing, Tianjin, Shanghai, Guangzhou, and Suzhou ("Gushuhuade mofang he weizao jianshu," *Wenwu*, no. 10 [1962]: 30–33). Others have written about the deceptions practiced by enterprising forgers and their confederates in Changsha, resulting in the spread of Changsha fakes throughout the country. It is estimated that from the 1920s until the late 1940s, one counterfeiter sold some 2,000 fake scrolls through his shop in Changsha (Wu Guanqun and Yang Xin, "'Changsha huo': tan Changsha jinbainianjian weizao gushuhua," *Wenwu*, no. 3 [1981]: 91–93). These fakers continued the trade, which flourished during the Ming dynasty. As documented in some detail in a recent study by Yang Chenbin ("Tan Mingdai shuhua zou wei," *Wenwu*, no. 8 [1990]: 72–87, 96), fake calligraphy and painting during the Ming could be acquired throughout China, in such places as Sungjiang, Shaoxing, Jiaxing, Kaifeng, Nanchang, Wuxi, Huzhou, Hangzhou, Xincheng, and Yinxian. Joan Stanley-Baker has also been active in discerning fakes and forgeries, going on to propose how they modify our view of a given artist's works. See her "Forgeries in Chinese Painting," *Oriental Art* n.s. 32, no. 1 (1986): 54–66 and *Old Masters Repainted: Wu Zhen (1280) Prime Objects and Accretions* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1995). James Cahill also discusses fakes, forgeries, and "ghost" painting in *The Painter's Practice: How Artists Lived and Worked in Traditional China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 113–48. For comments on fake art objects in general during the Ming, see Craig Clunas, *Superfluous Things: Material Culture and Social Status in Early Modern China* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991).
 32. Yang Xin, "Shangpin jingji, shifeng yu shuhua zuo-wei," *Wenwu*, no. 10 (1989): 87–94.
 33. Shen C. Y. Fu and Jan Stuart, *Challenging the Past: The Paintings of Chang Dai-chien*, exhibition catalogue (Washington, DC: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 1991), 33–38.
 34. More details about *Suzhou pian* are presented in my forthcoming study of the impact of forgeries on the received oeuvre of Qiu Ying.
 35. The copies of Xiao Zhao's 簫照 *Auspicious Omens for Dynastic Revival* (referring to events in the life of the Song emperor Gaozong 高宗) that Li Baoxun 李葆恂 complained about were among them (*Wuyi youyi zhai lun hua shi* 無益有益齋論畫詩, preface dated 1908 [Nanling: Chenshi, 1908], *shang*: 15ab). See also Xiao Yanyi, "Qiu Ying he tade mozuozuo 'Zhongxing ruiying tu'," *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan*, no. 2 (1983): 47–48.
 36. In addition to outright forgeries, a range of fraudulent practices (such as replacing signatures, applying impressions of faked artist's seals, combining spurious colophons with authentic paintings, or combining authentic colophons with counterfeit paintings) were employed by unscrupulous dealers in China. I discuss the impact of these

practices on the received oeuvre of Qiu Ying in a forthcoming article. The intriguing question of how the taste for Qiu Ying's works or the audience for his paintings might have changed over the years remains to be investigated.

37. For example, Zhan Jingfeng 詹景鳳, *Dongtu xuanlan bian* 東圖玄覽編 (preface 1591, *Meishu congshu* ed.), 5/1, 3:143; Zhang Chou 張丑, *Qinghe shuhua fang* 清河書畫舫 (preface 1616; n.p., n.d), 12:52a; Li Baoxun, *Wuyi yuyi zhai lunhua shi, xia*: 19b; Weng Fanggang 翁方綱, *Fuchu zhai wenji* 復初齋文集 (Shanghai: Tongwen shuguan, 1916), 33:2a.
38. Shi Yunyu, *Duxue lu ergao* 獨學廬二稿 (Chongqing: n.p., 1804), *shang*: 24a.
39. Young, "Paintings of Ch'iu Ying," 5; Laurence Sickman and Alexander C. Soper, *Art and Architecture of China*, Pelican History of Art (Baltimore: Penguin, 1956), 181; James Cahill, *Chinese Painting* (Geneva: Skira, 1960), 144.
40. Opinion of Fu Xinian, in *Zhongguo gudai shuhua tumu*, vol. 3 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1990), 342.
41. Pei Jingfu 裴景福, *Zhuangtaoge shuhua tu* 莊陶閣書畫錄 (preface 1924; Shanghai: Zhonghua shuqu, 1937), 10:50ab.
42. *Qiu Shizhou hua ce jingpin* (Changsha: Commercial Press, 1940).
43. Shan Guoqiang, "Qiu Ying ji qi 'Renwu gushi' ce," *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan*, no. 2 (1982): 49–51.
44. *Qiu Ying Renwu gushi ce* (n.p.: Commercial Press, 1983).
45. Young, "Paintings of Ch'iu Ying," 196–98.
46. For leaves in this album discussed below but not illustrated, see references in nn. 43 and 44. The album is reproduced in many recent Chinese publications, including *Ming sijia hua ji* (Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1993), 216–25.

HONCHŌ GASHI AND PAINTING PROGRAMS: CASE STUDIES OF NIJŌ CASTLE'S NINOMARU PALACE AND NAGOYA CASTLE'S HONMARU PALACE

By KAREN M. GERHART

AS OFFICIAL PAINTER (*GOYŌ ESHI* 御用絵師) FOR THE Tokugawa 徳川 government,¹ the seventeenth-century Japanese artist Kano Tan'yū 狩野探幽 (1602–74) was charged with drafting plans for painted decorations in the reconstructed buildings at Nijō Castle 二條城 (1624–26)² and Nagoya Castle 名古屋城 (1634).³ How did an important and talented artist such as Tan'yū delineate plans for these immense projects? In creating his rough sketches, how did he decide which subjects and painting techniques were to be employed in each room of every building?⁴ More importantly, were his choices in these matters largely dictated by time-tested Kano painting traditions?

To investigate these questions, I will frame a general hypothesis regarding the decoration of Japanese residential castles.⁵ I suggest that Kano artists chose their painting subjects and techniques based primarily on strong traditional beliefs, a system of protocols if you will, which in turn rested on a time-honored regard for “appropriateness.” The suitability of particular painting styles or methods for given subjects had earlier been defined by the location of a building within a complex and the purpose for which the building was to be used.⁶ I propose, then, that a system for painting agreed-upon subjects in fixed techniques in predetermined buildings was already entrenched in Kano circles in the early decades of the seventeenth century and that Kano artists generally followed these standards. The oldest written exegesis of this program for Kano artists is found in one of the earliest painting texts, the 1693 (Genroku 6) *Honchō gashi* 本朝画史 (Japanese painting history),⁷ compiled by Kano Einō 狩野永納 (1631–97).⁸

Some flexibility in the interpretation of the painting system, however, seems to have been permitted, even encouraged, particularly in the case of respected masters like Tan'yū, and there were several reasons why deviations from tradition were necessary.⁹ For example, although generally the function of a building was clearly correlated with its physical position within the complex, in cases where function did not correlate with position, such as at the Visitation Hall (*Jōrakuden* 上洛殿) in the Honmaru Palace 本丸御殿 of

Nagoya Castle, Tan'yū was able to substitute alternative painting styles to fit the complex meanings for the building.

In this essay I will first examine the system of rules posited in the *Honchō gashi* and evaluate their systematic application by Kano Tan'yū to the decoration of the Ninomaru Palace 二の丸御殿 of Nijō Castle. I will then explore Tan'yū's creative manipulation of these rules by analyzing the paintings that once graced the *Jōrakuden* of Nagoya Castle.¹⁰ Although the paintings at both Nijō (1626) and Nagoya (1634) castles clearly predate the published text (1693), their execution at these sites proves that the system was well formulated by the early decades of the seventeenth century.¹¹

The Program

Well before the seventeenth century a program was apparently in place for determining which subject and painting technique were appropriate for a work of art, based on the position and function of the building in which it was painted.¹² This program was then expounded in the *Honchō gashi*, a painting text believed to have been written in the first half of the seventeenth century by Kano Sansetsu 狩野山雪 (1589–1651), then compiled and edited decades later by his son and pupil Einō. The text was first made available to students of the Kano atelier as five woodblock-printed books in 1693, but according to the date of Hayashi Gahō's 林鴛峰 (1618–80) preface, it was completed in 1678. A section entitled “*Hekishō ni kaku zuyō no shikihō*” 壁障に画く図様の式法 (Standards and methods for painting walls and sliding doors) defines the details of the program.¹³ Although this information was not published until the last decade of the seventeenth century, its author, Sansetsu, lived in the first half of the century. Therefore, the *Honchō gashi* text must have been written around the time of the Nijō and Nagoya projects. As mentioned above, its traditions were certainly in place even earlier, and clearly the program affected the decoration of shogunal residential castles in the seventeenth century.

The “Standards and Methods for Painting Walls and Sliding Doors” section of the *Honchō gashi* explicates two important tenets. First, it correlates painting method to the physical position of the building, which in turn generally designates that structure’s function and formality; and second, it allies certain subjects with specific painting methods or techniques. The pertinent section of the *Honchō gashi* reads as follows:¹⁴

In painting [sliding door and wall panels *shōheki* 障壁], the proper order is as follows: pure ink [*sumi* 墨]¹⁵ is most often used to depict landscape paintings [*sansui-zu* 山水図]. Next, light colors [*tansai* 淡彩]¹⁶ are for figure paintings [*jūbutsuga* 人物画], and finally, brilliant, opaque pigments [*nōshoku* 濃色]¹⁷ are employed for flower-and-bird paintings, wild grasses, and large trees [*kachōga* 花鳥画].¹⁸ This is the usual method.

Landscapes [*sansui* 山水] are appropriate for upper levels of a palace [*denchū jōdan* 殿中上段]. Figure paintings [*jūbutsu* 人物] are for middle levels [*denchū chūdan* 殿中中段], and flower-and-bird [*kachō* 花鳥] are for lower levels [*denchū gedan* 殿中下段].¹⁹ Four-legged animals [*sōjū* 走獸] are appropriate for waiting rooms [*hisashi no ma* 廡の間].²⁰ However, there are also cases of full color [*gokusaishiki* 極彩色]²¹ being employed throughout all levels, upper through lower, as well as cases of mixing styles. The Kano school follows the dictates of the times and the wishes of their patrons.

The above passage is critical to the study of Kano paintings on sliding door and wall panels in large building projects, such as shogunal residences.

Furthermore, it is significant that a scheme of private “inner” and formal “outer” spaces predates the Kano text by many centuries. The arrangement seems to have evolved from an ancient tradition of dividing architectural space into private (*ke* 褻) and public (*hare* 晴) space in *shinden* 寝殿-style buildings.²² By the Heian period (794–1185), building space in Japan was divided, in Chinese fashion, horizontally into north and south, with the southern section used for ceremonial functions and the northern as private living space. A gate on the east or west side of the complex served to subdivide the architectural space into four quadrants; the structure thereby became either east-receiving (gate on east) or west-receiving (gate on west). Shogunal residences of the seventeenth century, such as Nijō and Nagoya castles, represent a synthesis of ancient *shinden*-style architecture, used for the residences of emperors and the aristocracy from the Heian period on, with newer *shoin* 書院 features taken from temple and military residential architecture

during the Kamakura (1185–1336) and Muromachi (1392–1573) periods.

In keeping with the traditions of both architectural styles, Nijō and Nagoya castles served dual purposes—military, or in the case of the Tokugawa, more properly, governing (public), and residential (private)—by maintaining the traditional division of architectural space. In east-receiving structures, such as Nijō and Nagoya castles, the quadrant in the southeast was public and the area to the northwest private.²³ This maintenance of public and private space was accompanied by the development of a system that correlated the rank of a building with its position within the larger complex. Lower-ranking buildings were located closer to the outer gate and could be entered by lower-ranking visitors. Higher-ranking buildings were located away from the entrance, toward the interior, and were reserved for use by the owner and his family.²⁴ These are the basic principles that the *Honchō gashi* articulates, as well as relating them to painting subjects and methods.

Ninomaru Palace of Nijō Castle

The buildings of the magnificent Kan’ei-period Ninomaru Palace of Nijō Castle remain intact today, much as they were after the 1624–26 reconstruction.²⁵ The Ninomaru Palace is approached through a splendid turreted gate called the *Higashi Ōtemon* 東大手門. Beyond this gate is a cypress-roofed *Karamon* 唐門 with curved Chinese-style gables (*kara hafu* 唐破風) on the right. On the other side of this second gate is the Ninomaru complex itself, consisting of a series of seven attached structures arranged along a receding staggered axis, with each building connected at its northwest corner. This particular architectural layout is called *gankō kei* 雁行形, or “geese in flight,” because its staggered formation is said to resemble the pattern of flying geese (fig. 1).

The first small building, the Carriage Entrance (*Kurumayose* 車寄), served as the main entryway to the Ninomaru Palace. As its name literally implies, this was the point where important guests disembarked from their palanquins. They then entered the waiting rooms of the second building, the Reception Hall (*Tōzamura* 遠侍), where the lord’s retainers and guards were also housed. The third building, the Formal Vestibule (*Shikidai* 式台), contained suites for courtesies such as official greetings and the presentation of gifts.

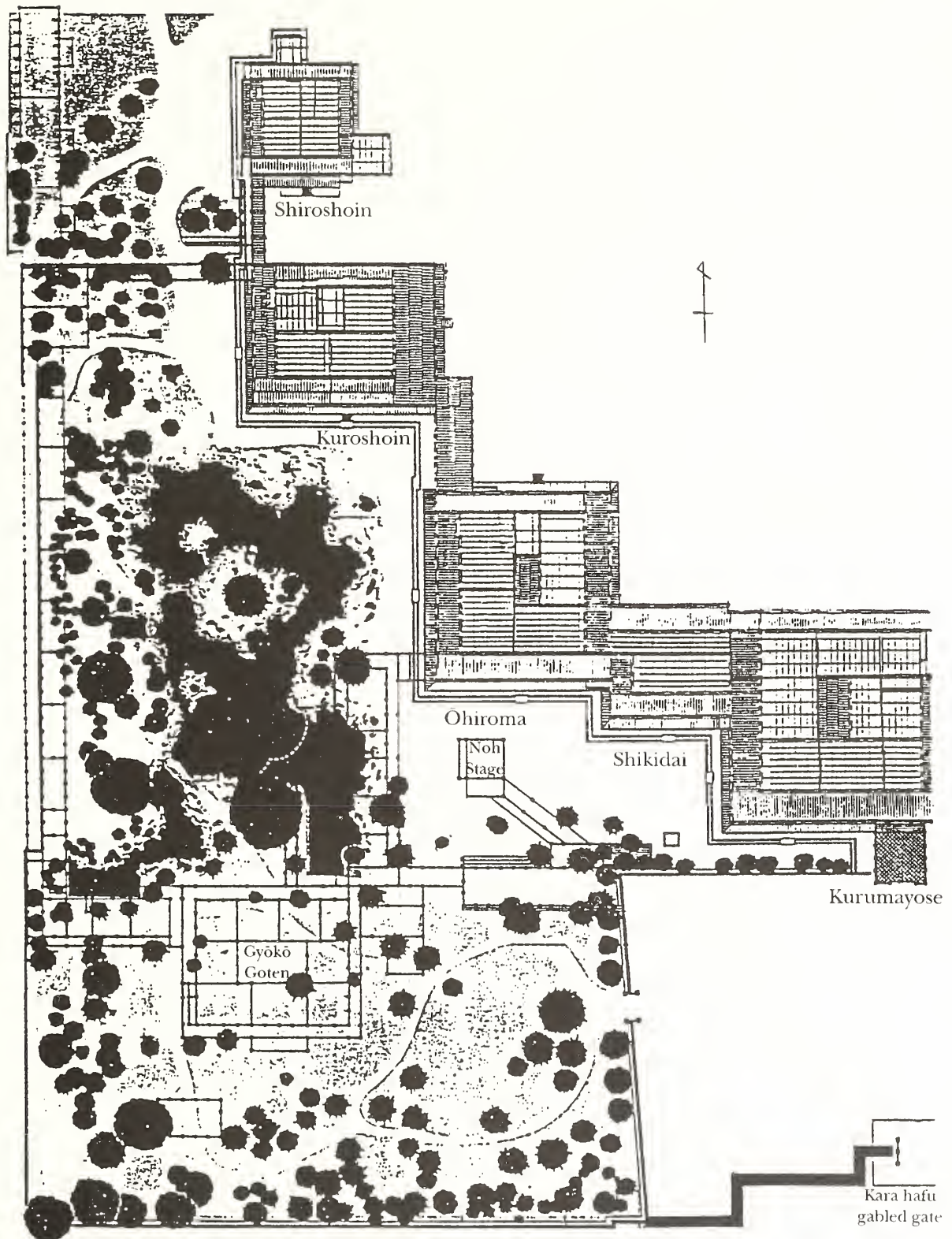


FIG. 1. Line drawing of the Ninomaru Palace of Nijō Castle.

The fourth edifice, the Grand Audience Hall (*Ōhiroma* 大広間), was the main building containing the formal suite of rooms for shogunal audiences. Here the shogun met *tozama* 外様 daimyo (lords who became vassals of the Tokugawa after 1600) with great display of pomp and circumstance. It was in the Grand Audience Hall that the shogun also entertained the emperor for a brief visit in 1626. The fifth structure, the Cycad Chamber (*Sotetsu no ma* 蘇鉄の間),²⁶ is a long, rectangular room that actually functions as a large corridor connecting the Grand Audience Hall with the sixth building, the Informal Audience Hall (*Kuroshoin* 黒書院). This is another suite of audience rooms, more intimate in nature, where the shogun met trusted allies, the *fudai* 譜代 daimyo (hereditary vassals to the Tokugawa). The final small innermost chamber is the private Inner Hall (*Shiroshoin* 白書院), where the shogun rested and spent private time when in residence at the castle.

How does the decor of these buildings (summarized in table 1) correspond to the program set out in the *Honchō gashi*? The first structure, the Carriage Entrance, is undecorated. The second, the Reception Hall, comprises a total of ten rooms. Three of these, encompassing the southern and western sides of the building, are painted with tigers-in-bamboo in opaque pigments (*nōshoku*) over a gold-leaf (*kinpeki* 金癖) background (fig. 2).²⁷ These three rooms served as waiting areas for guests and messengers seeking an audience with the Tokugawa shogun. The other rooms in the building housed guards belonging to the shogun or served as meeting rooms where the shogun would receive important messengers.²⁸

The Reception Hall was the outermost paint-

ed edifice in the Ninomaru complex and the building with which the public had the most contact. The tigers painted on its walls present an image of fierce aggressiveness that has commonly been associated with the warrior class. Here, this subject was calculated to send a message of dominance and control to the waiting retainers.²⁹ The tigers were clearly meant to overwhelm and represent the domination of a feudal ruler over his underlings. The Reception Hall was designed to be viewed by guards, low-ranking messengers, and servants—individuals lower down on the feudal scale. The powerful tigers-in-bamboo theme in the three most visible rooms was intended to intimidate, and the use of brilliantly colored pigments on shimmering gold leaf was designed to impress. These are very practical reasons for employing this theme for a public building—reasons that, however, underscore earlier traditions, which became codified in the *Honchō gashi*. The Reception Hall was decorated in accordance with the text, with the proper subject, four-legged animals (*sōjū*), for its position in the complex and in the prescribed method, brilliantly colored opaque pigments on gold leaf, for its subject.³⁰

The Formal Vestibule is the third building of the Ninomaru Palace complex. In earlier seventeenth-century shogunal residences such as the Keichō-period (1596–1614) buildings at Nagoya Castle, a corridor rather than an independent building connected the waiting room to the audience room. The inclusion of this Formal Vestibule at Nijō as a special room for dignitaries is extraordinary and may be attributed to the unique circumstance of the Ninomaru's location in the ancient capital of Kyoto, where many important imperial as well as military guests paid



FIG. 2. Tigers-in-bamboo, Reception Hall (*Tōzamura*), Ninomaru Palace. Reproduced with permission of Nijō Castle.

TABLE 1. Decoration of Nijō Castle, Ninomaru Palace*

<i>Building/Room Name</i>	<i>Subject</i>	<i>Technique</i>
Carriage Entrance (<i>Kurumayose</i>)	undecorated	
Reception Hall (<i>Tōzamurai</i>)—10 rooms		
First Chamber (<i>Ichī no ma</i>)	tigers-in-bamboo (<i>sōjū</i>)	opaque color/gold
Second Chamber (<i>Ni no ma</i>)	tigers-in-bamboo (<i>sōjū</i>)	opaque color/gold
Third Chamber (<i>San no ma</i>)	tigers-in-bamboo (<i>sōjū</i>)	opaque color/gold
Upper Imperial Messenger Chamber (<i>Chokushi no ma jōdan</i>)	flower-and-bird (<i>kachō</i>)	opaque color/gold
Lower Imperial Messenger Chamber (<i>Chokushi no ma gedan</i>)	flower-and-bird (<i>kachō</i>)	opaque color/gold
Bed Chamber (<i>Chōdai no ma</i>)	flower-and-bird (<i>kachō</i>)	opaque color/gold
Willow Chamber (<i>Yanagi no ma</i>)	flower-and-bird (<i>kachō</i>)	opaque color/gold
Young Pine Chamber (<i>Wakamatsu no ma</i>)	flower-and-bird (<i>kachō</i>)	opaque color/gold
Cotton Rose Chamber (<i>Fuyō no ma</i>)	flower-and-bird (<i>kachō</i>)	opaque color/gold
unnamed room	undecorated	
Formal Vestibule (<i>Shikidai</i>)—4 rooms		
Formal Greeting Chamber (<i>Shikidai no ma</i>)	flower-and-bird (<i>kachō</i>)	opaque color/gold
First Chamber of Shogunal Advisor (<i>Rōjū no ichi no ma</i>)	[not Kan'ei period]	
Second Chamber of Shogunal Advisor (<i>Rōjū no ni no ma</i>)	[not Kan'ei period]	
Third Chamber of Shogunal Advisor (<i>Rōjū no san no ma</i>)	[not Kan'ei period]	
Grand Audience Hall (<i>Ōhiroma</i>)—6 rooms		
Upper Chamber (<i>Jōdan no ma</i>)	flower-and-bird (<i>kachō</i>)	opaque color/gold
Lower Chamber (<i>Gedan no ma</i>)	flower-and-bird (<i>kachō</i>)	opaque color/gold
Third Chamber (<i>San no ma</i>)	flower-and-bird (<i>kachō</i>)	opaque color/gold
Fourth Chamber (<i>Yon no ma</i>)	flower-and-bird (<i>kachō</i>)	opaque color/gold
Bed Chamber (<i>Chōdai no ma</i>)	[not Kan'ei period]	
unnamed room	undecorated	
Cycad Chamber (<i>Sotestu no ma</i>)—corridor of cycad palms on cedar doors		
Informal Audience Hall (<i>Kuroshoin</i>)—5 rooms		
First Chamber (<i>Ichī no ma</i>)	flower-and-bird (<i>kachō</i>)	opaque color/gold
Second Chamber (<i>Ni no ma</i>)	flower-and-bird (<i>kachō</i>)	opaque color/gold
Third Chamber (<i>San no ma</i>)	flower-and-bird (<i>kachō</i>)	opaque color/gold
Fourth Chamber (<i>Yon no ma</i>)	flower-bird-fan painting (<i>kachō-senmen</i>)	opaque color/gold
Bed Chamber (<i>Chōdai no ma</i>)	[not Kan'ei period]	
Inner Hall (<i>Shiroshoin</i>)—5 rooms		
First Chamber (<i>Ichī no ma</i>)	landscape (<i>sansui</i>)	ink/light color/gold
Second Chamber (<i>Ni no ma</i>)	landscape (<i>sansui</i>)	ink/light color/gold
Third Chamber (<i>San no ma</i>)	landscape-figure (<i>sansui-jinbutsu</i>)	ink/light color/gold
Fourth Chamber (<i>Yon no ma</i>)	flower-and-bird (<i>kachō</i>)	ink/light color/gold
Bed Chamber (<i>Chōdai no ma</i>)	flower-and-bird (<i>kachō</i>)	opaque color/gold

*Buildings listed from outer (southeast) to inner (northwest).

official visits. It is also possible that the visit of Emperor Gomizunoo 後水尾 (r. 1611–29) to the Ninomaru Palace in 1626 necessitated this special waiting room to accommodate the large number of imperial attendants who accompanied him.

The Formal Vestibule (*Shikidai*) takes its name from its largest room, the 45-mat Formal Greeting Chamber (*Shikidai no ma* 式台の間); all of its fixed-wall panels are decorated with pine trees—a theme introduced here and expanded upon in the adjoining Grand Audience Hall (fig. 3). As a waiting room of sorts, the *Shikidai no ma* might also have been decorated with animal subjects, but because the Ninomaru was to be used for the visit of an emperor, it is likely that motifs of power and domination were here minimized in favor of the pine trees' more auspicious associations with long life and imperial good wishes.

Furthermore, since there were two waiting areas at the Ninomaru—the Reception Hall for accompanying guards and the Formal Vestibule for high-ranking feudal lords or imperial messengers—it was necessary to distinguish the status of each area. According to the text of the *Honchō*

gashi, the subject of large pine trees with flowers and birds (*kachō*) was appropriate for outer, public buildings; the Formal Vestibule definitely functioned as a public building. This subject was appropriately painted in opaque pigments on gold leaf in accordance with the text.³¹

There are four large rooms in the Grand Audience Hall—the Upper Chamber (*Jōdan no ma* 上段の間), Lower Chamber (*Gedan no ma* 下段の間), also called the Second Chamber (*Ni no ma* 二の間), Third Chamber (*San no ma* 三の間), and Fourth Chamber (*Yon no ma* 四の間), as well as a small Bed Chamber (*Chōdai no ma* 帳台の間)³² and an unnamed room of equal size just to the south of it.³³ In the large rooms, where the shogun met with his advisors and high-ranking dignitaries, the decoration certainly challenged the artist to create an atmosphere of solemn majesty that would visibly impress all in attendance with the cultural sophistication of the shogun and his government. The decoration of these rooms is appropriate in terms of subject, method, and the building's physical position and function: large pine trees with flower-and-bird detail are painted in opaque, brightly colored pigments over a gold-

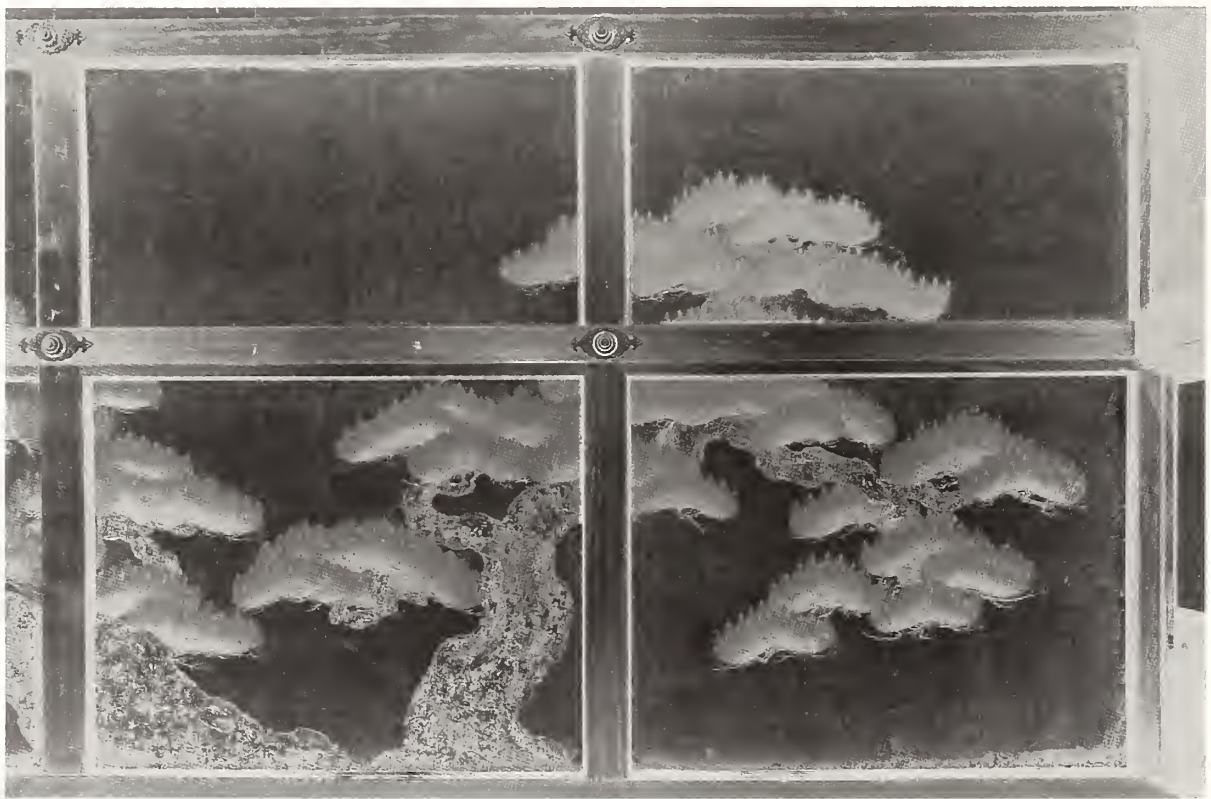


FIG. 3. Pine trees, Formal Vestibule (*Shikidai*), Ninomaru Palace. Reproduced with permission of Nijō Castle.

leaf background (fig. 4).³⁴ According to the *Honchô gashi*, this painting technique is suitable for the subject, which in turn is acceptable for outer, public buildings such as the Grand Audience Hall.

The Informal Audience Hall (*Kuroshoin*) also comprises four large rooms and a small Bed Chamber.³⁵ Many of its large wall and sliding door surfaces are decorated with flower-bird-and-tree

paintings, but the motifs are smaller, more delicate in both size and color than those in the Grand Audience Hall (fig. 5).³⁶ In the First Chamber (*Ichino ma* 一の間), there are also eight small ink landscape paintings on the sliding cabinet doors (*tenbukuro* 天袋) above the staggered shelves of the north and east walls, and four other ink panels of landscapes form the lower portions of the *shōāgi* 障子, separating the built-

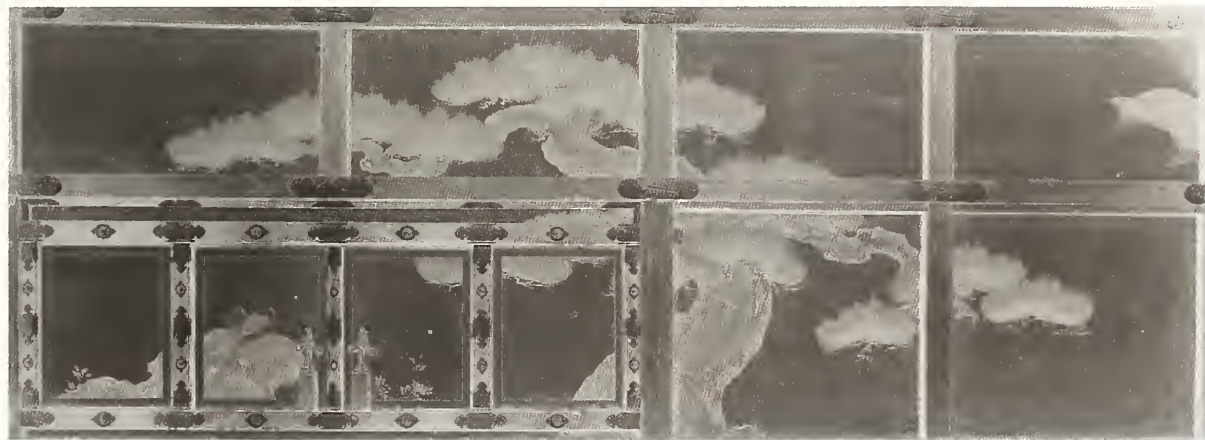


FIG. 4. Pine, birds, and rocks, Grand Audience Hall (*Ōhiroma*), Ninomaru Palace. Reproduced with permission of Nijō Castle.



FIG. 5. Pine, birds, and brush fence, Informal Audience Hall (*Kuroshoin*), Ninomaru Palace. Reproduced with permission of Nijō Castle.

in shelf desk (*shoin*) along the west wall from the outer corridor.³⁷ These serve as an introduction to and thematic link with ink landscapes that decorate the adjoining Inner Hall; they are not, however, true figure paintings.³⁸ If the Grand Audience Hall to its southeast is an outer, public building, the Informal Audience Hall is, by placement, a middle building for semiprivate entertainment. According to the *Honchō gashi*, such a middle or semiprivate building should be decorated with figure paintings (*jinbutsuga*) in light colors (*tansai*). The paintings in the Informal Audience Hall at Nijō, whether termed flower-and-bird (*kachōga*) or seasonal landscape paintings (*keibutsuga* 景物画), are clearly not figure paintings (*jinbutsuga*).

Another distinction is that although the colors appear lighter and the compositions feature smaller, more elegant motifs than those in the Grand Audience Hall, these pigments are none-

theless applied over gold leaf and are necessarily opaque to cover the gold; they are, therefore, still characterized as *nōshokuga* 濃色画. Both the painting method and the flower-and-bird theme represent clear departures from the suggestions of the text. This alteration in subject and technique may be directly connected to the physical location of Nijō Castle in the capital, where the Ninomaru Palace functioned primarily as a locus for official entertainment when the shogun was in the city. It is also possible that the emperor, now a member of the shogun's family through marriage to Hidetada's 徳川秀忠 daughter, was entertained by Hidetada and Iemitsu 徳川家光 in this Informal Audience Hall, thereby mandating its special decoration. In general, since the shogun lived with his extended family and relatives in Edo and traveled to the ancient capital only occasionally, his entertainment needs in Kyoto must have been overwhelmingly official,

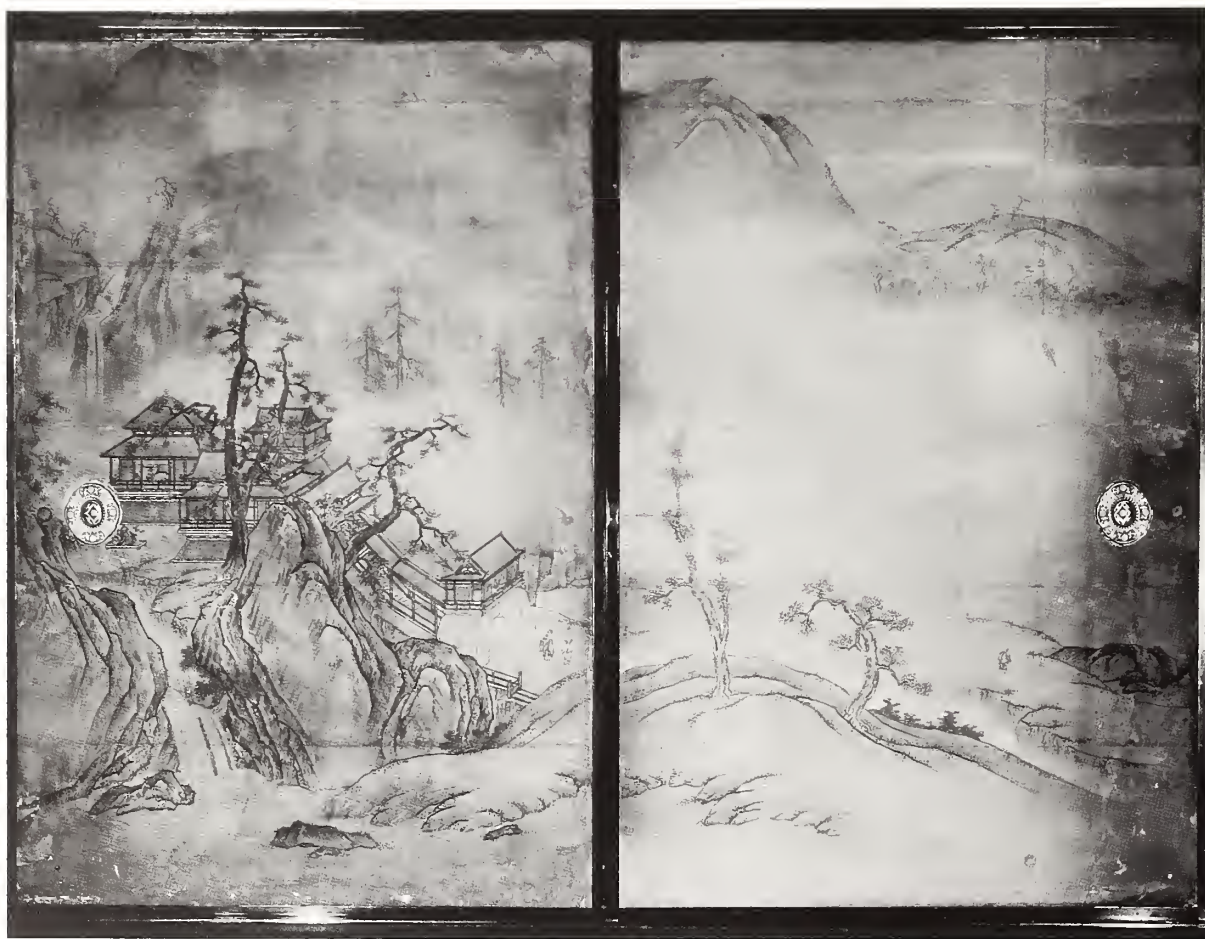


FIG. 6. Chinese landscape, Inner Hall (*Shiroshoin*), Ninomaru Palace, Reproduced with permission of Nijō Castle.

creating a demand for more public than private space at the Ninomaru. This too may account in part for the public painting technique, *nōshoku*, and public subject matter, *kachō*, employed in this semiprivate Informal Audience Hall.

The seventh and final building in the Ninomaru complex, the Inner Hall (*Shiroshoin*), is a suite of five rooms where the shogun retired after audiences to relax or sleep.³⁹ The three largest rooms⁴⁰ of this building are decorated with Chinese-style landscapes of the West Lake in ink (*suiboku*) with light touches of color wash (*tansai*) and gold paint (*kindei* 金泥).⁴¹ These scenes of West Lake include rugged mountainous landscapes, lakes, fishermen and other figures, boats, and a number of different manmade edifices; there is even evidence of seasonal imagery (fig. 6).⁴² The softness of the lightly brushed gold-painted backgrounds, in contrast to the flat brightness of gold leaf in the other buildings of the Ninomaru, is soothing to the eye; the absence of bright colors and large forms is conducive to rest and relaxation. The subject of West Lake conveys a similar message. Since this room was entered only by the shogun and his closest relatives and attendants, paintings with authoritarian messages were inappropriate and unnecessary. The paintings of this Chinese imperial pleasure site in the shogun's relaxation area suggest favorable comparisons between the position of the emperor and that of the shogun in seventeenth-century Japan.

The main rooms of the Inner Hall are decorated in general accordance with the program in the *Honchō gashi* that calls for landscape (*sansui*) for inner, private buildings, with ink (*suiboku*) as the preferred technique. The scenes of West Lake decorating the three largest rooms are landscape paintings (*sansuizu*) or possibly landscape paintings with seasonal imagery (*keibutsuga*); those in the two other rooms are flower-and-bird paintings (*kachōga*). Therefore, subjects appropriate for inner buildings appear in the main rooms of the Ninomaru's Inner Hall, and subjects associated with public areas decorate only those on the southeast side of the building. The ink, light color, and gold paint used to create the scenes include more variation than the "pure ink" suggested in the text, but again, the artist interpreted the words to fit the special function of this Inner Hall as representative of shogunal presence in the old imperial capital, rather than to adhere to the letter of the text.

The reason that subjects and techniques asso-

ciated with public buildings were used at the Inner Hall is, again, probably connected to the overall function of the Ninomaru Palace during the Kan'ei period. It was remodeled for an important visit of Emperor Gomizunoo in 1626 and served as a highly visual, public symbol of Tokugawa power in Kyoto, but it was never a real residence for the shogun during that time. If anything, it functioned more as a visitation palace for his increasingly infrequent trips from Edo to the old capital. Because there were only ten visits by Tokugawa shoguns to Kyoto in the first thirty years of the Edo period, the amount of actual living time spent in the Inner Hall was limited.⁴³ The Ninomaru Palace was redecorated to present a grand display of Tokugawa wealth and power to the emperor, the court, and other daimyo. It was never designed for the shoguns to live in; they lived in Edo. For this reason, the artist in charge of the overall design, Kano Tan'yū, carefully considered the real function of each building rather than adhering blindly to the dictates of the *Honchō gashi*.

*Honmaru Palace of Nagoya Castle*⁴⁴

The Honmaru Palace buildings at Nagoya Castle that existed during the Kan'ei era were actually constructed during two different time periods.⁴⁵ Four of the buildings,⁴⁶ the Entrance Hall (*Genkan* 玄関),⁴⁷ fronted by a small undecorated Carriage Entrance (*Kurumayose*),⁴⁸ the Formal Audience Hall (*Omoteshojin* 表書院), the Informal Audience Hall (*Taimenjo* 対面所), and the Inner Hall (*Okushoin* 奥書院), were built at the end of the Keichō era between 1610 and 1614.⁴⁹ Three other buildings were added some twenty years later during the Kan'ei period.⁵⁰ These buildings, the Shogun's Visitation Hall (*Jōraku-den*),⁵¹ the Informal Audience Hall (*Kurokishoin* 黒木書院),⁵² and the Bathing Hall (*Oyudonoshoin* 御湯殿書院), were constructed between 1633 and 1634 at the expense of the Keichō-period Inner Hall, which was dismantled to make room for the new buildings.⁵³

The Keichō buildings at Nagoya Castle were arranged in a *gankō kei*, or geese-in-flight formation, much like the Ninomaru Palace at Nijō Castle.⁵⁴ But the addition of three buildings to replace a single structure altered the original staggered formation, making the configuration scarcely recognizable in Kan'ei-period diagrams

TABLE 2. Decoration of Nagoya Castle, Honmaru Palace*

<i>Building/Room Name</i>	<i>Subject</i>	<i>Technique</i>
1610-14 (Keichō) Buildings		
Carriage Entrance (<i>Kurumayose</i>)	undecorated	
Entrance Hall (<i>Genkan</i>)—2 rooms		
First Chamber (<i>Ichī no ma</i>)	tiger-in-bamboo (<i>sōjū</i>)	opaque color/gold
Second Chamber (<i>Ni no ma</i>)	tiger-in-bamboo (<i>sōjū</i>)	opaque color/gold
Great Corridor (<i>Ōrōka</i>)	tiger-bamboo (<i>sōjū</i>)	opaque color/gold
Formal Audience Hall (<i>Omoteshoin</i>)—5 rooms		
Upper Chamber (<i>Jōdan no ma</i>)	flower-and-bird (<i>kachō</i>)	opaque color/gold
First Chamber (<i>Ichī no ma</i>)	flower-and-bird (<i>kachō</i>)	opaque color/gold
Second Chamber (<i>Ni no ma</i>)	flower-and-bird (<i>kachō</i>)	opaque color/gold
Third Chamber (<i>San no ma</i>)	civit cats (<i>sōjū</i>)	opaque color/gold
Storage Room (<i>Nando no ma</i>)	undecorated	
Informal Audience Hall (<i>Taimenjo</i>)—4 rooms		
Upper Chamber (<i>Jōdan no ma</i>)	figures (<i>jinbutsu</i>)	light color
Next-in-Rank Chamber (<i>Tsugi no ma</i>)	figures (<i>jinbutsu</i>)	light color
Upper Storage Room (<i>Nando kami no ma</i>)	flower-and-bird (<i>kachō</i>)	light color
Next-in-Rank Storage Room (<i>Nando tsugi no ma</i>)	flower-and-bird (<i>kachō</i>)	light color
Inner Hall (<i>Okushoin</i>)	dismantled 1633	
Lower Dining Hall (<i>Shimo gozenjo</i>)	undecorated	
1634 (Kan'ei) Buildings		
Shogun's Visitation Hall (<i>Jōrakuden</i>)—6 rooms		
Upper Chamber (<i>Jōdan no ma</i>)	figures (<i>jinbutsu</i>)	ink/medium color/gold
First Chamber (<i>Ichī no ma</i>)	figures (<i>jinbutsu</i>)	ink/medium color/gold
Second Chamber (<i>Ni no ma</i>)	figures (<i>jinbutsu</i>)	ink/light color/gold
Third Chamber (<i>San no ma</i>)	flower-and-bird (<i>kachō</i>)	ink/light color/gold
Pine Chamber (<i>Matsu no ma</i>)	flower-and-bird (<i>kachō</i>)	opaque color/gold
Storage Room (<i>Nando no ma</i>)	flower-and-bird (<i>kachō</i>)	opaque color/gold
Informal Audience Hall (<i>Kurokishoin</i>)—2 rooms		
First Chamber (<i>Ichī no ma</i>)	8 views of Xiao-Xiang (<i>sansui</i>)	ink/light color
Second Chamber (<i>Ni no ma</i>)	planting scenes (<i>jinbutsu</i>)	ink/light color
Bathing Hall (<i>Oyudonoshoin</i>)—3 rooms		
Upper Chamber (<i>Jōdan no ma</i>)	flower-and-bird (<i>kachō</i>)	opaque color/gold
First Chamber (<i>Ichī no ma</i>)	fans in stream (<i>senmenryū</i>)	ink/opaque color/gold
Second Chamber (<i>Ni no ma</i>)	waves-rocks-bird (<i>iwana mi</i>)	ink/gold

*Buildings listed from outer (southeast) to inner (northwest)

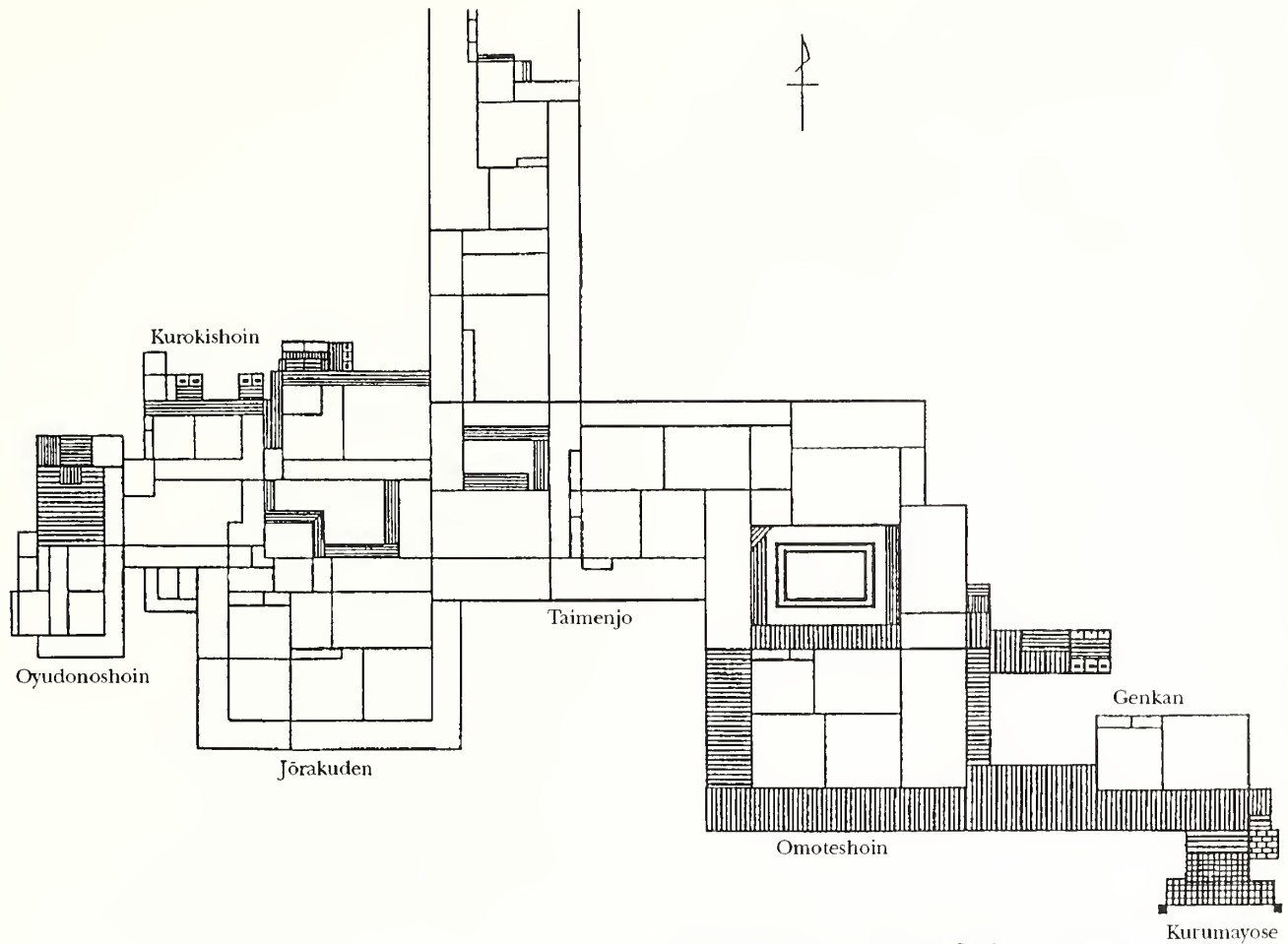


FIG. 7. Line drawing of the Kan'ei-period Honmaru Palace of Nagoya Castle.

(fig. 7). The architectural alterations and additions at the Honmaru Palace made it impossible for its interior decoration (summarized in table 2) to conform to the letter of the *Honchō gashi* text.

At Nagoya, the Entrance Hall was similar in position and function to the Reception Hall at Nijō Castle, being used as a waiting room for guests and messengers seeking an audience with the lord of the mansion. Nagoya's Entrance Hall, however, was smaller in scale, comprising only two rooms, both of which included painted scenes of tigers-in-bamboo (*sōjū*) in bright, opaque pigments over gold leaf (fig. 8).⁵⁵ Thus, the outer waiting rooms at both castles were decorated with the same theme of animals in the same style of painting, both in accordance with the *Honchō gashi*.

At the Nagoya Honmaru, the tigers-in-bamboo theme was continued on the cedar door panels along the west side of the Great Corridor (*Ōrōku* 大廊下) leading from the Entrance Hall to the



FIG. 8. Tigers-in-bamboo, Entrance Hall (*Genkan*), Honmaru Palace. Reproduced with permission of Nagoya Castle.

next building. Nijō Castle's Reception Hall, however, is connected to the Grand Audience Hall by a small building, the Formal Vestibule, rather than a corridor. The smaller Entrance Hall at Nagoya Castle and the absence of a Formal Vestibule are indications both of an earlier construction date and of Nagoya's original function as a residential castle for an important Tokugawa branch family (*sanke* 三家) rather than a shogun, located in Owari rather than in Kyoto.⁵⁶ The original buildings, of which this was one, had little of the palatial size or elegance of the complex at Nijō.

The second building of the Honmaru, the Formal Audience Hall, also a Keichō-period structure, was attached to the west end of the Great Corridor leading from the Entrance Hall. The Formal Audience Hall was designed to serve as the most important public edifice and the focal point of the entire Honmaru complex; it played the same role as the Grand Audience Hall at Nijō—that of a hall for public audiences.

Of the five large rooms within Nagoya's Formal Audience Hall, four were painted. The Upper Chamber (*Jōdan no ma*) was decorated with plum trees, pines, and birds, the First Chamber (*Ichino ma*) with cherry trees and pheasants, the

Second Chamber (*Ni no ma*) with pines, maple trees, and birds—all flower-and-bird subjects (*kachō*) on gold-leaf backgrounds (fig. 9). The other large painted room, the Third Chamber (*San no ma*), was decorated with civet cats, a four-legged animal subject (*sōjū*) more appropriate for a waiting room according to the *Honchō gashi* (fig. 10). This room was located on the east, or public, side of the building and was joined to the Entrance Hall by the Great Corridor, lined with cedar doors also decorated with tigers-in-bamboo. The Third Chamber, as the lowest-ranking room in the Formal Audience Hall, continued the animal theme of the Entrance Hall and the Great Corridor that led into it. As such, it was a room for guests of lower status who would not rate closer proximity to the lord. All four rooms were painted in bright, opaque pigments on gold leaf, and all of the subjects are eminently suitable for public rooms. In contrast, the four large rooms of the comparable building at Nijō, the Grand Audience Hall, are decorated in monothematic pine trees with flower-and-bird detail.

It is clear not only that there are differences in subjects between the comparable buildings of the two castles but also that four-legged animal



FIG. 9. Cherry trees and pheasants, Formal Audience Hall (*Omotesho-in*), Honmaru Palace.
Reproduced with permission of Nagoya Castle.

themes are amplified at Nagoya. They appear first in the Entrance Hall, extending through the Great Corridor and finally into the Third Chamber of the Formal Audience Hall. At Nijō this theme is limited to the Reception Hall, with the Formal Vestibule, corresponding to Nagoya's connecting Great Corridor, introducing the theme of the Grand Audience Hall—large pine trees with flowers-and-birds.

The text of the *Honchō gashi* does not address the decoration of connecting corridors and atypical buildings, so the artist in charge of the Keichō paintings at Nagoya was left to evaluate the function of the space for which he was designing.⁵⁷ Nijō's location in the imperial city, its function as official residence of the shogun in the capital, and the planned visit of an emperor to the castle intimated a need for more public space to accommodate important guests visiting the shogun in Kyoto. Therefore, overt warrior taste was downplayed in Nijō's decoration and a special extra vestibule, the *Shikidai*, was added for imperial attendants and decorated with auspicious pine trees. Nagoya, on the other hand, hosted less illustrious guests. No emperor ever visited the castle, and few, if any, imperial visitors traveled there; the guests were local daimyo who came to pay

their respects to Iemitsu as he rested at Nagoya along his journey. The different social expectations at Nagoya Castle resulted in the creation of more architectural space for lower-ranking visitors. Furthermore, the Formal Audience Hall was decorated between 1610 and 1614, a time when the Tokugawa were more tenuous in their political control but also more confident in their military prowess. For these reasons, it was perhaps natural for the designer of the decorations at Nagoya to stress the warrior-class spirit through certain motifs.⁵⁸

The Informal Audience Hall (*Taimenjo*) is the third and last decorated building from the Keichō period (the Lower Dining Hall was undecorated). It was located in an area farther from the main entrance and was therefore more private than the Formal Audience Hall. Its four large rooms were used for gatherings of a more intimate nature, and it is comparable to the Informal Audience Hall in the Ninomaru Palace at Nijō Castle. The two highest-ranking rooms of Nagoya's Informal Audience Hall, the Upper Chamber (*Jōdan no ma*) and the Next-in-Rank Chamber (*Tsugi no ma* 次の間), were decorated with light-colored (*tansai*) figure paintings (*jinbutsuga*) (fig. 11).⁵⁹ The two other rooms once

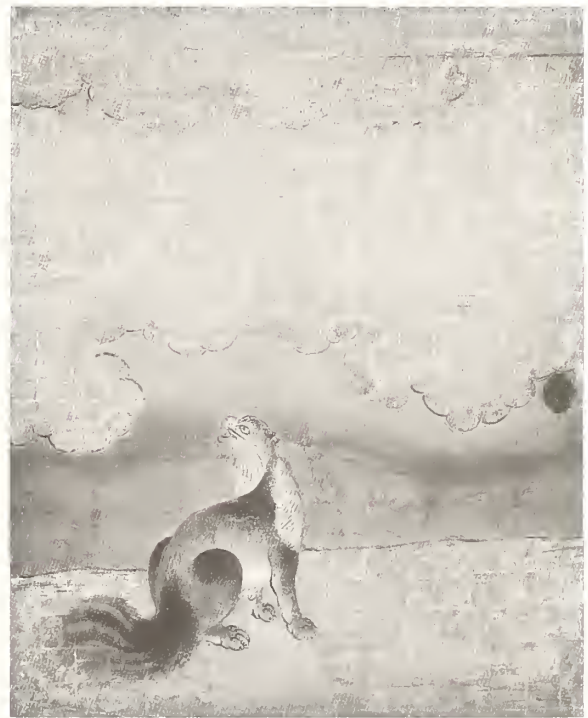


FIG. 10. Civet cats, Formal Audience Hall (*Omotesho-in*), Honmaru Palace.
Reproduced with permission of Nagoya Castle.



FIG. 11. Figure paintings, Informal Audience Hall (*Taimenjo*), Honmaru Palace. Reproduced with permission of Nagayo Castle.

held flower-and-bird paintings (*kachōga*) in light colors (*tansai*).

One unique characteristic of Nagoya's Informal Audience Hall is that it contained two rooms with recessed alcoves (*tokonoma* 床の間). Nijō's Informal Audience Hall does not have two alcoves, but it too has a unique architectural feature: two sets of staggered shelves (*chigaidana* 違棚). Both alcoves and staggered shelves are used for exhibiting precious works of art and are designed for eminent rooms where guests may be entertained and art objects displayed for their enjoyment. In both cases, these extra structures indicate the high rank of the rooms and serve to set them apart from other rooms, emphasizing their position as entertainment centers for the shogun's innermost circle of friends.

In contrast to the predominantly figure subjects at Nagoya, all four rooms at Nijō's Informal Audience Hall are decorated with flower-and-bird paintings.⁶⁰ Landscapes decorate only eight small

sliding doors of the cabinets above the two sets of staggered shelves and four small half-*shōji* (*koshōji* 小障子) along the attached shelf for writing (*tsukeshoin* 付書院). In addition, at Nijō the painting technique is opaque color over gold leaf; at Nagoya the light-colored pigments (*tansai*) are accented with touches of gold paint (*kindei*).⁶¹

The subjects are different in the two buildings, determining that the painting methods will be different. But both Informal Reception Halls, Nagoya's *Taimenjo* and Nijō's *Kuroshoin*, are middle buildings in terms of position, and should, according to the *Honchō gashi*, be decorated as Nagoya is with figures in light colors. What accounts for the differences between the two? Apparently some modification, a kind of upgrading, was necessary at Nijō to accommodate its unique position within the capital; more official business took place in the Kyoto residence of the shogun than at the castle in Nagoya. Furthermore, higher-ranking visitors, including an emperor, visited Nijō, and the castle itself towered over the Imperial Palace only a few blocks away. The Tokugawa, in the process of building a political power base, were undoubtedly aware that Nijō's physical proximity to the Imperial Palace made visual comparisons inevitable between the palace where the emperor resided and the palace where the Tokugawa shogun took up residence during visits.⁶²

The three westernmost buildings in Nagoya's Honmaru Palace, the Shogun's Visitation Hall, the Bathing Hall, and the Informal Audience Hall (*Kurokishoin*), were built, or in the case of the latter possibly moved to the Honmaru, during the Kan'ei period (1624–43).⁶³ The most important of these is the Visitation Hall, built in Kan'ei 11 (1634) for Shogun Iemitsu.⁶⁴ According to the *Taiyūindono gojikki* 大猷院殿御実紀 (True account of Lord Taiyūin) Iemitsu arrived at Nagoya on the fourth day of the seventh month of Kan'ei 11 (1634), stayed the fifth, and departed for Kyoto on the following day (sixth).⁶⁵

Some scholars suggest that political intrigue may have actually instigated the building of the Visitation Hall.⁶⁶ It is believed that Yoshinao 徳川義直 may have appeared too eager to succeed Iemitsu (who at this time was without an heir), thereby alienating the shogun.⁶⁷ Thus, the new palace may have been built to contradict these rumors and to function as a visual display of Yoshinao's loyalty to Iemitsu. According to the *Owarihan jiseki roku* 尾張藩事蹟録 (Record of

evidence from the Owari Provincial Government) and other documents, construction preceded Iemitsu's visit by a little over a year, beginning in the fifth month of Kan'ei 10 (1633).⁶⁸

The fact that the Visitation Hall at Nagoya Castle was built on the location of the Keichō-period Inner Hall, which had been dismantled to make room for it, suggests that this building took the place of the Inner Hall in the formal arrangement of the complex.⁶⁹ Both the Inner Hall and its replacement, the Visitation Hall, were equivalent in physical position to the Inner Hall of Nijō's Honmaru Palace and should have been decorated similarly in ink landscapes. Yet in this case the instructions for the decoration of an inner building given in the *Honchō gashi* are at odds with the planned function of the structure. The new Visitation Hall was to be used by the shogun for a variety of purposes during his visit. The plan was for this Visitation Hall to be multifunctional—a purpose both the subjects and the painting methods of its painted decorations were designed to reflect.

There were by this time well-established precedents for single architectural structures fulfilling more than one purpose.⁷⁰ For example, the no-longer-extant Imperial Visitation Palace (*Gyōkō Goten* 行幸御殿) at Nijō Castle, built for the imperial visit of Emperor Gomizunoo, was a single building that contained rooms for public functions and private entertaining, as well as sleeping quarters for the emperor's stay at the castle in 1626ÉY.⁷¹ The idea that the Shogun's Visitation Hall should function as both public and private space for the shogun was probably based on this model. The painter's challenge, however, was to make the paintings in the rooms reflect both the Visitation Hall's formal position as replacement for the Keichō Inner Hall in the overall Honmaru arrangement and also its purpose as a multifunctional space for Iemitsu when he stopped on his journeys to Kyoto.

Whereas the decoration of the older Keichō-period buildings (1614) discussed above closely paralleled the suggestions in the "Standards and Methods for Painting Walls and Sliding Doors" section of the *Honchō gashi*, those in the Kan'ei-period structures (1634) did not. When the Visitation Hall replaced the Inner Hall, significant alterations made in the size and position of the new building also influenced its decoration. The new building comprised six rooms, making it even larger than the five-room *Shiroshoin* at Nijō.⁷² Its size was probably influenced by the multipur-

pose plans for its use. In constructing the Visitation Hall, the architects also adjusted its position slightly. Instead of angling the building to the northwest of the Keichō-period Informal Audience Hall toward the area generally regarded as the private sector in the traditional pattern, the Visitation Hall was attached to the southwest corner of the Informal Audience Hall by a 30-mat room, the Plum Chamber (*Ume no ma* 梅の間) and a 22-mat room that functioned as a passageway, the Heron Corridor (*Sagi no ma* 鷺の間).

This peculiar placement was partially practical; there was no space to the northwest for such a large building because of the position of a small turreted tower (*tenshukaku* 天守閣) that remained from the Keichō construction.⁷³ It may also be said that by extending the Visitation Hall southward, the architectural planners were displaying a special sensitivity to the various public functions and meetings that the shogun, even on a brief visit, might be expected to conduct, and that they thereby attempted to position the building so that it might preserve traditional concepts of space as well as provide functional rooms for both the private and public life of the shogun. In his paintings in the Visitation Hall, Tan'yū likewise sought to visualize these complex concerns.

In spite of its supplementary role as a replacement for the final building, the new Visitation Hall in the Honmaru Palace of Nagoya Castle was decorated very differently from its counterpart at Nijō, the Inner Hall. As noted above, all of the large wall and sliding door paintings in three of the five rooms at Nijō's Inner Hall are decorated with Chinese-style landscapes of the West Lake in ink with touches of light color and gold paint, a subject considered traditional for inner buildings according to the *Honchō gashi* and a style modified to emphasize the function of Nijō as the most important visual representative of the shogun in Kyoto—his counterpart to the Imperial Palace.

The painting subjects introduced by Tan'yū at Nagoya's Visitation Hall are also not the expected ink landscapes.⁷⁴ The two most important rooms, the Upper Chamber (*Jōdan no ma*) and the First Chamber (*Ichi no ma*), were decorated with subjects taken from the *Teikan zusetsu* 帝鑑図説 (Chinese: *Dijian tushuo*; Exemplary stories of virtuous and nonvirtuous emperors), a woodblock-printed book of historically based tales detailing lessons of appropriate and inappropriate (according to Confucian precepts) conduct of eighty-one Chinese emperors (fig. 12)



五二 名古屋城御殿上洛殿上段の間 戦災損失 内部床の間貼付細詳細 床の間北正面

FIG. 12. Virtuous and Nonvirtuous Emperors, Shogun's Visitation Hall (*Jōrakuden*), Honmaru Palace. Reproduced with permission of Nagoya Castle.

The book was written by Zhang Juzheng 張居正 (1525–82) and printed in China in 1573.⁷⁵ A copy was brought to Japan by Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1536–98) during his Korean campaigns of 1592–98 and passed on to his son and heir Hideyori 豊臣秀頼 (1593–1615). New blocks were cut by Japanese carvers, and the book was republished in Japan in 1606. Paintings based on the printed illustrations of the *Teikan zusetsu* thereupon became popular with Kano artists who worked on important Tokugawa projects in the first half of the seventeenth century, very likely because the Tokugawa found the didactic messages implicit in the *Teikan* subjects applicable to their own political situation.⁷⁶ These subjects were also commissioned a decade earlier by the Tokugawa to decorate the important Gyōkō Palace for the 1626 visit of Emperor Gomizunoo to Nijō Castle.⁷⁷

At the Visitation Hall of Nagoya Castle, the *Teikan* subjects in the Upper Chamber and First Chamber are outlined in ink and filled in with opaque colors (*bokuga chakushoku* 墨画著色).⁷⁸ As

subjects, the illustrations from the *Teikan zusetsu* text are figure paintings (*jinbutsuga*) as suggested by the *Honchō gashi* for use in semiprivate middle buildings, which physically, within the context of the entire Honmaru complex, the Visitation Hall is not. But in true figure paintings, the human images are more important than their surroundings. Here at Nagoya it is difficult to make that distinction, and equal importance seems to be placed on the landscape. Furthermore, the painting technique may correspond to the figure subject in the manner dictated in the text, depending on whose definition is used to describe it. Konō defines the technique not as light color (*tansai*) but as ink outlines filled in with opaque pigments (*bokuga chakushoku* 墨画著色), a method not specifically mentioned in the text. Other sources describe these paintings as ink and light color (*bokuga tansai* 墨画淡彩).⁷⁹ If the confusion of modern-day art historians over how to define these painting techniques indicates anything, it is that Tan'yū's method is suitably complex—ink, color, and gold paint—



FIG. 13. Four Accomplishments, Shogun's Visitation Hall (*Jōrakuden*), Honmaru Palace. Reproduced with permission of Nagayo Castle.



FIG. 14. Bamboo and birds, Shogun's Visitation Hall (*Jōrakuden*), Honmaru Palace. Reproduced with permission of Nagayo Castle.

to express the complex history, position, and function of this building.⁸⁰ Tan'yū accomplished this complexity by combining ink for the landscape parts of the scenes, recalling the new Visitation Hall's position at the site of the former Inner Hall, with opaque pigments on the buildings and figures, a style reserved for public buildings, and by employing figures, appropriate for middle buildings.⁸¹

The Second Chamber (*Ni no ma*) of the Visitation Hall was also furnished with figure subjects but in a different technique—ink with light color (*bokuga tansai*).⁸² This room contained scenes of the Four Accomplishments, another Chinese subject depicting scholars engaged in the arts of music, board games, calligraphy, and painting (fig. 13).⁸³

The Third Chamber (*San no ma*) was decorated with yet a different subject, flower-and-bird motifs (*kachō*), in the same ink with light colors (*bokuga tansai*) as the Second Chamber (fig. 14). The Third Chamber was located in the southeast-

ern quadrant, or most public area of the Visitation Hall, and it is in this room that the most eclectic mix of painting subjects and techniques was displayed. According to the *Honchō gashi*, flower-and-bird subjects were public area motifs, but also according to the text, such themes were to be painted in brightly colored, opaque pigments on gold leaf. Yet, in the Visitation Hall's Third Chamber, the flower-and-bird subjects are primarily rendered in ink.⁸⁴ The subject is therefore appropriate for outer public buildings while the painting medium, ink, is better suited to inner private buildings. In this room, the paintings are synthesized responses to the public function of the room and the inner position of the building.

The two final rooms, the Pine Chamber (*Matsu no ma* 松の間), also referred to as the Fourth Chamber (*Yon no ma*), and the small Storage Room (*Nando no ma* 納戸の間) in the northeast quadrant of the Visitation Hall, exemplify even stronger characteristics of public room decoration. Both were decorated with flower-and-bird subjects,

FIG. 15. Agricultural scenes, Informal Audience Hall (*Kurokishoin*), Honmaru Palace. Reproduced with permission of Nagayo Castle.



but in contrast to those same subjects in the Third Chamber, these were rendered in bright opaque color over gold leaf. The Pine Chamber was connected to the Informal Audience Hall through the Heron Corridor, making it the only room of the Visitation Hall that was tangential to the outer Keichō-period buildings. Among all the rooms of the Visitation Hall the Pine Chamber displays, through subject and painting technique, the most straightforward evidence of its function as a public room. The Storage Room to the west of it was decorated with hanging wisteria in the same technique. Thus, in all of the rooms of the Visitation Hall, Tan'yū reinterpreted the painting program to satisfy intrinsically disparate conditions—a long tradition of spatial ranking associated with architectural structures and a concern for propriety between the function of the building and its decoration.

To the north and slightly west of the Visitation Hall across a small garden space lay another Informal Audience Hall (*Kurokishoin*).⁸⁵ This building was connected to the Visitation Hall by two corridors, the Chrysanthemum Corridor (*Kiku no rōka* 菊の廊下) and the Morning Glory

Corridor (*Asagao no rōka* 朝顔の廊下). The Informal Audience Hall served as Iemitsu's private living quarters during his visit. It is generally believed that this building was moved to Nagoya's Honmaru from Kiyosu 清洲 Castle in the Kan'ei period, but its architectural history remains unclear.⁸⁶ Two rooms in the Informal Audience Hall were decorated with ink paintings—the First Chamber (*Ichino ma*) with landscapes depicting eight views of the Chinese Xiao and Xiang (*shōshō hakkei* 瀟湘八景) rivers⁸⁷ and the Second Chamber (*Ni no ma*) with planting scenes of the four seasons (*shiki kōsaku* 四季耕作) (fig. 15).⁸⁸ The Xiao and Xiang rivers converge in present-day Hunan, China. During the Yuan and Ming dynasties, Hunan and Hubei were joined together to form Huguang Province, a key agricultural region that supplied rice to much of China. This makes the coupling of the eight views in the First Chamber with planting scenes in the Second Chamber a likely combination.

In China, planting scenes became the exclusive domain of court painters, produced and displayed to remind the ruler of hardships endured by the peasants. They were, therefore, a type of

didactic painting. When the theme was introduced to Japan, this meaning was deemphasized, and the focus of the paintings shifted to the seasonal nature of farming. Interest in agricultural paintings, as well as their didactic message, revived in the Edo period, apparently because Chinese woodblock books were reprinted.⁸⁹

Most art historians believe that the paintings in this building represent an older style of brushwork and composition and that, although the building was dismantled and moved to Nagoya in the Kan'ei period, its architecture and interior decorations are earlier in date.⁹⁰ Regardless of this debate, the decoration of the Informal Audience Hall generally corresponds to its position as an inner building—landscape scenes in ink. Atypical aspects include the figures that accompany the planting scenes and the seasonal nature of the subject; planting scenes such as these are more likely to be termed *keibutsuga*.

The Bathing Hall, the final building, was connected to the west side of the Visitation Hall by the Wild Geese Corridor (*Kari no rōka* 雁の廊下).⁹¹ In the northern section of this building were bathing chambers, including a steam bath (*mushiburo* 蒸し風呂), and in the southern half were three rooms, the Upper Chamber (*Jōdan no ma*), First Chamber (*Ichino ma*), and Second Chamber (*Ni*

no ma). The Upper Chamber was decorated with pines, bamboo, and flowers-and-birds⁹² in opaque pigments over gold ground (*kinji chakushoku* 金地著色). Upon entering the Bathing Hall, the shogun probably relaxed with intimate friends in this room, which was appropriately decorated with auspicious flora, brilliant color, and gold.

The two remaining rooms of the Bathing Hall were decorated with scenes relating to water—the First Chamber with floating-fans-in-a-stream (*senmenryūshizu* 扇面流し図)⁹³ and the Second Chamber with rocks-and-waves and small birds (*iwanami kinchōzu* 岩波禽鳥図) (fig. 16).⁹⁴ The fan paintings in the First Chamber are brushed in color against a background of gold cloud patterns (*kin'un chakushoku* 金雲著色). Both of these rooms, the First and the Second Chamber, were probably used by the shogun for relaxation after emerging from his bath. The sliding door and wall painting of rocks-and-waves in the Second Chamber is in ink, light colors, and gold clouds (*kin'un bokuga tansai* 金雲墨画淡彩).⁹⁵ In the Bathing Hall, the rules for decoration seem to have broken down completely, or perhaps, because of the function of this building, they simply are not applicable.

One possible explanation for the unorthodox subjects and painting techniques in the Bathing



FIG. 16. Rocks and waves, Bathing Hall (*Oyudonoshoin*), Honmaru Palace. Reproduced with permission of Nagayo Castle.

Hall may be its decorator. A theory popularly proffered by Japanese art historians is that these paintings may have been created by an artist who lived and worked for the provincial Owari domain, a man who may have had loose connections to the Kano atelier but who probably was not thoroughly cognizant of the painting program.⁹⁶ Yet it was Tan'yū who would have been in charge of overall planning for the buildings, and his plans would have been carried out by his assistants in some of the less prestigious buildings. A provincial, non-Kano-trained artist in Tan'yū's employ would still have been obligated to follow his dictates.

A more plausible explanation is that the Bathing Hall cannot be evaluated under the rubric of a typical inner building because it fulfills an unusual function. The rooms on its south side were presumably for Shogun Iemitsu to rest and relax before and after bathing, and the water-related subjects were clearly employed to parallel the function of the building—bathing.⁹⁷

Conclusion

The Ninomaru Palace of Nijō Castle and the Honmaru Palace of Nagoya Castle were clearly constructed to serve different functions and were decorated accordingly. The Ninomaru was a residential palace for the shogun when he was in Kyoto. Its staggered-axis design follows a clear progression from outer through middle to inner buildings, and the interiors are generally decorated according to the program set out in the *Honchō gashi* in terms of both subject and painting technique. Variations from the rules take the form of augmented public imagery at Nijō Castle because of its location in Kyoto and because the Ninomaru Palace was redesigned specifically to entertain an emperor. In particular, the amount of public space was expanded into the Informal Audience Hall by decorating this building with flowers-and-birds in opaque color over gold leaf to better accommodate the shogun's official needs.

Nagoya Castle, on the other hand, was originally built not for the shogun himself but as a residence for the head of the Owari Tokugawa, one of the three important branch families. It was not until 1634 that the Honmaru complex was redesigned to include a Visitation Hall and

reassigned for the exclusive use of Shogun Tokugawa Iemitsu on his journeys to Kyoto. This Visitation Hall qualified as a middle building because of its position in the Honmaru Palace after the 1634 renovation. It was preceded by three buildings that date to 1610–14—the Entrance Hall, the Formal Audience Hall, and the Informal Audience Hall—and it was followed by two buildings added at the time of its own construction, another Informal Audience Hall and a Bathing Hall. According to this scheme, the Visitation Hall was a middle building and should have served as a space for semipublic functions, such as entertaining loyal daimyo and friends.

But the Visitation Hall was also designed to serve a very specific purpose—that of temporary guest house for the shogun. Thus, this single building had to be multifunctional, permitting the shogun to entertain at various levels, from public to private, much like the guest house built at Nijō Castle for Emperor Gomizunoo. Both were structures intended for public meetings, more intimate entertainments, and short-term private living. One other underlying fact complicates our evaluation of the Visitation Hall. It was built on the site of the innermost building of the Keichō-period Honmaru, the Inner Hall.

To summarize these complexities, within the overall Kan'ei-period (1634) reconstruction of Nagoya Castle's Honmaru, the position of the Visitation Hall designates it as a middle building. It is also a special guest house for the shogun. If viewed within the plan of the old Keichō-period construction (1614) of the Honmaru, the Visitation Hall was built where the innermost building, the *Okushoin*, had stood. In short, several layers of meaning are inherent in the position and function of this Visitation Hall. Accordingly, in deciding on subjects and the techniques in which to paint them, while still maintaining tradition, Tan'yū configured a combination intended to satisfy this complexity of meanings.

Tan'yū's solution for the Visitation Hall was an eclectic combination of subjects and painting techniques associated with inner, middle, and private buildings. First, he incorporated figure paintings (exemplary Chinese emperors) with a technique called *bokuga chakushoku* (ink painting with opaque color) for the formal rooms of the Hall, the Upper Chamber and the First Chamber. What did this solution express? Figure subjects (*jinbutsu*) were suitable for middle buildings

according to the *Honchō gashi*, so this subject represented the Visitation Hall's position as a middle building within the Kan'ei-period complex. The painting technique, on the other hand, memorialized by means of primarily ink-brushed landscapes the historical position of the Visitation Hall on the site of the old Inner Hall. With the application of bright, opaque colors on the figures and buildings, the artist evoked the public functions associated with these two high-ranking rooms.

In the Second Chamber Tan'yū painted figure subjects of the Four Accomplishments in ink with light colors (*bokuga tansai*). Both the subject and technique in this room underscore the position of the Visitation Hall as a semiprivate middle building. In the adjoining Third Chamber the artist rendered flower-and-bird subjects (*kachō*), redolent of public function, in ink and light color, suggestive of semiprivate entertainment. Finally, Tan'yū designed flower-and-bird paintings (*kachōga*) in brightly colored opaque pigments on gold leaf for the walls of the Pine Chamber and Storage Room, rooms for public use—thereby strongly stating the shogun's need for a public space in this building.

This study of the residential palaces of two

castles demonstrates how a high-ranking artist of the Kano school, Kano Tan'yū, both followed and improvised upon rules of subject and style that were firmly embedded in Kano painting tradition. It further demonstrates that such rules for painting large sliding doors and walls were clearly in effect for Kano artists in the early decades of the century, well before the *Honchō gashi* was formally published, indicating that subject and painting technique were predetermined by tradition and then later concretely established for the Kano atelier in the "Standards and Methods for Painting Walls and Sliding Doors" section of the *Honchō gashi*. As the data from Nijō and Nagoya castles suggest, on the other hand, when a room or building did not fit one of the categories expounded in the Kano painting program, the artist-in-charge was expected to extrapolate to fit the situation. How well an artist exposed the layers of meaning intrinsic to a site's position and function might well have served as an indicator of his real talent and may be one of the criteria that established Kano Tan'yū as the most important shogunal painter in the seventeenth century.

Notes

1. The Kano family of professional painters, beginning with its founder Masanobu 狩野正信 (1434–1530), had served as artists to shogunal patrons since the late fifteenth century. Under Masanobu's son, Motonobu 狩野元信 (1476–1559), this family of painters expanded its patronage to include members of the imperial family and the aristocracy, Buddhist temples, and important merchants. In Genna 3 (1617), Tan'yū, only fifteen years old, was summoned to Edo from Kyoto and given the honor of being employed as a painter (*goyō eshi*) by the Tokugawa government.
2. The *Nijō oshiro osashi zu* 二條御城御指図 (Instructions on Nijō Castle) in possession of the Kunaichō Shoryōbu 宮内庁書陵部 (Office of Imperial Household Agency, Bureau of Imperial Records), is one of the oldest extant documents on the paintings and artists who worked at Nijō Castle. It states that Kano Uneme 狩野采女 (Tan'yū) produced the paintings in the Grand Audience Hall, Cycad Chamber, and the Formal Vestibule. Generally, the head artist of the Kano school oversaw government-sponsored projects and also painted the most important rooms or buildings in the project. Although Tan'yū's younger brother Yasunobu 狩野安信 (1613–85) was titular head of the main Kyoto atelier when the Nijō paintings were completed in 1626, he was actually only eleven years old. Therefore, Tan'yū acted on his behalf, both planning the overall designs for the project and personally creating the wall and sliding door painting in these rooms. The information regarding artists and rooms was added to this record as handwritten slips of paper in Tenmei 8 (1788), about 150 years after the completion of the project; Doi Tsuguyoshi, *Motorikyū Nijōjō*, ed. Kawakami Mitsugu (Tokyo: Shogakkan, 1974), 323. Photographs of the original document and added handwritten slips appear in Sahashima Eitarō and Yoshinaga Yoshinobu, *Nijōjōjō* (*Kenchiku shinsho* 4) (Tokyo: Sōbo shobō, 1942), pls. 19, 20.

According to Bakufu-supported Confucian scholar Hayashi Gahō's statement in "Hōin Tan'yūsai Kano Morinobu hishi heimei" 法印探幽斎狩野守信碑誌併銘 (Kano Tan'yū's epitaph with collected signatures), Tan'yū painted all the paintings at Nijō Castle; *Kano gokofu* (Genealogy of five houses) in Asaoka Okisada (Kōtei), *Koga bikō* (Notes on old paintings) (Tokyo: Kōbunkan, Meiji 37 [1904]), 37:1631–34. The epitaph is also included in *Yakuchū Honchō gashi* 訳注本朝画史, compiled by Kano Einō (1693), annotated by Kasai Masaaki, Sasaki Susumu, Takei Akio (Kyoto: Dōbōsha, 1985), 354. This epitaph is dated Empō 2 (1674) and was written upon Tan'yū's death as

a tribute. The date indicates that it was written only about 50 years after the Ninomaru's redecoration and should, therefore, have been accurate. Because it was written as an epitaph, however, the author was too generous in stating that Tan'yū painted all the rooms (about 28 total), which he could not and did not do.

Nonetheless, although there has been considerable discussion concerning the names of the artists of the paintings in the other buildings of the Ninomaru, scholars seem to agree that Tan'yū indeed produced those in the main rooms of the Grand Audience Hall and the Formal Vestibule while overseeing the entire project. For more discussion on authorship of these two important buildings, see the section by Takeda Tsuneo, *Motorikyū Nijōjō*, 343–46 and 353–58; Matsuki Hiroshi has reevaluated the authorship of paintings at the Ninomaru in "Kanoke no chi to chikara: Nagoyajō shōhekiga o chūshin ni," *Kobijutsu* 81 (January 1987): 52–57. See also Matsuki's recently published book of the same title *Kanoke no chi to chikara* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1994), 144–52.

3. Many painting attributions at Nagoya Castle's Honmaru are also uncertain. In particular, those in the three decorated Keichō-period buildings, the Entrance Hall, Formal Audience Hall, and Informal Audience Hall, are widely debated. For discussions of these buildings, see Takeda Tsuneo, *Nagoyajō honmaru goten shōhekiga shū* (Nagoya: Nagoyashi, 1990), 234–46; Matsuki Hiroshi, "Kanoke no chi to chikara: Nagoyajō shōhekiga o chūshin ni," *Kobijutsu* 82 (April 1987): 66–75, and 83 (July 1987): 78–87. While all the paintings in the Kan'ei-period Shogunal Visitation Hall are uncontestedly attributed to Kano Tan'yū, the identities of the artists in the other Kan'ei-period buildings are unclear. See Kōno Motoaki, "Tan'yū to Nagoyajō Kan'eidō zōei goten" (part 1), *Studies in Art History* 2 (1985): 91–116; also Takeda, *Nagoyajō honmaru*, 246–58.
4. The interaction between a high-ranking Kano artist and shogunal patron was initiated by the patron with a request and responded to by the artist with a sketch. Usually what followed was a certain amount of give-and-take until a satisfactory agreement was reached. Beyond this, the amount of control that an artist or patron had over the finished product seems to have depended upon the working relationship of the two individuals. A general framework was in place to suggest subjects and painting styles for large-scale projects, but within that framework there was a certain amount of flexibility for either the patron or artist to make personal decisions. For a discussion of the duties of Edo-period Kano painters and their interaction

- with the shogun on matters of painting commissions, see Kōno Motoaki, "Edo Kano zakkō," *Kobijutsu* 71 (1984): 25–26.
5. Castle building in Japan flourished from the latter half of the sixteenth century through the first half of the seventeenth century. Although termed *castles*, however, the grandest of these structures were really palatial residences for shogunal rulers and only superficially resembled protective forts.
 6. Gail Capitol Weigl discusses the importance of form and function in the evolution of screen and wall painting in Muromachi (1333–1576) Japan in "The Reception of Chinese Painting Models in Muromachi Japan," *Monumenta Nipponica* 35, 3 (1980): 257–72. Documentation on Azuchi Castle 安土城, built in 1594, furthers the premise that building position and function were already important considerations in planning painted decorations. See Carolyn Wheelwright, "A Visualization of Eitoku's Lost Paintings at Azuchi Castle," in *Warlords, Artists, and Commoners: Japan in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. G. Elison and B. L. Smith (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1981), 87–111; also Naitō Akira, "Azuchijō no kenkyū," *Kokka* 987 (February 1976): 1–120, and 988 (March 1976): 1–63.
 7. Quitman E. Phillips translates this title more literally as "The History of Painting in This Realm"; "*Honchō gashi* and the Kano Myth," *Archives of Asian Art* 47 (1994): 46. The term *Honchō* was used to refer to Japan as one of three entities (the others being China [*Shintan* 震旦] and India [*Tenjiku* 天竺]) that made up the world as medieval Japanese perceived it; *The Cambridge History of Japan*, vol. 4, *Early Modern Japan*, ed. J. W. Hall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 74. The preface to the *Honchō gashi*, written by Hayashi Gahō, is dated Empō 6 (1678). For this reason, this text is sometimes also referred to as the 1678 *Honchō gashi*.
 8. Two years earlier, in 1691 (Genroku 4), Kano Einō published (as five woodblock-printed books) an earlier version titled the *Honchō gaden* 本朝画傳 (Japanese painting tradition). This text was then revised and published in 1693 (Genroku 6) as the *Honchō gashi*. For details on how these two texts relate, see Doi Tsuguyoshi, "*Honchō gaden* ni tsuite," *Kinsei Nihon kaiga no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Bijutsu shuppansha, 1970), 9–17.
 9. The freedom to create new types of painting to meet special needs is also not novel. According to Weigl, "Reception," 271, Kano Motonobu evolved new methods based on his ability to draw upon both Chinese and Japanese art.
 10. Unfortunately, all the original buildings at Nagoya Castle were destroyed by fire during the World War II bombing of the city. The present castle is a twentieth-century reconstruction, but most of the original Keichō- and Kan'ei-period paintings (primarily those on sliding door panels) were moved outside the city during the bombing and have been reinstalled in a new ferroconcrete castle, which also serves as a museum for their preservation. Excellent photographs and diagrams of the Kan'ei-period buildings and of the interior arrangements of the paintings are found in *Nagoyajō*, 3 vols. (Nagoya: Nagoya Shiyakusho, 1953; rpt. 1987).
 11. But the preface, dated Empō 6 (1678), indicates that the text was completed at least twenty years before it was published; *Yakuchū Honchō gashi*, 3.
 12. Weigl, "Reception," 271–72, discusses such a "policy of decoration," already formulated by the late fifteenth century. A more specific comparable example is the reconstructed arrangement of paintings in the rooms at Azuchi Castle. Although Azuchi was arranged vertically rather than horizontally, there is still a clear correlation of public rooms on the south and east and private suites on the north and west sides of each floor. See Wheelwright, "Visualization," 88–89.
 13. The text contains no indication of when this section was actually written.
 14. Translation of this passage is my own. Here and elsewhere in this essay, I use the *Honchō gashi* cited in n. 2. This passage appears on pages 379–80.
 15. *Suiboku* is ink made of collected carbon particles (usually pine soot) and water. The modern method involves mixing soot with a water-soluble glue (*nikawa* 膠) made from boiling animal bones and hides, then placing the paste in molds where it hardens into sticks of ink that are then ground and mixed with water for use.
 16. Japanese pigments (*ganryō* 顔料) are made from plant dyes and minerals mixed with animal glue (*nikawa*) that binds the pigments together and helps them adhere to the painting surface. *Tansai* are such pigments mixed with water, resulting in colors that are lighter than those termed *nōshoku* and thinner in consistency. Light colors (*tansai*) are most often used in conjunction with ink.
 17. *Nōshoku*, thick, deep colors, are created from plant and mineral sources, undiluted with water. The paint produced is thick in consistency and opaque. The colors are undiluted and therefore brighter

and deeper in color. Such pigments are most often used in conjunction with gold leaf (*kinpeki*).

18. Although the term *kachōga* literally translates as "flower-and-bird painting," large trees, grasses, and nonflowering plants are generally included in its definition, as indicated here in the text.
19. There are several underlying associations with these three terms. *Jōdan* refers to a room whose floor is raised a few inches above the others. Its physical height signifies that the highest-ranking individual sits in this room, facing those of lower rank. In this section of the text, however, *denchū jōdan* refers to the area (buildings) of a palatial residence, traditionally located in the northwest (private) sector, that is reserved as living space for the lord. *Gedan* is literally a lower-level area and therefore indicates buildings or rooms located near the main entrance (public sector) for use by lower-ranking guests. *Chūdan* refers to rooms or buildings located between the other two that have semiprivate/semipublic functions.
20. Generally, the innermost buildings are termed either *Shiroshoin* or *Okushoin*, middle buildings *Kuroshoin* or *Kohiroma* 小広間, and outer buildings *Ōhiroma*, *Taimenjo*, or *Omoteshoin*, with the *Tōzamura* and *Genkan* used as waiting rooms. There is, however, some confusion regarding the term *Shiroshoin* because its meaning seems to have changed over time. Editorial note 4, p. 381, to the *Honchō gashi* text explains that buildings such as the *Omoteshoin*, *Shiroshoin*, and *Ōhiroma* were part of the outer or public sector of the palace complex (*denchū gedan*) and that the *Okushoin* and *Kuroshoin* were included in the inner private sector (*denchū jōdan*). Apparently at one time, *Shiroshoin* was used interchangeably with *Taimenjo* and *Kohiroma*, which would account for its inclusion in the public section here in the text. However, at Nijō Castle, where there is both a *Kuroshoin* and a *Shiroshoin*, the former is included as part of the semipublic sector and the *Shiroshoin* is part of the inner private area.
21. This term is often used interchangeably with *nōshoku* and *nōsai* 濃彩.
22. For an excellent discussion on the development of interior space, see Mitsuo Inoue, *Space in Japanese Architecture* (New York: Weatherhill, 1985), chap. 4.
23. For further discussion of the quadrant theory, see Inoue, *Space*, 109.
24. Although inner buildings were for exclusive use by the lord, his family, and close friends, the buildings or rooms for receiving important guests and holding formal audiences were the most important in a residential complex, as was evident by the late fifteenth century; Weigl, "Reception," 272.
25. The Kan'ei period dates from 1624 to 1643. Construction of Nijō Castle, however, was first begun at the present-day site in 1602 by Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康 (1542–1616) after he defeated Toyotomi forces at the Battle of Sekigahara 関ヶ原 (1600). The older buildings were then dismantled and rebuilt, and a visitation palace, the *Gyōkō Goten*, was added between 1624 and 1626 for a visit by Emperor Gomizunoo. This extraordinary visit was related to the fact that Kazuko 和子 (alternately Masako) (1607–78), the daughter of the second Tokugawa shogun Hidetada (1579–1632), had entered the Imperial Palace as Emperor Gomizunoo's official wife in 1620. Gomizunoo was then received by her father, the retired shogun, and her brother and current shogun Iemitsu (1604–51) on the sixth day of the ninth month of 1626; he stayed at the specially constructed Gyōkō Palace for five days.
The visit of a ruling emperor to a shogunal residence was not unprecedented in Japanese history. In 1408, Emperor Gokomatsu 御小松 was elegantly entertained for three weeks by Ashikaga Yoshimitsu 足利義満 at his Kitayama 北山 villa. In 1588, Toyotomi Hideyoshi played host to an emperor at his lavish Jurakudai 聚楽第 castle-palace. Such visits were, however, by no means common, and they indicated a pretension to equality on the part of those shoguns.
26. A cycad is a Japanese sago (fern) palm. This room or corridor is so named because its cedar-paneled walls were decorated with paintings of fern palms attributed to Tan'yū.
27. These three rooms are the First Chamber (*Ichino ma*), Second Chamber (*Ni no ma*), and Third Chamber (*San no ma*).
28. These rooms include two Imperial Messenger Rooms (*Chokushi no ma* 勅使の間) on the north side of the building. The Upper Chamber (*Jōdan no ma*) is decorated with maples (*kaede* 楓) and small birds against a background of *genjigumo* 源氏雲-style clouds and a stream, and the Lower (*Gedan*) is decorated with Japanese cypress (*hinoki* 桧) and *genjigumo*. There are also a small Bed Chamber (*Chōdai no ma*), a Willow Chamber (*Yanagi no ma* 柳の間), a Young Pine Chamber (*Wakamatsu no ma* 若松の間), and a Cotton Rose Chamber (*Fuyō no ma* 芙蓉の間), as well as one unnamed, undecorated room in the very center of the building. All of these rooms are decorated

- in bright colors against gold, either leaf (*kinpeki*) or paint (*kindei*). Gold leaf is more prevalent in rooms of the south and east, and paint is more common among those on the north and west. Scholars believe that some of these paintings, particularly those in the Bed Chamber and the Cotton Rose Chamber, are not original Kan'ei-period decorations. See Doi, *Motorikyū Nijōjō*, 318–32.
29. For a similar characterization of Eitoku's 狩野永徳 Chinese Lions (*karajishi* 唐獅子), see Wheelwright, "Visualization," 105.
 30. The decorations in the other rooms of the Reception Hall likewise fall within the appropriate category for public areas of palaces (*denchū gedan*); they are primarily large trees and flowers and birds in bright colors against gold-leaf or gold-painted backgrounds.
 31. The three other rooms in the northern half of the *Shikidai* are the First Chamber of the Shogunal Advisor (*Rōjū no* 老中の *ichi no ma*), Second Chamber (*Ni no ma*), and Third Chamber (*San no ma*). These rooms were utilized by the shogunal advisors (*rōjū* 老中). The decorations of the *Ichino ma* and *Ni no ma*, compositions of geese and reeds, and the *San no ma*, herons and willows, are generally considered to be later works. For discussion of these paintings, see Doi, *Motorikyū Nijōjō*, 346.
 32. Historically, the *chōdai* was a raised dais surrounded by pillars, which supported a papered *shōji* ceiling and a canopy to lend privacy. It functioned as a sleeping nook in *shinden*-style buildings. In the Ninomaru Palace, it is largely symbolic; there is no dais but simply a small room used by the shogun to rest before his entry into the Grand Audience Hall.
 33. The paintings in the Bed Chamber are generally accepted as considerably later than the Kan'ei period. The small room on the other side of it is unpainted. For further discussion, see Doi, *Motorikyū Nijōjō*, 345.
 34. In the Upper Chamber bamboo is painted behind the staggered shelves (*chigaidana*) and narcissus, peony, lotus, and chrysanthemum are painted on the small sliding doors of cabinets (*tenbukuro*) above the shelves. On the east wall are two golden pheasants (*kinkei* 錦鷄), the only birds in the room. The Lower Chamber introduces four peacocks (*kujaku* 孔雀) in various poses. The Third Chamber also includes a peacock and bits of shrubbery (*kamboku* 灌木) and bamboo grass (*sasa* 笹). The Fourth Chamber interweaves hawks (*taka* 鷹) and a gushing waterfall among the pines. This final room was also called the Spear Room (*Yari no ma* 鎧の間) because it was used by samurai who served as guards for their lords. The function also explains why this room was decorated with birds of prey, a subject associated with the samurai class.
 35. *Kuroshoin* means "black palace." It is so termed because the building's wooden architectural supports were traditionally overlaid with black lacquer.
 36. The Upper Chamber is decorated with motifs that suggest all four seasons. The painting on the back wall of the alcove (*tokonoma*) is decorated with a scene of snow-covered pine, red plum, a brush fence, and small birds (late winter/early spring); red ivy is entwined around a brush fence behind the staggered shelves (*chigaidana*) next to the alcove (autumn); on the wall below the second set of shelves on the adjoining east wall are Japanese iris (*shaga* 射干), violets (*sumire* 菫), dandelions (*tanpopo* 蒲公英), and a pair of quail (*uzura* 鶉) (spring); and on the four doors (*chōdaigamae* 帳台構) that serve as an entryway into the Bed Chamber are azalia (*tsutsuji* 躑躅) in bloom, double-blossomed cherry trees (*yaezakura* 八重桜), a pheasant (*kiji* 雉子), and violets and dandelions blooming along the banks of a stream (spring/summer). The other three large rooms are each decorated with a single season. The Second Chamber is decorated with the flowering cherry trees of spring, the Third Chamber with snow-covered pines and white herons (*shirasagi* 白鷺), indicative of winter, the Fourth Chamber with autumn red and white chrysanthemums growing along bamboo and brushwood fences on the lower panels and open floating fans along the wall panels above the horizontal beam. Such paintings that include a sense of the changing seasons are generally termed *keibutsuga*, landscapes with seasonal subjects. Nonetheless, they also fit under the larger rubric of flower-and-bird painting (*kachōga*).
- The paintings currently in the Bed Chamber depict pine groves along a shore, a famous place rendition of the pines at Miho (*Miho matsubara* 三保松原). The panels in this room do not blend coherently in parts. A recent study by Nishi Kazuo and Ozawa Asae suggests new answers to this problem; "Nijō Ninomaru goten no kenkyū: kenchiku heimen to shōhekgiga no fukugen," *Kokka* 1168 (1993): 27–35, and 1171 (1993): 32–38; also Nishi Kazuo, *Himeijō to Nijōjō* (*Meihō Nihon no bijutsu* 19) (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1994).
37. All are ink on paper, framed with gold brocade. Although there is evidence in these landscapes of human life in the form of Chinese-style buildings and small boats, no figures are readily visible. This type of painting, where the focus is clearly on the

- landscape, is generally categorized as *sansuizu* (landscape painting), not *jinbutsuga* (figure paintings).
38. The fact that there are eight cabinet panels suggests that the landscapes may be *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang*, but most written sources refer to them as simply landscapes, and the paintings themselves do not seem to follow the general pattern of that particular subject.
 39. This building is constructed with fine, straight-grain Japanese cypress left unfinished, giving it a soft, pale glow. Hence the character *shiro* 白 (white).
 40. The First Chamber (*Ichino ma*), Second Chamber (*Ni no ma*), and Third Chamber (*San no ma*) are decorated with Chinese landscapes of West Lake. The Fourth Chamber (*Yon no ma*) is decorated with landscapes featuring stark, leafless willow trees behind a snowy brush fence, snow-covered bamboo, and flying geese (*kachō*). The Bed Chamber (*Chōdai no ma*) is decorated with delicate autumn grasses and brush fences with small birds (*kachō*).
 41. West Lake is located in the western section of Hangzhou, capital of the Southern Song dynasty in the twelfth century. Its charming scenery was made famous in verse by the Northern Song poet Su Dongpo 蘇東坡 and depicted in the art of later landscape painters as a nostalgic symbol of Song culture. During the Southern Song dynasty, the West Lake was part of the imperial residence, and it was also enjoyed later by the emperors of the Qing dynasty. Many Chinese verses and paintings memorialize the misty scenery, literary drinking parties, and visits with friends to Buddhist temples at West Lake. In Japan, this subject became a popular theme in Muromachi ink painting, signifying the longing of Japanese travelers to visit this famous landmark. More generally, these paintings of West Lake at Nijō suggest relaxation and pleasure, for this is the one area of the Ninomaru where Iemitsu conducted his private life when in residence. The paintings further enabled Iemitsu to visit (visually) the same famous lake district that Chinese emperors had been enjoying for centuries.
 42. For discussion of seasonal imagery in these paintings, see Doi, *Motorikyū Nijōjō*, 332–36.
 43. Ronald P. Toby, *State and Diplomacy in Early Modern Japan: Asia in the Development of the Tokugawa Bakufu* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 65.
 44. For information on this section, I am indebted to both Kōno Motoaki and Takeda Tsuneo, who have closely examined the relationship between architectural position and painting techniques at the *Jōrakuden* and have written at length regarding the effects of the construction of this building on the site of the Keichō-period *Okushoin*. See Kōno Motoaki, “Tan’yū to Nagoyajō Kan’eidō zōei goten” (3 parts), *Studies in Art History* 2 (1985): 91–116, 4 (1988): 131–53, 6 (1990): 99–124; Takeda, *Nagoyajō honmaru*.
 45. I am comparing the Ninomaru Palace at Nijō Castle (which still stands today) with the Honmaru at Nagoya Castle (no longer extant) because they both served as shogunal residences within their respective castles. There were, however, some differences in the physical arrangements of the two castles. Nijō Castle was divided between a Honmaru and a Ninomaru compound—the former traditionally for defense and the latter a living quarter. At Nijō, however, the Ninomaru was actually larger in area than its Honmaru, which implies that although Nijō was nominally a defensive structure, it was more properly a residence built for the prominent display of its palatial qualities; the defensive characteristics were more symbolic than real.
On the other hand, at Nagoya Castle the original residential buildings were constructed during the Keichō period within the enclosed Honmaru compound to make the arrangement easier to defend; this was an outpost castle built during a time when military might still influenced the right of a shogun to rule. In 1620 a Ninomaru palace was built at Nagoya to house Tokugawa Yoshinao (1600–1650), Ieyasu’s son who succeeded to this fief upon the death of an older brother, Matsudaira Tadayoshi 松平忠吉 (1580–1607). The Inner Hall of the Honmaru was dismantled and three new buildings constructed to house shogun Tokugawa Iemitsu on his final journey to Kyoto in 1634.
 46. A Lower Dining Hall (*Shimogozenjo* 下御膳所) was also built at this time, but no paintings from it are known.
 47. *Genkan* originally described the entrance of an abbot’s quarters in a Zen temple, but from the Muromachi period on, the term came to be applied to the entrances of a wide variety of buildings.
 48. *Kurumayose* refers to the area in either *shinden*- or *shoin*-style residences for getting in or out of palanquins.
 49. Construction began in the second month of 1610 and was completed in 1614.
 50. A new dining area, the Upper Dining Hall (*Kamigozenjo* 上御膳所), was also constructed at this time

- to serve Iemitsu. The *Jōdan no ma* and *Kami no ma* 上の間 of this building were decorated, most likely by a provincial artist. See Takeda, *Nagoyajō honmaru*, 257–58, for discussion.
51. The Chinese characters for *Jōrakuden* translate as “hall for traveling up to the capital (Kyoto),” and this was precisely the purpose for which it was built.
 52. This building is also called *Kuroshoin*. The *Kinjō onkoroku* 金城温古録 (Retrospective record of Nagoya Castle) says that the building once belonged to Kiyosu Castle (and is therefore older than the Kan’ei period) and was moved from that location to Nagoya Castle. For a concise discussion of whether this building dates to the Keichō period (or earlier) or to the Kan’ei period, see Matsuki, “Kanoke no chi,” 83:81.
 53. The Inner Hall’s position in the private sector of the Honmaru Palace was deemed insufficient for the multifarious purposes of Shogun Iemitsu during his visits when he journeyed to Kyoto. Until around 1620, it had served as the private living quarters of Tokugawa Yoshinao, who had succeeded to the castle fief in 1607. In Japan, there is a strong tradition of rebuilding for major events or the installation of new leaders. In this case, Iemitsu was planning to rest at the new Visitation Hall at Nagoya on his way to a grand show of pomp and circumstance in Kyoto in 1634, when he paraded over 300,000 troops through the city in a demonstration of Tokugawa force. It was essential that Nagoya Castle, located in the heartland of Tokugawa power, be refurbished in honor of Iemitsu’s historical journey and also that it stand as a visible symbol of power and prestige in the Owari domain.
 54. The *Nagoyajō honmaru sashizu* 名古屋城本丸指図 (Instructions on Nagoya Castle’s Honmaru Palace), a record kept by the descendants of the chief carpenter of the Kan’ei reconstruction, Nakai Masakiyo 中井正清, contains precise details regarding the buildings at the castle. A photograph of this document is reproduced in Kido Hisashi, *Nagoyajō (Tōa kenchiku senshokai 3)* (Tokyo: Shōkokusha, 1943), pl. 3.
 55. Takeda Tsuneo points out, as did Tanaka Ichimatsu before him, that the two rooms of the Entrance Hall at Nagoya Castle are clearly painted by two different artists, but their identities remain a matter for debate. See Takeda, *Nagoyajō honmaru*, 235; also Matsuki, “Kanoke no chi,” 83:85.
 56. Construction of Nagoya Castle was begun by Tokugawa Ieyasu in 1610. It was built as a residence for one of Ieyasu’s sons and as an important fortification to help control the Chūbu region between the new capital of Edo and Kyoto. In addition, it appears that the castle was also built with an eye toward impoverishing the local daimyo and keeping them occupied with building tasks rather than thoughts of rebellion. Conrad Totman, *Tokugawa Ieyasu* (San Francisco: Heian International Inc., 1983), 164–65; also Harold Bolitho, *Treasures among Men: The Fudai Daimyo in Tokugawa Japan* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), 11–12.
 57. This artist was probably Kano Sadanobu 狩野貞信 (1597–1623), who was officially head of the main Kyoto line after the death of his father Mitsunobu 狩野光信 (1561–1608). But Sadanobu was only between thirteen and seventeen years old during the 1610–14 Keichō construction. Therefore, the overall plans, although credited to Sadanobu, were probably drawn up with considerable assistance from Jinnojō 狩野甚丞 (fl. late sixteenth–early seventeenth centuries), a cousin and trusted pupil of his father, and Sadanobu’s great-uncle Naganobu 狩野長信 (1577–1654). According to Matsuki, Naganobu painted the First Chamber of the Entrance Hall and the Third Chamber of the Formal Audience Hall. Jinnojō decorated the Second Chamber of the Formal Audience Hall and the Upper Chamber and Next Chamber of the Informal Audience Hall. Sadanobu painted the most important Upper Chamber of the Formal Audience Hall. The rank of the rooms these artists painted corresponds to the rank of the artists within the Kano school at this time. See Matsuki, “Kanoke no chi,” 82:66–75.
 58. The First Chamber of the Entrance Hall and the Third Chamber of the Formal Audience Hall were probably painted by the same artist, Kano Naganobu. See Matsuki, “Kanoke no chi,” 83:78–80. The cedar doors along the Great Corridor connecting the two rooms were decorated with themes carried over from both the First Chamber of the Entrance Hall (tigers-in-bamboo) and the Third Chamber of the Formal Audience Hall (civets or musk cats), providing not just a physical connection between the two buildings but also a visual one.
 59. The paintings in these two rooms depict genre scenes—the beach at Sumiyoshi 住吉浦, imperial messengers making a pilgrimage to a shrine, horse racing at Kamigamo Shrine 上加茂神社, rice planting, Yoshida Shrine 吉田神社, etc. Genre painting (*fuzokuga* 風俗画) comes under the general heading of figure painting (*jinbutsuga*). The extant paintings in the Informal Audience Hall may be even further defined as *meisho keibutsuga* 名所景物画, paintings of famous places with seasonal imagery, or even *shokunin tsukushi* 職人付く

- し, daily activities of various workers and craftsmen. For details on the subjects and possible definitions of these activities, see Takeda, *Nagoyajō honmaru*, 240–44.
60. Whether a painting is termed a landscape (*sansuizu*), a seasonal landscape (*keibutsuga*), or a figures-in-landscape (*jimbutsuga*) is somewhat subjective but is decided by which element is the focus of the painting. If the landscape is most notable but the figures small and nondescript, the seasonal imagery unclear, and no famous place seems to be depicted, the painting will probably be termed *sansuizu*. If the various motifs in the landscape clearly suggest a progression of the four seasons, the painting may be termed *keibutsuga*. When figures are prominent and engaged in knowable activities, the painting is termed *jimbutsuga*. Within each of these general categories are various subcategories. Not all art historians agree on what the focus of the painting is or use the same term.
 61. These applications of gold paint are so few that the paintings in the Informal Audience Hall are generally described only as *tansai*, light color.
 62. The importance of Nijō Castle's massive size as a display of kingly power is expounded by Herman Ooms, *Tokugawa Ideology: Early Constructs, 1570–1680* (Princeton University Press, 1985), 42; also John W. Hall, "Kyoto as Historical Background," in *Medieval Japan: Essays in Institutional History*, ed. J. W. Hall and J. P. Mass (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), 33–38.
 63. The *Kinjō onkoroku* states that the *Kurokishoin* was moved from Kiyosu Castle, but architect Nakai Masakiyo's *Nagoyajō honmaru sashizu* does not depict this building. So when was it moved? For a comprehensive study of art and architectural historians' views on the date and origins of this building, see Takeda Tsuneo, *Shōhehiga zenshū: Nagoyajō* (Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppansha, 1967), 81–83, and Matsuki, "Kanoke no chi," 83:81–82. Matsuki argues convincingly that the artist of the paintings in the *Kurokishoin* is Kano Takanobu 狩野孝信 (1571–1618).
 64. It is general knowledge that Hidetada visited Kyoto in 1605 for his investiture to receive the title of *Seii taishogun* 征夷大將軍 and again in 1617 after the fall of Osaka Castle to receive congratulations and delegates from Korea. Iemitsu traveled to the capital in 1626 for Gomizunoo's visit to Nijō Castle and again in 1634. But there may have been more visits. Toby, *State and Diplomacy*, 65, states that there were ten visits by the shoguns during the first thirty years of the Edo period.
 65. *Taiyūindono gojikki* 25 [Kan'ei 11, 7th month, days 4, 5, 6]; in *Tokugawa jikki* 2:652–53 in *Kokushi taikei henshūkai*, vol. 40 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1964). Taiyūin 大猷院 (alternately Daiyūin) is the posthumous title granted Iemitsu by Emperor Gokōmyō 後光明 and the name of Iemitsu's mortuary temple at Nikkō Tōshōgū 日光東照宮.
 66. This theory is credited to Kido Hisashi, *Nagoyajō*, 130–31.
 67. The reason that Yoshinao could even hope to inherit, although he was not the son of the current shogun Iemitsu, is that his family was designated senior branch of the *sanke*, three major families of the shogunal line created to inherit if there was no immediate heir.
 68. This record was kept by the *han* 藩 from Keichō 5 (1600) to Genroku 13 (1700) and completed in 1763. Kōno, "Tan'yū to Nagoyajō," 2:93, discusses this document and others that concern the Kan'ei construction.
 69. Kōno, "Tan'yū to Nagoyajō," 6:103–4, suggests that the three Kan'ei-period buildings, the Visitation Hall, the Informal Audience Hall, and the Bathing Hall, in addition to smaller surrounding rooms, are complete in themselves: the Heron Corridor is the entranceway, the Plum Chamber functions as a waiting room, the Pheasant and Willow Rooms (*Kiji no ma* 雉子の間 and *Yanagi no ma*) are the formal reception areas, the Visitation Hall is an informal reception area, the Informal Audience Hall is a private living and sleeping quarters, and the Bathing Hall is the bath.
 70. See discussion of temporary palaces built for imperial visits in Kiyoshi Hirai, *Feudal Architecture of Japan*, trans. Hiroaki Sato and Jeannine Ciliotta (New York: Weatherhill, 1973), 131–34.
 71. The *Nijō oshiro gyōkō no goten on-e tsuke osashizu* 二條御城行幸の御殿御絵付御指図 (Instructions on Nijō Castle's Imperial Visitation Palace paintings) indicates that three Upper Chambers (*Jōdan no ma*) and the northern Second Chamber (*Kita no ni no ma* 北の二の間) of the Imperial Visitation Palace were all decorated with themes of virtuous and nonvirtuous Chinese emperors (*teikanzu* 帝鑑図), the southern Second Chamber (*Minami no ni no ma* 南の二の間) with scenes of Mongols hunting (*dattanzu* 韃靼図), the northern Third Chamber (*Kita no san no ma* 北の三の間) with scenes of the Four Accomplishments (*kinkishoga* 琴棋書画), and the southern Waiting Room (*Minami no hisashi no ma* 南の庇の間) with depictions of Tao Yuanming 陶淵明 (A.D. 365–427; Japanese: Tōenmei), one of the most outstanding

- literary figures in China. The subjects in three less important rooms are unknown. Doi, *Motorikyū Nijōjō*, 321–22.
72. Not only did the Visitation Hall have a greater number of rooms; it was also larger in area overall. The six rooms total 104 mats (*Jōdan no ma* 15, *Ichino ma* 16, *Ni no ma* 22, *San no ma* 21, *Yon no ma* 20, *Nando no ma* 10). The five rooms of Nijō's Inner Hall total 69 mats (*Jōdan no ma* 15, *Ni no ma* 18, *San no ma* 18, *Yon no ma* 12, *Chōdai no ma* 6).
 73. This tower is the small donjon (*kotenshu* 小天守) that was part of the original Keichō Honmaru Palace. It was located just south of the great donjon (*ōtenshu* 大天守) that protected the northwest corner. There were three smaller watchtowers (*yagura* 櫓) in the remaining three corners of the Honmaru complex.
 74. All the paintings in the Visitation Hall are attributed to Kano Tan'yū; see n. 3.
 75. Zhang Juzheng was a senior grand secretary and imperial tutor to the Wanli emperor, Shenzong 神宗 (r. 1572–1620). Although Zhang is generally listed as author, the text was jointly produced with Lǚ Diaoyang 呂調陽; see L. Carrington Goodrich and Chaoying Fan, eds., *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, vol. 1 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), 60.
 76. According to the “Senmon kazoku 専門家族” chapter of the *Honchō gashi*, 359, Kano Sanraku 狩野山楽 (1559–1635) was the first artist to use the illustrations of the text for paintings. Many of the extant paintings modeled after the woodblock-printed *Teikan zusetsu* were brought together at an exhibition honoring the third anniversary of the Machida City International Museum of Woodblock Art (Machida Shiritsu Kokusai Hanga Bijutsukan) in 1990. See also catalogue from the exhibition, *Kinsei Nihon kaiga to gafu: e tehon ten* (Machida: Machida Shiritsu Kokusai Hanga Bijutsukan, 1990), vols. 1, 2. For further study of the Teikan paintings at Nagoya and their use by the Tokugawa as a means to manipulate their political image through art, see Karen M. Gerhart, “Tokugawa Authority and Chinese Exemplars: The *Teikan Zusetu* Murals of Nagoya Castle,” *Monumenta Nipponica* 52, no. 1 (1997): 1–34.
 77. The *Nijō oshiro gyōkō no goten on-e tsuke osashizu* relates that three rooms, the Upper Chamber (*Jōdan no ma*), the Second Chamber (*Ni no ma*), and the Bed Chamber (*Chōdai no ma*) at the Gyōkō Palace, were all decorated with subjects from the *Teikan zusetsu* by Kano Tan'yū, Naganobu, Jinnojō, respectively. None of these paintings is extant today. Other extant renderings of the subjects from the *Teikan zusetsu* dated to the early Kan'ei period include the paintings on sliding door and wall panels in the Upper Chamber (*Jōdan no ma*) of the 1641 *Seiryōden* 清涼殿 (Hall of Cool and Refreshing Breezes) at the Kyoto Imperial Palace; see Fujioka Michio, *Kyōtō gosho* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 1987); and in the First Chamber (*Ichino ma*) and Second Chamber (*Ni no ma*) of the *Shiroshoin* at Nishi Honganji 西本願寺 in the early 1630s; see Doi Tsuguyoshi, “Watanabe Ryōkei no shōhekiga,” in *Kinsei no Nihon kaiga no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppansha, 1970), 334–40.
 78. This painting technique is called *shihon bokuga chakushoku* 紙本墨画著色 (ink painting with opaque color on paper) by Kōno, “Tan'yū to Nagoyajō,” 2:102. The primary difference between this technique and *nōshoku*, also opaque pigments, is that the former is not painted over gold leaf, while the latter is. This term and others are applied by modern art historians; painting techniques are not generally included in contemporary documents on these art works. The terms are, therefore, subjective, and different terms are often attributed to the same paintings by different art historians. For example, the Teikan paintings in the Upper Chamber at Nagoya are termed *shihon chakushoku* 紙本着色 (opaque color on paper) by Takeda in *Nagoyajō honmaru*, 279; in the same text they are also referred to as *bokuga tansai* (ink painting with light color), 247. In a special exhibition catalogue of Kano art held at the Tokyo National Museum, *Kanoha no kaiga* (Kyoto: Benridō, 1979), panels from the Upper Chamber are listed as *shihon chakushoku kindeihiki* 紙本著色金泥引き (opaque color on paper with gold paint sprinkles), 228. In *Kano Tan'yū (Nihon bijutsu kaiga zenshū 15)* (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1978), 127, Takeda likewise terms the same painting *shihon chakushoku kindeihiki*.
 79. One possible reason for the “light color” definition is that much of the paint has flaked off, and indeed the panels appear to be lightly painted at first glance. From first-hand viewing, I agree with Kōno that originally the colors in the Upper Chamber were probably closer to *chakushoku* than *tansai*.
 80. Certainly the combination of ink and light color is not novel, but the addition of gold paint is more unusual. There are also fine bits of cut gold leaf (*kirihaku* 切箔) sprinkled over areas of gold paint throughout the four rooms (*Jōdan no ma*, *Ichino ma*, *Ni no ma*, and *San no ma*) of the Visitation Hall. Whether the *kirihaku* was added as part of Tan'yū's original designs or at some later date has been the subject of some debate.

81. In terms of physical position, in the Kan'ei period, the Visitation Hall was technically an "inner-middle" building because it stood between what was a middle building, the Keichō-period Informal Audience Hall (*Taimenjo*), and what then became the innermost building, the Informal Audience Hall (*Kurokishoin*). Yet its multipurpose use by the shogun made it much more complex to decorate.
82. Kōno, "Tan'yū to Nagoyajō," 2:210, defines this technique as *bokuga tansai* (ink painting with light color). The differences suggested by the various terms are not readily apparent in photographic reproductions, nor in person, because of the chipped and peeled condition of most of the Teikan paintings.
83. The Four Accomplishments represent literati ideals that were popular among late Northern Song poet-painters and transferred to Japan during the Muromachi period.
84. The general description for these rooms is ink painting (*bokuga*) or ink painting with light color (*bokuga tansai*). The only color is shell-white (*gofun* 胡粉) on birds.
85. It is also called the *Kuroki no ma* 黒木の間 according to the *Kinjō onkoroku*; Kōno, "Tan'yū to Nagoyajō," 6:116. The first Informal Audience Hall is the Keichō-period *Taimenjo*.
86. For discussion of this building's history, see Takeda, *Nagoyajō honmaru*, 255; also Kōno, "Tan'yū to Nagoyajō," 6:116–19.
87. Traditionally the landscapes have been called scenes of the eight views of the Xiao and Xiang, but Takeda feels that the scenes are not complete renditions of this theme and prefers to term them simply landscapes; Takeda, *Nagoyajō honmaru*, 255. The eight views are associated with the region near the confluence of the Xiao and Xiang rivers. In art they are depicted as: 1) a mountain village in mist; 2) a fishing village at dusk; 3) sailboats returning from distant shores; 4) a rainy night; 5) evening temple bells; 6) autumn moon on Lake Dongtin; 7) wild geese alighting on a sandbar; and 8) river in evening snow. The popularity of the scenes in painting can be traced back to the Chinese Northern Song dynasty (960–1126), and it is generally accepted that Song Di 宋迪 (1013–83) painted the first set. Clearly, however, the theme is far older since it was named in one of Du Fu's 杜甫 (712–70) poems as the subject of a landscape screen; *Tu Fu's Gedichte*, trans. Erwin von Zach (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Yenching Institute Studies, no. 8, 1952), 2:57; also Alfreda Murck, "Eight Views of the Hsiao and Hsiang Rivers by Wang Hung," in *Images of the Mind*, ed. Wen C. Fong (Princeton: The Art Museum, Princeton University, 1984), 214–35.
- In Japan, the subject became popular during the Muromachi period when it was introduced from China by Chan/Zen priests. The earliest known painting in Japan is a single hanging scroll of geese alighting on a sandbar (private collection), datable before 1317. Four Chinese handscroll versions by Zhang Fangru 張芳汝, Xia Gui 夏珪, Mu Qi 牧溪, and Yu Jian 玉澗 are known to have been in the Ashikaga 足利 collection by the mid-fifteenth century. Watanabe Akiyoshi, Kanazawa Hiroshi, and Paul Varley, *Of Water and Ink: Muromachi Period Paintings from Japan 1392–1568* (Detroit: Founders Society, Detroit Institute of Arts, 1986), 84–85.
88. Simple scenes of farm life are among the earliest portrayals in Chinese art. Inlaid bronze vessels of the late Warring States period (ca. 403–221 B.C.) depict mulberry picking scenes, and rural scenes abound from the Han period (206 B.C.–A.D. 220) in wall paintings and reliefs in tombs; Michael Sullivan, *Chinese Landscape Painting* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 100.
- The earliest recorded painting in China of agriculture and sericulture is attributed to Lou Zhu 樓瓚 (1090–1162), who apparently acquired first-hand knowledge of farming methods while serving as a magistrate near Hangzhou. He meticulously portrayed twenty-one steps in agriculture and twenty-one in sericulture in a painting accompanied by poetry and presented it to Emperor Gaozong 高宗, who kept it in his palace. After the Southern Song period, numerous painted and woodblock copies based on Lou Zhu's model were created. For an excellent history of this subject see Wai-kam Ho's entry in *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting: The Collections of the Nelson Gallery-Atkins Museum, Kansas City, and The Cleveland Museum of Art* (Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1980), 78–80.
89. In particular, Kano Einō had a Ming (1462) version of Lou Zhu's *Genzhi tu* 耕織圖 [Japanese: *Kōshokuzu*] reprinted in 1676. But there were earlier copies in Japan of paintings of agricultural scenes as attested by extant screens of this subject attributed to Muromachi-period artists Kano Yukinobu 狩野之信 (ca. 1513–75) (at Daisenin) and his older brother Motonobu (private collection). See reproductions and discussion in *Kinsei Nihon kaiga to gafu: e tehon ten*, vols. 1, 2. As discussed above, the didactic implications of the Teikan paintings were not lost on the Tokugawa.

90. Twentieth-century art historians have extensively debated the origins of this building and its paintings. Kamiya Seishin suggested that the paintings in the *Kurokishoin* are by Kano Shōei 狩野松栄 (1519–92); Takeda Tsuneo, however, feels that the peculiar antiquated brush traits are the work of an artist of the early Edo period, but not a mainstream Kano artist. For discussion see Takeda, *Nagoyajō honmaru*, 256. Kido Hisashi, *Nagoyajō*, 145–46, believes the paintings are from the Kan'ei period. Taki Seiichi argues that Hasegawa Heizō 長谷川平蔵 probably headed the project at the *Kurokishoin*; “Nagoyajō kuroshoin no haritsukega ni tsuite,” *Kokka* 373 (1921). Tanaka Ichimatsu believes the artist to be Kano-trained, probably someone who lived around the time of Shōei; “Nagoyajō no shōhekiga,” *Nihon kaigashi no tenbo* (Tokyo: Bijutsushi Shuppansha, 1958), 236. Matsuki, “Kanoke no chi,” 83:80–85, believes the artist to have been Kano Takanobu.
91. The Bathing Hall at Nagoya is distantly related to a room in the Imperial Palace for court women (*Oyudono ue* 御湯殿上). Kōno, “Tan'yū to Nagoyajō,” 6:109.
92. Only five panels were saved from this building. Four are of a pine tree with small birds from the east wall, and one is of bamboo from the north wall. Black-and-white photos from before the war show the wall painting behind the *tokonoma*; see *Nagoyajō* (1953; 1987 rpt.), vol. 3, pl. 65.
93. This subject was popular for screens during the Muromachi period. The *Ansai zuihitsu* 安斎隨筆 relates a story that offers a reason for this popularity. Whether or not it is a story based on fact cannot be verified. According to the tale, once when the Kyoto shogun visited Tenryūji 天龍寺 (in Arashiyama 嵐山), a child's fan was thrown into the river from Togetsu 渡月 Bridge. This so intrigued those in attendance that they all tossed their fans in the river in like manner. Thereafter, the theme was painted on screens in *gozan* 五山 temples and for the occasion of shogunal visits. Later such screens were set up for ceremonies that accompanied shogunal travel; related in Takeda, *Nagoyajō honmaru*, 254. Thus, its portrayal here in the First Chamber was appropriate for Iemitsu on his travels. Takeda, 254, further observes that such screens of floating fans are mentioned in the diaries of Muromachi-period court nobles. Kōno, “Tan'yū to Nagoyajō,” 6:106, also discusses this subject and its origins; see also Tanaka Kisaku, “Senmen chirashi byōbu ni tsuite,” *Bijutsu kenkyū* 51 (1936).
94. Takeda, *Nagoyajō honmaru*, 254, believes that the rocks and waves reflect an eclectic mix of Japanese (*wa* 和) and Chinese (*kan* 漢) themes that formed in the early modern period. Both Takeda and Kōno cite Hasegawa Tōhaku's 長谷川等伯 (1539–1610) paintings of this theme at Zenrinji 禅林寺 as a thematic precedent, but Kōno, “Tan'yū to Nagoyajō,” 6:112–13, also discusses possible *yamato-e* やまと絵 roots for this subject.
95. All of these terms are Kōno's; again, other scholars offer slightly different descriptive terminology.
96. Confusion continues over who decorated the Bathing Hall. The *Owarihan jiseki roku* suggests that the artist was Kano Mokunosuke 狩野奎之助, a pupil of Kano Tan'yū; Takeda, *Nagoyajō honmaru*, 254. Takeda relates that Kamiya Seishin attributed the paintings in the Bathing Hall to Kōya 狩野興也 (?–1672), the second son and pupil of Kano Kōi 狩野興以, and that other scholars have suggested that the artist was Kōshi 狩野興之 (?–1635), Kōi's third son, who according to the *Kōga bikō* 古画備考 was said to have worked in the Owari area. The *Shōun hikki* 昌運筆記 (Written record of [Kano] Shōun [1637–1702]) says that Kōshi was a member of the Kano family who lived in Bishū 尾州 (Owari) and a pupil of Ukon Takanobu 右近孝信; Takeda, *Nagoyajō honmaru*, 258, n. 2; see also Kōno's analysis, “Tan'yū to Nagoyajō,” 6:105–15.
97. Kōno has carefully investigated the underlying symbolism of the water motifs, finding that they convey meanings of good fortune, congratulatory wishes, and ritual purity. Kōno, “Tan'yū to Nagoyajō,” 6:105–19, further indicates that similar paintings (of floating fans in a stream) were painted at the Imperial Palace during the Kanbun period (1661–72).

IMPERIAL STYLE AND CONSTRUCTED IDENTITY: A “GRAECO-PERSIAN” CYLINDER SEAL FROM SARDIS

BY ELSPETH ROGERS McINTOSH DUSINBERRE

THE ACHAEMENID PERSIAN EMPIRE (CA. 550–331 B.C.E.), founded by Cyrus II (the Great), centered on southwest Iran and lower Mesopotamia. It reached its greatest extent under Darius I (521–486 B.C.E.), stretching from the Indus River to the Mediterranean Sea, from Egypt to the modern Central Asian republics and encompassing people of many different backgrounds, languages, deities, environments, and social customs. The new Achaemenid dynasty allowed these various peoples to function within the confines of the new imperial authority, devising a system of empire flexible enough to provide for the needs of different peoples and cultural landscapes and ensure their ability to operate as part of the vast, complex system of the empire.¹

This paper examines the functions and meanings of artistic images and style in the western reaches of the Achaemenid empire. It focuses on a particular sealstone from a tomb at Sardis, examining it in its immediate context and in relation to excavated material from elsewhere in the empire. The seal may suggest alternatives to traditional interpretations of the development and cultural significance of so-called Graeco-Persian art. It is suggested that this seal was part of an interregional symbolic system in the Achaemenid empire that served to signify and legitimate the new sociopolitical order. The variable in this symbolic system was a multitude of local styles. The nuances of these styles and their developments in different parts of the empire enriched the iconography and created an artistic language that spread throughout this multilingual and multicultural empire. Stylistically, the sealstone discussed here is characterized by a carved image that is extremely common at Persepolis but otherwise not seen at Sardis. The implications of its iconography may inform our understanding of its style and thereby enhance our understanding of artistic variety in the western part of the empire.

The Sardis seal is a straight-sided cylinder of smoky brown banded agate with four diagonal white bands near the top, engraved in a broad, flat style with undisguised use of the drill for detail (figs. 1–3).² It is held in a gold mounting: a long pin passes through the cylinder, terminating



FIG. 1. IAM 4581. Courtesy Istanbul Archaeological Museum.



FIG. 2. Impression of IAM 4581. Photo: R. L. Wilkins. Courtesy Sir John Boardman and Crawford H. Greenewalt, Jr.

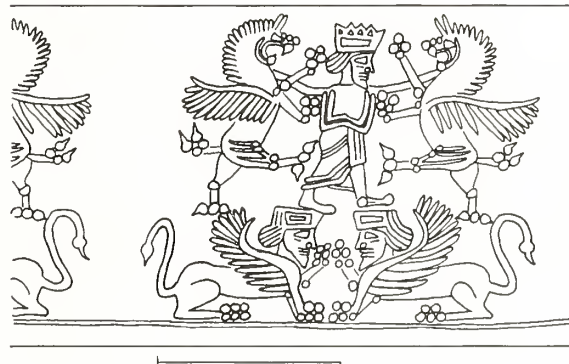


FIG. 3. Author's drawing of IAM 4581.

in two gold disks of the same diameter as the cylinder. The lower disk is riveted in place; both rest directly on the cylinder. A neck with five ribs connects the upper disk to a ring for suspension, formed of two parallel wires with six large globules between them and a single granulation on either side of the intersection of ring and neck.³ The sealstone itself measures 1.85 cm tall and 0.75 cm in diameter.⁴ A group of five carved figures covers approximately four-fifths of the cylinder's lateral surface. The remaining one-fifth is left blank. In the center of the design, a crowned hero wearing the Persian court robe stands facing right and grasps two rampant lion-griffins by their necks.⁵ He stands on the heads of two couchant winged sphinxes that face each other, each raising a foreleg to touch paws at the center. The vertical spacing of the figures is precise, with the hero's head as far from the upper edge of the seal as the ground line is from the lower edge.

Context

The seal from Sardis comes from a known context. Its find-context offers clues to its use-context and is therefore of the utmost importance in reconstructing the significance of the seal as it functioned in Achaemenid-period Sardis. It was excavated in 1912 by H. C. Butler from a tomb published in 1922 as Tomb 813, called the "stele tomb" because of the two stelae flanking its entrance.⁶ It is carved into the soft rock slope of a gully about halfway up the northeast side of the necropolis hill at Sardis and consists of a vestibule and a chamber connected by a short corridor. Accidentally rediscovered in 1980, it was systematically reexcavated in 1984 to clarify discrepancies between the published account and the extant remains (fig. 4).⁷ The vestibule, the corridor, and the chamber of this tomb have a relatively even floor cut into the bedrock, all at approximately the same level and with an even conglomerate surface; the ceiling of the corridor is substantially lower than that of the vestibule and chamber. In front of the vestibule is built an apparently ornamental limestone staircase of four steps, with a limestone stele on either side: the bases of staircase and stelae all rest on the bedrock floor, with the top of the staircase ending 1.2 m above the floor surface. The limestone stairway at the front of the tomb does not lead up to anything but simply terminates midair: it seems to have played a nonfunctional, symbolic role. It

may have served to delineate the outer limit of the tomb as would a vertically trimmed cliff face (perhaps one had originally been carved but collapsed). The existence of such a staircase is of course strongly reminiscent of the Pyramid Tomb at Sardis and the Tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadae, as well as the steps on the Achaemenid-period tomb at Taş Kule near ancient Phokaia.⁸ The faces of the stelae flanking the staircase are flat and plain, although they probably carried painted decoration in antiquity.⁹ They are crowned by marble anthemia carved of separate stones.¹⁰

Butler originally recorded the existence of several large limestone sarcophagi in this single tomb; one was hidden in a hollow dug into the floor of the tomb and hence had escaped detection by the tomb robbers of earlier centuries.¹¹ It is in this sarcophagus that our seal was found. Reexcavation of the tomb in 1984 confirmed that there were at least two burials in it, for one complete sarcophagus remains at the back of the chamber, as well as a cutting of sarcophagus size at the back of the vestibule.¹² It remains unclear whether the front chamber, in which the sunken sarcophagus was found, originally served as a chamber proper in which the sarcophagus was the principal burial or was originally intended as an antechamber to the space behind.¹³ If the current plan of Tomb 813 reflects its original structure rather than a later remodeling, several inferences may be made.

Before and just after World War I the Butler expedition opened 1,154 or more graves at Sardis, of which some 160 contained objects (many had presumably been robbed previously).¹⁴ The structure of Tomb 813 and the arrangement of the two sarcophagi within are unique at Sardis. With this single exception, the graves at Sardis lack the vestibule entirely, customarily having instead a narrow corridor (a dromos) ending with a stone door blocking a chamber with a pointed ceiling and with a couch or double couch for the dead; there may also be a similar door masking a second chamber cut still deeper into the hillside.¹⁵ It is possible that vestibules on other tombs have simply eroded downhill, but as yet no tomb remains suggesting this feature have been found. Burial chambers resembling Tomb 813 in plan must therefore be sought farther afield.

The rock-cut tombs of the Achaemenid kings at Naqsh-e Rostam, near Persepolis, include examples of structures similar to the tomb at Sardis but on a more elaborate scale.¹⁶ In particular, the

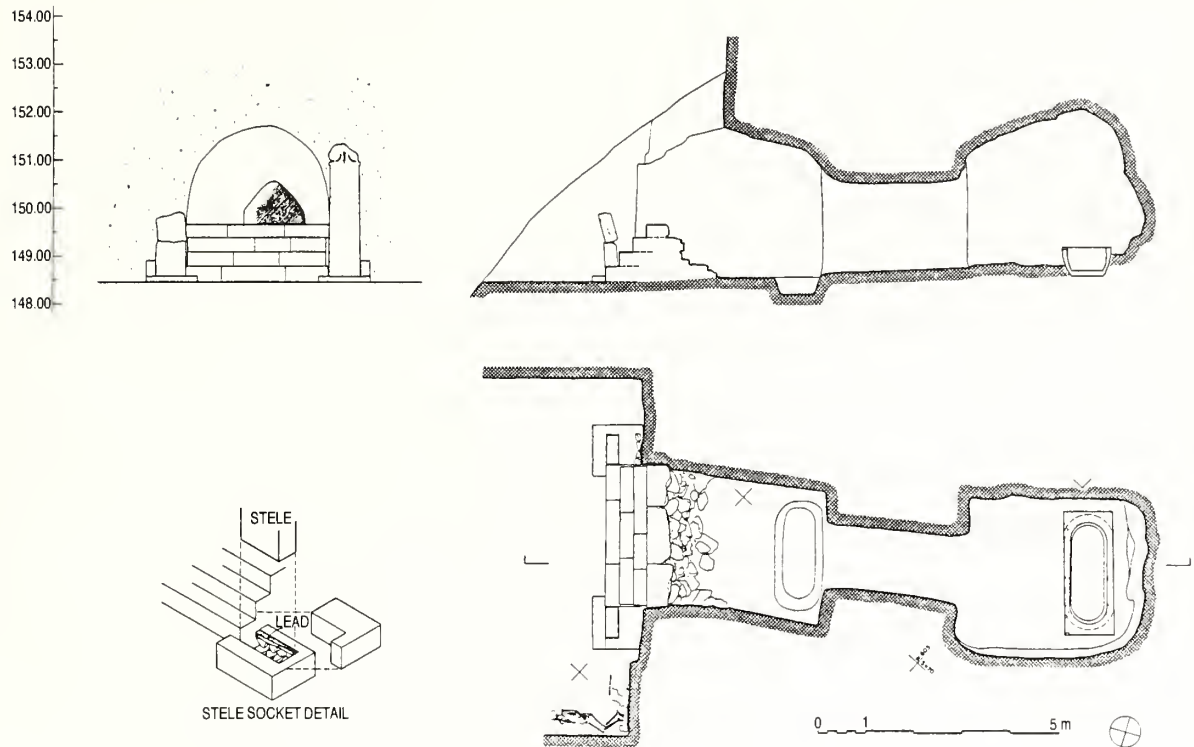


FIG. 4. Plan and section of Tomb 813. After C. H. Greenewalt, Jr. et al., "The Sardis Campaign of 1984," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 25 (1987): fig. 24.

tombs of Darius I (d. 486 B.C.E.) and Xerxes (d. 465/4 B.C.E.) consist of an antechamber or vestibule at the front of the tomb behind the carved cliff face and, opening off its back, one or more chambers in which stone sarcophagi are sunk into bedrock benches so that their bases approximate the level of the floor in the antechamber. The later tombs of the Achaemenid kings tend to do away with the antechamber. Tomb 813 at Sardis provides an interesting hybrid between the vestibule-chamber construction of the Achaemenid royal tombs of Darius, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes I and the dromos-chamber construction of the Lydian tombs. The form of Tomb 813 thus may represent a formal allusion to central Achaemenid imperial tomb architecture, translated into a style that takes account of preexisting traditions at Sardis. In this way it parallels the stylistic translation that occurs on the sealstone, discussed below.

Associated Finds

Particularly instructive in determining the social context of the person with whom the cylinder seal was buried are the finds from within the

Sardian tomb. The tomb was looted in antiquity, but the robbers missed the sarcophagus buried in the vestibule. Although the contents of Tomb 813 as a whole therefore do not provide much diagnostic material from a secure context, the objects found within the sunken sarcophagus are informative. It contained "the bones of a large man, his gold ring and his seal; his head was found pierced in front with some large pointed instrument, making the wound which probably caused his death."¹⁷ The ring was unfortunately lost without having been drawn or photographed, and no information beyond this brief mention is to be discovered about it.

Also probably to be assigned to this sarcophagus are those four ceramic vessels, perhaps local, that are labeled on the excavation pottery cards "in sarcophagus," including three unpainted jugs of a buff fabric with tall, oval-to-ovoid bodies and narrow feet and necks as well as an alabastron without a handle, made of fine dark gray clay and covered with black "varnish."¹⁸ The vessels themselves have been lost like the ring, so their precise shape and fabric cannot be confirmed. It is important that alabastra at Sardis apparently come only from Achaemenid-period tombs and

are usually found with seals or jewelry.¹⁹ This coincidence of grave goods suggests a possible connection between alabastra and elite Achaemenid-period burials at Sardis. The silver and stone alabastra that comprise part of the "Lydian treasure" from the tombs near Güre imply the same connection, and indeed the wealthy Achaemenid-period tomb from Susa containing alabastra may demonstrate it in Mesopotamia too.²⁰ In addition, alabastra are among the vessel forms, brought as special gifts to the king, displayed on the Palace reliefs at Persepolis.²¹

A group of three gold foil ornaments with decoration in stamped relief was also found in the sunken sarcophagus of Tomb 813.²² Each consists of a circular twelve-petaled rosette, from which extends a lotuslike floral ornament comprising a fan-shaped central section between two spreading leaves. Two are almost intact, and enough remains of the third to see that it resembled the other two precisely: all are perforated at irregular intervals near the edge, presumably for attachment to clothing.

Gold Foil Appliques

These bracteates are an emphatic link to the central imagery of the empire and the art created for the court. The twelve-petaled rosette is ubiquitous at Persepolis. Isolated twelve-petaled rosettes decorate borders on the Persepolitan reliefs, mark out edges and transitional areas in larger shapes or spaces on the walls, adorn the clothing of figures represented, and ornament cloth objects depicted on the reliefs, such as the canopy held over the figure of the king.²³ Lotuses exactly like those of our bracteates in shape adorn the Apadana staircases at Persepolis. Stacked one atop another, lotuses add strong vertical punctuation to the reliefs. And lotuses comprise a floral element in compositions that include a winged disk toward which the sculpted sphinxes of these reliefs raise a paw in a ritual gesture.²⁴ Both lotuses and rosettes are common bracteates at Persepolis. Engravings in the robe of Darius on the reliefs of his palace show lotus elements within a circle, while parallel engravings on the robe of Xerxes in the Harem of Xerxes resemble rosettes.²⁵ These were doubtless meant to suggest appliques and were probably painted.²⁶ The glazed bricks from Susa include images of archers, one wearing a robe adorned with rosettes in slightly raised relief—a touch that neatly

parallels the actual state of the appliques they are meant to represent.²⁷

Although the gold ornaments from Tomb 813 need not indicate the Persian identity of the man buried with them, they certainly show contact with or taste for central Achaemenid ornament.²⁸ The particular combination of rosette and lotus found in the tomb at Sardis is to my knowledge not found elsewhere. These ornaments from Sardis represent an adaptation of the twelve-petaled rosette common at Persepolis to form a more elaborate decorative device than the isolated rosette. Perhaps this reflects the most *au courant* local taste at the satrapal court of Sardis.

The form of Tomb 813 and the gold appliques correspond to elite Persian traditions and seem to demonstrate the high social status of the individual buried in this sarcophagus. His cylinder seal reiterates his connection to the Achaemenid elite and raises further issues.

The Seal: Its Iconography

The iconography of this seal directly parallels that of seals used by the upper echelon of the Achaemenid elite at Persepolis. It shows the standard Achaemenid hero figure, crowned, grappling with two lion-griffins and standing on the heads of two winged sphinxes that serve as pedestals. This scene, with aspects that are strictly limited to the Persepolis elite, makes clear the high status of the seal's owner. The style of the seal, however, is not found at Persepolis and demonstrates the diffusion of central Achaemenid iconography, construed in multiple local styles.

The hero carved on the seal wears a crown with five triangular crenelations—the rightmost hollowed out and the other four left in outline. The body of the crown itself is also carved in outline, while its interior is left blank. The figure's hair is worn at about jaw length and flows out behind his head, with two parallel lines representing the separate strands of hair. His eye is large and carved in profile view, with a line under it suggesting the lower lid or perhaps the top of the cheekbone.²⁹ The shapes of his nose and nostril are indicated with two small drill holes; his mouth is large and pronounced, shown by two parallel lines serving as lips or perhaps as lower lip and moustache. His face is rather long, with a smoothly curving jaw angling down to a short beard. His neck is rounded, represented by a triangular shape. The hero raises long, spindly

arms with elongated forearms to grasp the throats of the lion-griffins; his arms pass behind both forelegs of each beast, and his hands are hidden behind their necks. He wears a garment with a split or double skirt that comes down only to knee-length over his front knee, with a longer fold—perhaps an overskirt—extending to his ankle on his back leg. It seems to represent a schematically rendered version of the court robe, hitched up to reveal the forward leg.³⁰ The robe appears sleeveless, but the vertical lines from the hero's shoulders down to his waist in fact represent the sleeves of the court robe pushed up to the shoulders. The upper part of the robe is flat and fairly broad, with folds at the arms and at the tucked-up waist suggested economically by the twin lines outlining the garment. The skirt is less flat. The folds of the cloth stretched over the figure's buttocks are suggested by two shallowly incised lines. Two parallel lines engraved at the border of the skirt indicate its hem. Part of the skirt is visible in a second, recessed plane behind his front leg, lending a sense of depth and roundness to the composition. The hero's footgear is indeterminate, suggested by a round drill-hole at heel and toe, connected by a line to show the foot.

Two rampant lion-griffins held by the hero face inwards, snarling, with the far foreleg raised and the near foreleg at the hero's waist. The near, taloned hind foot of each beast claws at the hero's body, while the far one is poised in the air between the wings and tails of the sphinxes below. The tails of the lion-griffins are forked and spiked. Each lion-griffin has a mane of small parallel spikes, of which the foremost two, above the beasts' foreheads, are about half again as long as the rest, perhaps indicating horns. The mane extends from above the eyes to the shoulder. The bodies of the monsters are fairly rounded but without other modeling, although parallel lines ending in a drill-hole give an abstract suggestion of musculature to the haunches. A simple juxtaposition of drill-holes forms their knobby paws and snarling muzzles. The monsters' eyes, like that of the hero, are carved in profile, but they are longer and narrower than that of their human counterpart. Their wings are of a single register, carved with one long line suggesting the top of the wing, with parallel striations perpendicular to the first forming the feathers. They curve slightly upward at the tip.

Two winged sphinxes face each other, crouching on a ground line and acting as a pedestal on

which the hero stands. They wear flat poloslike crowns with incised interior lines, perhaps a schematic recollection of the horns of the poloï worn by Assyrian sphinxes and man-bulls. Their hairstyles, beards, and faces are almost identical to those of the human figure who straddles them. They raise their far forepaws to touch them together before their noses; the angle created by this action approximates the angle of the hero's legs. Modeling at the haunches suggests the bunching of muscles created by their crouching leonine bodies, while their tails curve out and up to turn down again at the tip like a swan's neck or an S-curve. The tips of the tails are shaped like darts. The animals' wings are carved in the same manner as those of the lion-griffins, except that they curve more sharply up at the wingtip. The bottom part broadens out somewhat: while the top line of the wing continues its arc to form the shoulder, a second line, to which the feathers are attached, angles down to the rear of the foreleg. The result is a curved, flat, roughly triangular negative space at the shoulder, affording a strong visual contrast to the parallel lines that create the feathered wings. The sphinxes' forelegs are unusually short, so that it is unclear whether the animals are meant to be crouching or lying down; their backs are flat and parallel to the ground line, but their forelegs seem to be straight rather than bent. Like those of the lion-griffins, their paws are formed by undisguised use of the drill: four drill-holes comprise their forepaws and six their hind paws.

The cylinder seal found within the sunken sarcophagus of Tomb 813 reiterates and clarifies the connections to central Persian lands suggested by the gold clothing appliques. The iconography and style of the seal suggest its relation to central Achaemenid glyptic and that found in Anatolia. The heroic control motif is common in heartland Achaemenid iconography, and it resonates with the traditions of centuries of Mesopotamian artistic imagery. As a careful analysis of sealed tablets demonstrates, pedestal animals were initially portrayed in central Achaemenid glyptic art used only by a select group of people. The presence of pedestal animals on this Achaemenid-period seal from Sardis, as demonstrated below, has a particular meaning. Even the sphinxes and lion-griffins shown on this seal appear in specific contexts in Achaemenid monumental and glyptic art—contexts determined by Mesopotamian tradition and fraught with overtones of religion and power.

The heroic encounter with animals or monsters is a time-honored theme in Mesopotamian glyptic. There are two primary compositional variations: the hero may stand between two animals and grasp them in his hands, as here, or he may engage with a single animal in combat, usually armed.³¹ Darius I and his advisers exploited these images at Persepolis, capitalizing on thousands of years of tradition connecting the composition with concepts of kingship in the ancient Near East.³² Images of heroic encounter were popular on seals as well as sculptural reliefs: in one archive of sealed tablets from Persepolis, the Persepolis Fortification tablets, the heroic encounter was portrayed on 27 percent of the more than 1,400 seals studied.³³ The significance of the motif, as we shall see, stems precisely from its use by a broad cross-section of Achaemenid society and throughout the empire. The crowned human figure, specifically, encompasses a blend of meanings: he is a divine figure and a king as well as the Persian hero, a sort of everyman figure.³⁴ The components of the seal are charged with meaning in central Persian iconography, here found at a satrapal capital over a thousand miles west of that center.

Excavated Corpora of Achaemenid Sealings

The many Achaemenid sealings on dated and provenanced tablets now available for study, as well as the few provenanced Achaemenid sealstones published, provide a sociopolitical and art historical context for the Sardis seal. Precise dates for the carving of the sealstones are difficult to ascertain. The sealings cover a chronological span of two and a half centuries and are impressed on the administrative archives of both governmental organizations and private firms.

Excavations at Persepolis by the Oriental Institute in the early 1930s exposed two archives of sealed tablets: the Persepolis Treasury tablets and the Persepolis Fortification tablets. The seventy-seven sealings impressed on the former were published by Erich Schmidt in 1957.³⁵ The Treasury tablets date from the last years of Darius I to the early years of Artaxerxes I, 492–458 B.C.E. The texts of the Treasury tablets are sealed by a very restricted group of treasury administrators right at Persepolis.³⁶ The texts of 2,087 tablets from the Fortification archive were published by Richard Hallock in 1969, and scholars at the University of Michigan and Trinity University are

currently publishing the more than 1,400 seals known through multiple impressions ratifying them.³⁷ The Fortification tablets all date to the thirteenth through the twenty-eighth year of Darius I, or 509–494 B.C.E. They record disbursements of foodstuffs from the royal storehouses in the regions of Fars and Elam to various people from different geographical and social backgrounds, including members of the royal family, courtiers, priests, administrators, artists, and agricultural workers. The Fortification tablets are frequently sealed more than once, often with several different seals; stamp seals as well as cylinder seals were used to create the impressions.³⁸ These sealings provide an invaluable resource for understanding central Achaemenid imagery during a time of concerted Persian expansionism, and they let us examine artistic connections between the center and periphery of the empire in a way previously impossible.³⁹

An excavated corpus of slightly later Achaemenid-period sealings on tablets is found in the Murashu archive. These records of a private family firm based in Babylonia deal with water rights and date to the second half of the fifth century.⁴⁰ Along with the Persepolis documents, the Murashu archive consists of precisely dated tablets recording specific transactions; they are sealed by a range of individuals using personal and official seals. These three corpora are therefore particularly useful in determining patterns of seal use and their cultural environment.

Published seal impressions for which associated texts are not preserved include the anepigraphic Ur sealings from southern Mesopotamia, a group of impressed baked bullae found in the sarcophagus perhaps of an artisan (second half of the fifth century).⁴¹ The Wâdi ed-Dâliyah bullae, a deposit of sealings exhumed along with their associated papyri from a cave in Samaria (mid-fourth century) in Syro-Palestine, have not been discussed in connection with the texts to which they belong and must therefore be treated as if without associated textual evidence.

Some seals and sealings have also been excavated in the outer reaches of the empire.⁴² One Achaemenid-period sealing found at Memphis in Egypt is impressed on a tablet dating to the fifth century. From Anatolia, a corpus of sealed bullae was excavated at Daskyleion (dating as it seems from the early fifth century to the mid-fourth century). A few stones have been excavated from the tombs at Kertch on the Black Sea; others come from sites in Syro-Palestine and upper

Mesopotamia like Kish and Tell el-Heir.⁴³ Scattered sealstones have also been excavated from various sites in Anatolia, including Gordion, Kaman-Kalehöyük, and Sardis. By far the majority of sealstones stemming from controlled excavations in Anatolia are those from Sardis.⁴⁴

When the Sardis seal is viewed in the context of these excavated corpora and provenanced sealstones from the full extent of the Persian empire, the possible sociopolitical implications of its iconography become much clearer.

Iconography in Achaemenid Art

The hero figure on our seal wears what seems to be a version of the Persian court robe as well as a dentate crown. Such a crowned, robed figure plays an important role in Achaemenid glyptic and sculptural art, functioning as a polysemic symbol of king and hero, king and god.⁴⁵ In the case of the seal from Sardis, the hero figure is grouped with mythical composite animals that bear particularly potent meaning in the complex iconographic system of Achaemenid art.

The lion-griffin, the creature with which the hero grapples on the Sardis seal, has a long history in the art of Mesopotamia. It is an animal associated in Akkadian and Neo-Assyrian art with malevolent atmospheric demons, as the physical manifestation of supernatural evil.⁴⁶ The lion-griffin appears in Achaemenid art as the adversary of the hero and also on its own, generally pacing forward with open snarling mouth. In Achaemenid art, the heroic motif in association with lion-griffins is a thematic nuance of the hero image apparently centered in the Persian heartland, with few examples from the outer reaches of the empire. The lion-griffin in the Achaemenid period sometimes represents evil; but it also serves as a helpful, benevolent, protective demon.⁴⁷ Achaemenid glyptic may accentuate either the violent, malevolent aspects of its nature or its supernatural protective quality.

The animals on which the hero of the Sardis seal stands are sphinxes: winged beasts with leonine bodies and bearded human heads, in this case wearing flat headdresses. In the Achaemenid empire, the sphinx was a creature with ritual associations, frequently shown with figures in winged disks or nonfigural winged disks, ritual objects like incense burners and cult images, and vegetal elements. It is portrayed most often with items that represent the sun or fecundity, usually

raising a forepaw to the icon. Alternatively, as on the seal from Sardis, two facing sphinxes may raise a paw toward each other.⁴⁸ In all the sculpted examples from the central regions of the empire, the sphinx is associated with ritually charged gestures and surroundings. Sphinxes never combat the hero in Achaemenid glyptic, but they do appear in scenes of heroic control. The Achaemenid heroic mastery image need not be a scene of violence or of brute force on the part of the hero. In one possible meaning it may have expressed an equilibrium of righteousness. The sphinx apparently had a primary role as a sort of guardian spirit rather than a demon.⁴⁹

The most diagnostic feature of the iconography of the cylinder seal from Sardis is the presence of the pedestal animals supporting the hero figure. Animals on which a divine figure stands and that represent essential qualities of the divinity are a well-known tradition in Mesopotamian and eastern Anatolian art.⁵⁰ In Egypt, the divine ruler sometimes stands on pedestal animals. The animals stand or crouch, static, beneath a representation of the divinity; they are apparently part of a statue of the divine image but may represent an extension of the divinity.

Pedestal animals acting as weight-bearing supports, as the foundation for built structures, may be seen in the reliefs of Assurbanipal's palace, where man-bulls and lions serve as the bases of columns in a palace, perhaps that of Sennacherib at Nineveh.⁵¹ At Göllü Dağ in Cappadocia, orthostates carved with Assyrianizing lions and winged lions apparently supported the door jambs in an unusual building that may have been a temple. The Neo-Assyrian sealings from Nimrud show pedestal animals in a slightly different role: the animal functions more or less as a scenic prop while the divine image plays an active part, often combating a foe.⁵² Under the patronage of the early Achaemenids, however, this imagery is adapted to express the complex concept of the hero-king.

Assyrian and Hittite rock reliefs showing gods on pedestal animals demonstrate the clear accessibility of the imagery in later periods. Certain Achaemenid seals also show deities on pedestal animals; the most famous is doubtless the blue chalcedony cylinder, now in St. Petersburg, from a tomb on the Black Sea north of Anapa. It shows a robed, crowned figure raising his hands in a ritual gesture to a radiate goddess standing on a lion's back.⁵³ But this divine position is generally occupied in Achaemenid art by the Persian hero-king. Such an association of king with divine is a



FIG. 5. PFS 164* photograph.
Courtesy M. B. Garrison and M. C. Root.



FIG. 6. PFS 164* drawing.
Courtesy M. B. Garrison and M. C. Root.

fundamental part of official imperial iconography throughout the Achaemenid empire. Pedestal-animal seals are important examples of an imperial iconography that took advantage of broadly different local traditions and styles to couch a new imperial ideology in as many artistic media and manners as possible.⁵⁴

Pedestal animals appear only in the glyptic art of the Achaemenid empire. Although certain of the sculpted reliefs from Persepolis include images of the king lifted on high, borne aloft by the peoples of the realm, this is a different construct and stems from different traditions than the animals that serve as an extension of the figure they support.⁵⁵ On Achaemenid seals, pedestal animals are resonant with royal imagery and, in the earlier history of the empire, have a very restricted circulation. Achaemenid-period seals inscribed with the name of the king (the so-called royal name seals, generally used not by the king himself but by very important imperial administrative offices) are associated with a specific iconography, with a few particular images being favored.⁵⁶ Some images are particularly common on royal name seals and are only rarely carved on seals that are not inscribed with the name of the king. These images, even when they appear on nonroyal name seals, are still resonant with the significance of the royal name seals.

Pedestal animals are such an image. We now have examples at Persepolis and elsewhere of enough seals used by different categories of people to be able to see some real patterns emerging.

Pedestal animals appear on the seals of only a few individuals. The figure of the hero-king on pedestal animals seems to be special, particularly in the early history of the empire, appearing only in limited numbers outside the corpus of the royal name seals. When pedestal animals are found outside the corpus of royal name seals in the early period, they are used by people at a very high social level. The very breadth of social representation documented on tablets makes the restricted circulation of the pedestal image all the more striking. Perhaps the pedestal animals elevated the image to a special rank.

Pedestal Animals: Symbol and Significance

The Persepolis administrative documents and their seal impressions constitute an enormous corpus of glyptic evidence from the center of the empire. On the Fortification documents are impressed seals used by a broad cross-section of people, including those who received food supplies from the Persepolis regional administration as well as officials of that bureaucracy who sealed the documents as suppliers in the transactions. The breadth of social backgrounds represented in the people sealing the tablets of the Fortification archive allows us to consider patterns or trends with a real sense of their social significance.

Pedestal animals appear only in heroic encounter scenes and religious scenes. Of the some 313 distinct legible seals on the Fortification tablets that show scenes of heroic encounter, only six certainly show pedestal figures, with the possible addition of a seventh.⁵⁷ And of these seals, four (36*, 164*, 523*, 524) may be associated with a single individual: one Ushtana, who was satrap of Babylonia at the capital city of Susa at the beginning of the fifth century and perhaps a member of the royal family (figs. 5, 6).⁵⁸ Three of the seals are inscribed, while the fourth may have had an inscription that is simply not visible on the single rather poor impression. It seems to have been replaced by a seal almost identical to it but including an inscription.⁵⁹ The assignation to Ushtana is based on the associated texts: the inscriptions read "Ussabarna(sa)" (36*) and "seal

of RRTx[...]” (164*), while 523* is inscribed in an uncertain language. All told, three of the six or seven pedestal-animal seals are certainly inscribed. Seal 524 is apparently replaced by an inscribed seal with almost identical imagery. And Seal 396 has as a terminal two rampant animals twined around each other; this image on other Fortification tablet sealings is frequently associated with an inscription and may in this case be in effect standing in for the inscription, as a date palm may do in other cases. The percentage of pedestal-animal seals that include inscriptions is well above the average for the Fortification tablet sealings, approximately 11 percent of which are inscribed.⁶⁰ Ushtana was a man associated with large-scale administrative tasks; this coincidence of administrative responsibility with the high proportion of inscriptions on seals showing pedestal animals and the remarkably few individuals using pedestal-animal seals suggests the real social significance of the image.

Pedestal animals occur in one other type of image besides those of heroic encounter: images of ritual activity. In these cases, the pedestal animal generally bears aloft a hero figure who raises a hand or makes another ritual gesture toward a deity or a winged disk.⁶¹ Often two heroes form a heraldic composition centered on the image of the divine. As we have already seen, pedestal animals may still bear aloft figures of deities in Achaemenid glyptic, but this is the exception rather than the rule.⁶² In most cases, it is the worshipping *hero* who is carried by pedestal animals. And the last image that may include pedestal animals has them supporting an archer figure.⁶³ Unlike their actively participating Assyrian forebears, however, the Achaemenid animals remain quietly couchant; their presence lends a static, almost religious quality to the scene that fits well with the complex significance of the archer in Achaemenid iconography.⁶⁴ Of the nine seals on the Fortification archive that include pedestal animals in scenes other than those of heroic encounter, eight are inscribed.

One further pedestal-animal seal has been identified among those seals on the Fortification tablets that are not part of the Hallock 1969 corpus. This is a royal name seal of Darius, PFS 1683* (impressed five times on Persepolis Fortification tablet 11278 as well as on other unnumbered items), showing a heroic control scene (fig. 7).⁶⁵ The pedestal animals (winged lions or lion-griffins) face outwards. A figure in a winged disk hovers over the hero's head; the inscription naming



FIG. 7. PFS 1683*. Photo: M. B. Garrison. Courtesy the Oriental Institute and M. B. Garrison and M. C. Root.

Darius and two date palms act as terminal. This seal is an important part of the evidence, as it demonstrates on the Fortification corpus the association between pedestal animals and royal name seals seen in other corpora. We are reminded of the restricted circulation of this image.

The seals showing pedestal animals preserved through impressions on other royal administrative archives, including the Persepolis Treasury tablets and the sealings found at Susa, also demonstrate the restricted use of this image. The sealings of the Persepolis Treasury tablets include both scenes of heroic encounter and scenes of ritual activity. Persepolis Treasury seals 1*, 3*, and 6* show heroic encounters, with pedestal sphinxes or lions under the hero. All three are royal name seals.⁶⁶ The Treasury sealings preserving pedestal animals in ritual scenes are seals 14* (a version of PFS 1567*), 15*, and 17*.⁶⁷ All of them are inscribed, but the only inscription legible names an individual other than the king. All of these seals show scenes of worship.

From Susa comes a bulla with a pedestal-animal seal impression bearing all the trappings of a royal name seal: a hero in Persian dress holds two rampant winged bulls by their horns, with a winged disk over his head.⁶⁸ He stands on anti-thetic winged, crowned beasts that apparently have fish tails, although the state of preservation of the bulla published is such that the exact composition of the animals is unclear. At the right of the scene is a date palm; at the left is a vertical bar—most likely part of an inscription that is unfortunately not preserved on the published image. As Schmidt comments,⁶⁹ all seal impressions that include a royal name also show either

one or two date palms, usually in fruit. This Susa impression thus bears the hallmarks of a royal name seal.

The sealings discussed above are all of the late sixth and early fifth century. By the end of the fifth century, however, the use patterns of seals with pedestal animals had apparently changed, so that the image, previously restricted in its circulation, was available to a wider portion of society. In this way it followed a well-established pattern for the dissemination of elite imagery.⁷⁰ The Murashu archive preserves impressions of three seals with pedestal animals.⁷¹ Interestingly, on this later corpus of seals from a different context than that of the royal archives detailed above, none of the pedestal-animal seals is inscribed. In all cases, the hero holds two inverted lions and stands on addorsed, crouching, winged, crowned sphinxes. One was used by an official (*hutebanu*) and two by scribes (one for the army, one for the satrap Gobryas). These sealings yield the latest documented usage date for pedestal animals in Achaemenid glyptic yet known: they are used in 424, 423, 418, and 417 B.C.E. All three are cylinder seals. The sealings on this later, private corpus suggest that pedestal animals were still being used by those of relatively high rank. By this time, however, deployment is perhaps no longer as restricted as before. At the beginning of Achaemenid hegemony, pedestal animals were clearly associated with individuals of very high social status, but by the last quarter of the fifth century, this distinction seems to have been somewhat blurred. But, importantly, even in the Murashu archive the people using these pedestal-animal seals were all officials acting in official capacity.

No pedestal animals at all appear on the Ur sealings. This group of sealings impressed and baked into small lumps of clay, found in a sarcophagus robbed of its other material goods, probably represents a collection of images for an artisan.⁷² They are given a *terminus post quem* of mid-fifth century by the impression of a cast (or die?) of an Athenian tetradrachm dating to 450,⁷³ but the individual seals used to produce the collection may of course have been made earlier. The absence of pedestal animals from this group of seal impressions is not surprising. If this corpus represents an artisan's collection, it is perhaps logical that he would have had no access to such a high-prestige seal for the production of his image bank.

The Wâdi ed-Dâliyeh bullae, found in a cave where they were still attached to fragmentary papyri dating to the mid- to late fourth century, also lack pedestal animals.⁷⁴ If this was still an image with social hierarchical significance, its absence from this corpus may indicate the absence of individuals of sufficient rank to own such a seal. Alternatively, the image may no longer have been in use by this time or simply may not have been chosen by the individuals sealing documents at the Wâdi ed-Dâliyeh. This may be in part due to the nature of the composition and the increasingly frequent use of the stamp seal or signet ring: the composition of the heroic encounter on pedestal animals is not only complex but generally fairly square in shape and does not fit neatly into the rounded contours provided by these stamps.⁷⁵

The other examples of provenanced sealings with pedestal animals come from Anatolia. Five pedestal-animal seals are preserved as cylinder sealings on the bullae from the satrapal headquarters at Daskyleion; these bullae range in date from the early fifth century to the fourth century.⁷⁶ All of them deploy the pedestal figures in association with hero scenes. Impressions of the one published cylinder seal⁷⁷ preserve the less common combat scene on a pedestal animal: interestingly, three of the five pedestal sealings from Daskyleion include heroic combat scenes, while only two preserve heroic control scenes.⁷⁸ Three seals include Aramaic inscriptions, although to my knowledge no transcription or translation has yet been published.

When we turn from the excavated tablets or bullae preserving impressions of pedestal-animal seals to preserved examples of actual sealstones from documented excavated contexts, we find few aside from the Sardis seal. Of the twenty-three actual cylinder seals and twenty-two stamp seals recovered from the Persepolis excavations, none shows a pedestal scene.⁷⁹ The two of which I am aware were both found in Anatolia: an inscribed cylinder seal from Gordion and an anepigraphic stamp seal from Kamankale-Höyük.⁸⁰ The seal from Gordion shows two identical antithetic heroes standing on couchant, crowned pedestal sphinxes and worshipping a figure in a winged disk at center that faces right and hovers above a circle with another figure within facing left. At the top and bottom of the cylinder are borders of a floral pattern. An Aramaic inscription reads "Seal (of) Bny, Son of Ztw, (+ title?)."⁸¹ It was

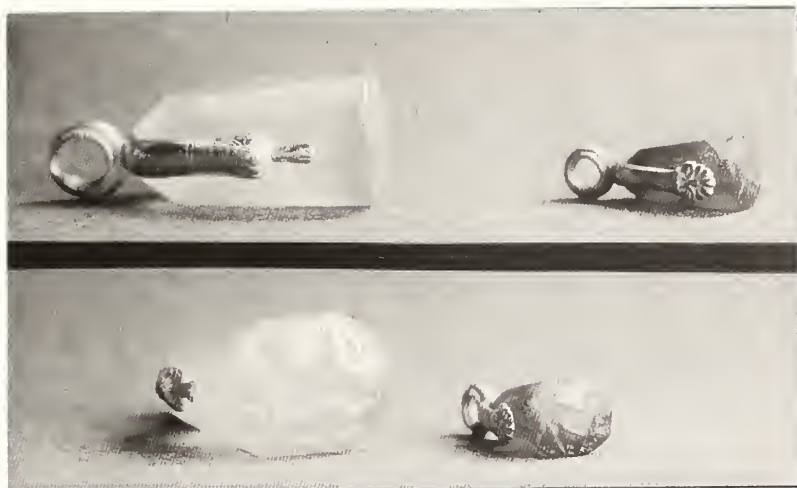


FIG. 8. IAM 4641 and IAM 4580. Courtesy C. H. Greenewalt, Jr.

found in the backfill of a robber's trench of the Hellenistic period, southwest of the "throne room" of the Mosaic Building.⁸² The stamp seal from Kamankale-Höyük, found in an Achaemenid context, shows the hero-king grappling two lions on pedestal animals that are bent around to follow the curved shape of the seal face.⁸³

The images of pedestal animals in the late sixth and early fifth centuries all seem to indicate the high social rank of their owners. They frequently bear royal name inscriptions, and where this is not the case, the earlier examples in particular are nonetheless resonant with the imagery of royal name seals. Not only do pedestal animals commonly occur in conjunction with such status indicators as inscriptions and palm trees, but in cases where we can check the background of their owners/users, these are individuals of high social status and administrative responsibility.

At Sardis, our pedestal-animal seal was found in an unusually elaborate tomb that makes formal allusion to Achaemenid royal tombs and the Persian heartland, in connection with gold foil clothing appliques. Clearly the man who was buried in the sunken sarcophagus of Tomb 813 at Sardis was a high-status individual, and his seal bore imagery appropriate to his social position.

Style

The Sardis seal is carved with imagery that is straight from the center of the Persian empire and charged with meaning in Achaemenid ico-



FIG. 9. IAM 4579. Courtesy Sir John Boardman.

nography. But it is carved in a flat, broad style with undisguised use of the rotating drill, unlike any of the seals used on the Persepolis Fortification tablets. Volumes are left precise but unmodeled, and lines are clearly and broadly incised, often to indicate the borders between muscles (as in the haunches of the lion-griffins) or bunched up cloth (as at the borders of the robe's sleeves) that might otherwise have been indicated by more subtle modeling. Indeed, this is a seal carved in one of the styles commonly called "Graeco-Persian."

The term "Graeco-Persian" represents a mixed stylistic category that seems to have defied firm definition. Indeed, the most precise stylistic definition is "often sketchy, with frequent use of the round drill."⁸⁴ "Graeco-Persian" has been used to describe seals of various stylistic qualities, with one subset strongly resembling the style of the seal from Sardis (figs. 8, 9). Most of the seals that have been compiled and typologized are not from

controlled excavations.⁸⁵ Of those 198 pyramidal stamp seals discussed by John Boardman in 1970, fully 75 percent are unprovenanced; of the remaining seals that do claim some provenance, 44 percent come from Sardis.⁸⁶ The large majority of "Graeco-Persian" seals are said to have come from or been bought in Anatolia, northern Syria, or the area around the Black Sea.⁸⁷

"Graeco-Persian" gems form a different grouping of styles, distinct from the various Greek styles of the Greek mainland and Ionia, on the one hand, and from the various Iranian Persian styles, on the other hand. They are not represented among the sealings on the Persepolis Fortification tablets or the Persepolis Treasury tablets. Conversely, they seldom turn up from verifiable contexts in Greece.⁸⁸



FIG. 10. PFS 7* photograph.
Courtesy M. B. Garrison and M. C. Root.

Scholarly discussion of "Graeco-Persian" seals has by and large focused on the ethnicity of the seal engraver.⁸⁹ Generally, "Graeco-Persian" glyptic is thought to have been created for Persians who preferred rather stiff, static figures to the imaginative and vibrant beauty of Greek art.⁹⁰ Those unusually perceptive Eastern patrons who could afford it would presumably buy Greek art when possible, commissioning overtly Persian subjects carved in a Greek style. "Graeco-Persian" seals that seem stilted, wanting in volume and naturalism, are attributed instead to Persian artists who were presumably exposed to Greek artists but lacked the ability or sensibility to achieve the same results. Such categorization partly results from the small number of provenanced seals previously available for study, particularly from the Persian heartland. As we shall see, the seal from Sardis, viewed in connection with the seals and sealings now available, suggests that patrons may specifically have opted for one style or another according not only to their tastes but perhaps to the purpose of the seal or the position of the commissioner in the administrative hierarchy. The analytical model used in the study of the enormous corpus of the Persepolis Fortification sealings may productively be brought to bear on the interpretation of the iconography and style of objects from elsewhere in the empire, including the seal from Sardis and its position in the corpus of so-called Graeco-Persian seals.

Stylistic Circles at Persepolis

One of the most interesting, and perhaps surprising, features of the Persepolis Fortification

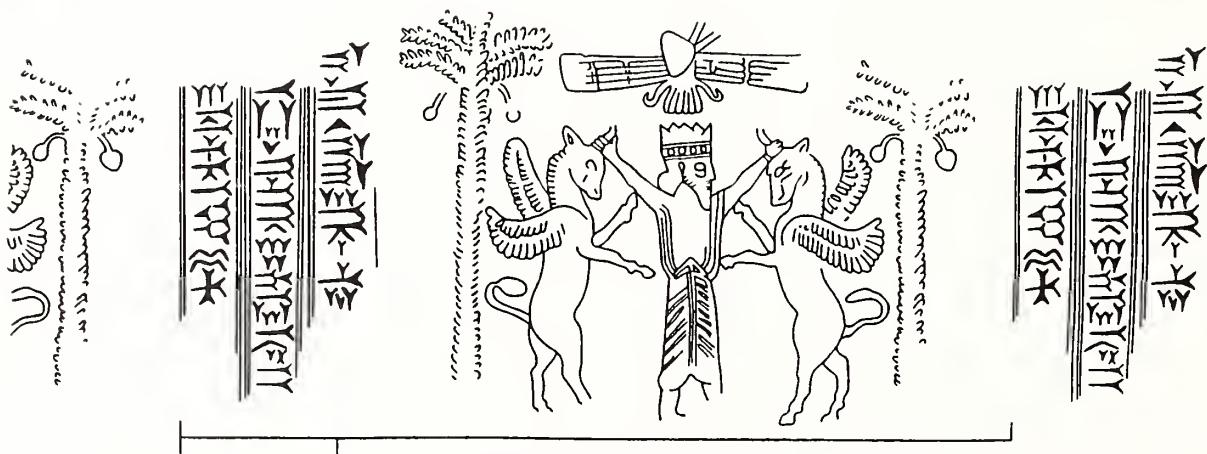


FIG. 11. PFS 7* drawing. Courtesy M. B. Garrison and M. C. Root.

corpus is the presence of many different glyptic styles in use concurrently.⁹¹ The simultaneous use of these varying styles demonstrates several important points about artistic style in the Persian heartland. At Persepolis, a number of artistic workshops operated at once. The patrons of these artists had a broad range of styles from which to choose when selecting seals for personal or official use. These developments at Persepolis may shed light in turn on the varied artistic styles in use throughout the empire; these styles derived from local workshops serving a particular clientele and to some extent were cross-fertilized by distinct regional artistic traditions.

The various artistic styles represented in the seals preserved on the Fortification tablets were first distinguished and described by M. B. Garrison, who characterized eight significant stylistic categories.⁹² The Court Style, traditionally associated with Achaemenid glyptic art, is perhaps best represented in the impressions on the Persepolis Treasury tablets.⁹³ The Fortification Style, simple and shallow, represents an active local tradition in glyptic art, thriving at Persepolis at the end of the sixth/beginning of the fifth centuries B.C.E. but previously not recognized elsewhere for what it is. The Modeled Style is a direct outgrowth and continuation of traditional Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian modeled styles. Mixed Styles I includes those seals with designs sharing stylistic characteristics of the Modeled Style and the Fortification Style. Mixed Styles II comprises seals sharing the characteristics of the Court Style and the Fortification Style. Seals in the self-explanatory Broad and Flat Style are often carved rather coarsely. The Linear Style describes a fairly wide range of various linear styles. Two relatively small but ultimately very interesting groups of seals do not fit into any of these stylistic categories. One group, termed "Anomalous Styles," represents contemporary styles *not* local to the heartland court and region. In addition, some Fortification tablets were ratified with antique seals. None of the tablets is sealed with seals carved in any of the various styles termed "Graeco-Persian."

The numerous glyptic styles being produced simultaneously at Persepolis by active workshops operating (it would appear) locally create an impression of a lively and creative artistic environment. The Fortification archive provides scholars with the opportunity to explore many issues including those of patronage, seal use patterns,

stylistic developments, and connections between glyptic art and art in other media. The following analysis of the manipulation and meaning of artistic styles will lay the groundwork for the final section of this paper.

The Court Style is represented in the Fortification archive by examples of what seems to be an experimental phase of its development, as well as examples in its fully conceived and implemented form. These sealings illuminate the nature, origins, and evolution of the Court Style, as well as its meaning in the greater context of Achaemenid imperial art. Attention to detail is the hallmark of the Court Style at Persepolis.⁹⁴ Underneath the detail the style is formed of strong, sharp lines and engraving of medium depth. Compositions are dominated by a strict sense of symmetry and verticality. Seals carved in the Court Style always include these characteristics; but they are a calculated and refined hybrid of components from earlier artistic styles, including Assyro-Babylonian models and local Neo-Elamite traditions.⁹⁵

This style is fully developed even by 503, the earliest usage date attested in the Fortification archive (figs. 10, 11). But the Fortification tablets include examples of the Court Style in various phases of its development. In addition to the seal illustrated here, other seals from the archive show the Court Style in an earlier, experimental phase, mixing features of what becomes the Court Style with features of other glyptic traditions. The development of the Court Style is a purely glyptic phenomenon rather than an imitation in the glyptic medium of a style already worked out on the palace reliefs. But, like the sculpted reliefs, it forms part of an imperial program that gives visual expression to royal control and empire.⁹⁶ Images are drawn from the vast repertoire of ancient Mesopotamian imperial and religious art to root the new Achaemenid empire firmly in the traditions of divinely sanctioned kings ruling wisely and well over numerous subject peoples.⁹⁷ The Court Style did not evolve from earlier styles but was a new-formed hybrid style. Significantly, it did not replace other styles, at least in glyptic art, but rather existed simultaneously as a stylistic option patrons might choose. It was part of the new artistic language expressing the balance and legitimate might of the new empire; it was not forced upon people operating in the court environment but was one of the styles in which they might choose to have seals made.

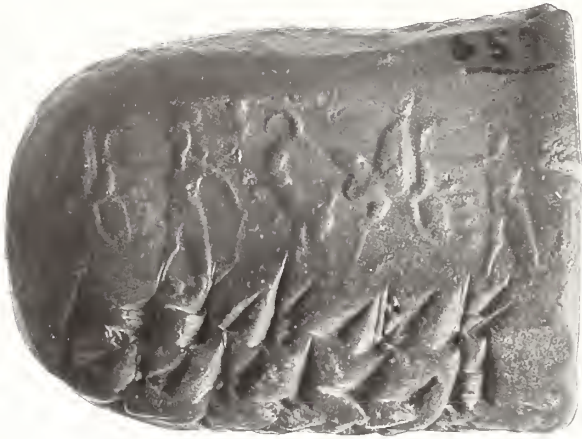


FIG. 12. PFS 9* photograph.
Courtesy M. B. Garrison and M.C. Root.

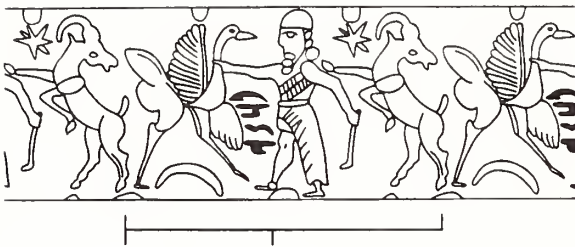


FIG. 13. PFS 9* drawing.
Courtesy M. B. Garrison and M. C. Root.

The Fortification Style (figs. 12, 13), unrecognized before work on the Fortification tablets, accounts for about 50 percent of the seals in the Fortification corpus that show images of heroic encounter.⁹⁸ The Fortification Style grows directly out of Neo-Assyrian and local Neo-Elamite traditions, including some of the scenes chosen for portrayal as well as the manner of rendering figures. The style is distinguished by engraving of shallow to medium depth with very simple figures and starkly plain surface treatment. Animal forms are plastic. Muscles are generally indicated by small compact swellings; volumes are left largely unarticulated so that figures may take on a soft, almost rubbery quality. The overwhelming proportion of Fortification tablet sealings carved in the Fortification Style demonstrates the existence of a flourishing group of artists continuing older traditions under new imperial sway and developing lines of artistic expression that run parallel to, but do not reflect, the imperial Court Style.

The strongly archaizing Modeled Style demonstrates the continuing vitality of Babylonian and Assyrianizing glyptic art into the fifth century

B.C.E. (figs. 14, 15).⁹⁹ This style includes the tall figures with large modeled volumes of Assyrian and Babylonian seals, but at Persepolis the modeling is often somewhat softer and less elaborate than the earlier versions. The musculature and pose of figures often precisely parallel Assyrian art, both glyptic and sculptural. At Persepolis these seals carved in archaizing styles continued to be used at the same time as others carved in new and developing styles.

The various glyptic styles in concurrent use at Persepolis demonstrate multiple local stylistic phenomena within the context of a court environment. The distinct styles defined here represent particular categorizations of stylistic attributes, but they were permeable in some important ways. Mixed Styles I and II demonstrate the potentially shifting boundaries between stylistic categories, the existence as it were of a spectrum of stylistic variation in glyptic art at Persepolis. This has profound implications for our understanding of Achaemenid culture and of the multivalence of artistic style and iconography in the Achaemenid empire. The imperial Court Style is important in this context precisely because it was *not* imposed on the court circle: although people high in the administrative hierarchy might choose to have seals made in the Court Style, it was not necessary for anyone who wanted to impress the king to have a seal carved in the Court Style. Instead, it seems the simultaneity of different styles in use at Persepolis allowed for subtle manipulation of style and iconography to emphasize particular messages.

Style and Fashion in Pedestal Animals

All the seals from the Persepolis Fortification corpus that include pedestal animals are carved in the Fortification Style or in Mixed Styles II (a cross between the Fortification Style and the Court Style).¹⁰⁰ PFS 523* shows a hero in an Assyrian robe reaching out his left hand to grasp a rampant winged lion and stabbing it in the chest with a dagger held in his right hand. Both figures stand upon a single pedestal creature (it seems that the hero stands on the pedestal animal's head while the winged lion stands on its hindquarters);¹⁰¹ an Elamite inscription acts as terminal. This seal is carved in a version of Mixed Styles II very close to the Achaemenid Court Style.¹⁰² Such pedestal-animal combat scenes are much rarer than control scenes,¹⁰³

perhaps because the symmetry of the control scene lent itself better to the dual poles established by the pedestal animals. PFS 524 portrays a hero in the Persian court robe grasping two rampant lions by a foreleg and standing on the hindquarters of two couchant winged, horned lions facing outwards. The lions he grasps stand on the heads of the pedestal animals. The linear folds of his garment strongly recall the carving of IAM 4581. A very similar seal, PFS 164*, also shows a hero in the Persian court robe straddling two couchant winged, horned lions facing outwards (figs. 5, 6). This hero grasps a foreleg of two rampant, winged, crowned man-bulls or human-headed lions standing on the heads of the pedestal animals, and an Aramaic inscription acts as terminal. The fourth pedestal seal that may have belonged to Ushtana, PFS 36*, a large and exceptionally well executed seal, is carved in a version of the Fortification Style that is close to the Court Style.¹⁰⁴ A four-winged hero in an Assyrian garment grasps two rampant winged bulls by a foreleg and stands on the hindquarters of two more winged bulls facing outwards.¹⁰⁵ The remaining three seals with pedestal scenes on the Fortification tablets are all in the Fortification Style. The narrow range of styles represented on these seals is particularly interesting as the Fortification Style is an outgrowth of local traditions and the Court Style a new imperial creation: the pedestal animals, which seem to be associated with figures of high social status, are produced at Persepolis only in the styles most intimately connected with Persepolitan imperial art.

The pedestal seals from the Treasury corpus are all carved in the Court Style, the most common style of the seals preserved on the Treasury tablets. The seals showing scenes of heroic

encounter are all royal name seals. PTS 1* is a heroic combat scene: the struggle with a bird-headed, winged lion takes place on two identical sphinxes walking toward each other.¹⁰⁶ The griffin stands on the left sphinx's wing, the hero on the right sphinx's head and wing. He holds a curved or offset weapon in his left hand; with his right hand he grasps the griffin's throat. To the left of the scene is a date palm; a trilingual inscription naming Darius acts as terminal. The seal was used on the Treasury accounts by an official named Darkaush for the second through fourth years of Xerxes's reign. Persepolis Treasury seals 3* and 6* are closer in composition to the Sardis seal. On PTS 3* the hero holds two inverted lions and stands upon pedestal winged lions with spiky manes.¹⁰⁷ A date palm at left and an inscription of Darius act as terminal. It was used once by a certain Rumatenda and once by Uratinda during the reign of Darius (year not given).¹⁰⁸ PTS 6* shows the hero holding two inverted lions below a winged disk and standing on two identical antithetic couchant sphinxes whose forelegs almost touch, like those of the Sardis sphinxes.¹⁰⁹ Date palms flank the scene, and a monolingual inscription acts as terminal:



FIG. 14. PFS 16* photograph.
Courtesy M. B. Garrison and M. C. Root.



FIG. 15. PFS 16* drawing. Courtesy M. B. Garrison and M. C. Root.

"I [am] Xerxes the King."¹¹⁰ This seal was used in 471–468 B.C.E. by the official Ciçavahush, whom Hallock and others call Zishshawish on the Fortification tablets.

The seals from the Treasury corpus that display scenes of worship are not royal name seals but show a constriction similar to the Court Style. PTS 14* (a version of PFS 1567*) has antithetic goat-fish as pedestal animals; above them two heroes hold blossoms and extend one hand toward an Ahuramazda figure. An Elamite inscription ascribes the seal to Aspathines, son of Prexaspes.¹¹¹ The pedestal animals of PTS 15* are antithetic walking winged lions, on which stand two bearded men in Assyrianizing garb who hold out one hand in a gesture of worship toward an Ahuramazda symbol and hold a rod with a globular head in the other hand. The Elamite inscription is illegible. PTS 17* shows two heroes with one hand raised towards an Ahuramazda symbol and the other hand holding a bow; they stand on very poorly preserved winged pedestal animals that face outwards. An inscription is barely visible and may be Aramaic; also preserved is the faint impression of a date palm.

The connection between pedestal animals and people of high social status has been made already. The stylistic evidence from Persepolis lets us begin to see further nuances to pedestal animals. The Treasury tablets, an archive sealed exclusively by high-ranking officials, includes a high percentage of pedestal animals, all of which are inscribed and all of which are carved in the Court Style. In the Fortification archive, with its representation of a broad cross-section of society, pedestal scenes are restricted to seals used by high-ranking people. They are all carved in the local Fortification Style or in a cross between the Fortification and Court Styles. Such restricted stylistic selection and restricted circulation are highly significant.

Stylistic Circles in the Western Empire

The Sardis seal is carved in a style not associated with this composition at Persepolis.¹¹² More than that, it is carved in a style not represented at Persepolis. Perhaps it is a copy of a worn or broken seal originally carved in a heartland style, which its owner needed replaced. But its style may have been consciously chosen by its commissioner, who could presumably have had a more imperial-style seal made if he had wanted to. Why

would someone with the aristocratic credentials to own a pedestal-animal seal commission a work in this schematic style instead of in the best central Achaemenid Court Style? The commissioner may have chosen to have it made at Sardis where he could observe its crafting and interact directly with the artist carving it. Indeed, he may have been conscious of a purposefully created symbolism in the style itself.

The seals excavated from tombs at Sardis demonstrate that various styles existed concurrently at this satrapal capital, even as they did at Persepolis.¹¹³ Some seals are carved in a style more strongly reminiscent of Greek seals: IAM 4570, a scaraboid that formed part of a necklace, shows a feeding ibis that resembles "East Greek" works;¹¹⁴ IAM 4519 is another scaraboid, which shows an Eros figure flying to the right, again carved in a Greek style; IAM 4518 is a large chalcidony seal set in a bracelet, with Hermes and Athena carved in a Greek style of the early fourth century.¹¹⁵ Yet some seals at Sardis strongly resemble Near Eastern seals: IAM 5133, for instance, is a pyramidal stamp seal showing a Neo-Babylonian worship scene and carved in a Neo-Babylonian style. A majority of the seals excavated from the tombs at Sardis are carved in a style resembling the seal IAM 4581 discussed here.¹¹⁶ The concurrent existence of these varying styles at Sardis in the Achaemenid period makes it clear that the inhabitants of Achaemenid-period Sardis had a wide choice in the style of their seals. This is an important point.

Achaemenid imperial programs promoting ideologies of empire were translated into regional artistic compositions to make them intelligible to local viewing audiences in widely disparate parts of the empire.¹¹⁷ This adaptation of images had a self-reflexive function as well, for the appropriation and manipulation of local iconographies and styles signified the incorporation of these areas into the empire. By taking on and adapting traditional local imagery, the user might embed himself in an artistic framework that reinforced his own goals or sense of authority and power in those regions. Thus in the reworking of older imagery we see simultaneous streams of significance: spreading imperial ideology to distant parts of the empire, asserting power over those areas, and incorporating local imagery into official imperial art.

The seal from Sardis IAM 4581 shows high-status central Achaemenid imagery but is carved in a noncentral Achaemenid style. It uses the

iconographic vocabulary of the Persian heartland translated into a local idiom. It suggests that here, too, patrons may specifically have opted for one style or another according not only to their tastes but perhaps also to the purpose of the artifact or the position of the commissioner in the administrative hierarchy. The Sardis seal stands out instantly from seals with equivalent iconography found in the Persian heartland. It seems to be making a triple claim: its owner had the requisite credentials to own a seal with pedestal animals; he chose an image that was deeply grounded in central Achaemenid tradition, rooted in Near Eastern legacy; and he chose to have it carved in a style reflecting his western imperial locus of activity.

Artistic imagery in the Achaemenid empire operated as an interregional symbolic system, with great and subtle variation on the local level. At Persepolis, a number of glyptic workshops produced seals in different styles concurrently in an atmosphere of tremendous stylistic creativity. Multiple workshops offered patrons choice; the creation of variety for political ends certainly influenced both artists and patrons in choice of styles. It now appears that Sardis had a similar atmosphere of artistic choice within the confines of imperial symbolism.

The various styles that have been grouped together under the heading "Graeco-Persian" may perhaps be understood differently when integrated with the Persepolitan model of local glyptic creation within a lively and complex artistic environment. Analyzed in this manner, the various "Graeco-Persian" styles may be seen as

artistic phenomena probably based in western Anatolia, with Sardis perhaps a main locale of production.¹¹⁸ These styles were devised within a newly composed symbolic art of empire and demonstrated the network of connections that united the Achaemenid-period elite and legitimated their control of the realm. In the Achaemenid empire, artistic iconography was reworked and artistic styles were manipulated to emphasize particular imperial ideologies in local contexts.

Viewed as a conscious choice among many alternatives, the style of the Sardis seal takes on new meaning. It is not a poor compromise between Greek and Achaemenid glyptic. Rather, it may be seen as part of a new art of empire, illustrating the web of artistic and sociopolitical connections that united the Persian, and Persianizing, elite. By choosing to have artifacts made in this style, one might claim adherence to this group of high-status, influential individuals and reinforce the Achaemenid hierarchy in western Anatolia. This syncretistic style, incorporating iconographic elements from the Persian as well as the Greek and Anatolian traditions, somewhat resembles the others but stands apart as a new development in glyptic art, bearing new meaning to fit the circumstances of the time. The point is not merely to distinguish what is Greek from what is Persian, for this art represents something much more complex and interesting than a simple polarization of two distinct, ethnically determined styles. It reflects instead a stylistic choice and claim of adherence to an ascribed identity, a citation of power located in the western part of the empire.

APPENDIX

Lion-Griffins

The lion-griffin functions as an adversary in heroic encounters on excavated sealings and seals, particularly cylinders. In early instances, the lion-griffin shares its symbolic function with a similar animal: the winged lion. Winged lions are extremely common on Fortification seals representing heroic encounters, only occasionally replaced by lion-griffins or bird-headed griffins. In all, only four of the Fortification heroic encounter seals portray the hero grappling with the more exotic monsters, while more than thirty seals show the heroic encounter with winged lions.¹¹⁹ Lion-griffins do not appear on the Treasury tablets. Of those Murashu sealings published by Legrain with images of lion-griffins, four cylinder seals with lion-griffins are preserved. All of them are heroic-encounter seals.¹²⁰ The Ur sealings preserve no heroic encounters with lion-griffins, and the Wâdi ed-Dâliyah corpus preserves no lion-griffins at all, although a winged lion is found on WD4.¹²¹ An excavated Achaemenid lapis lazuli cylinder from Kish preserves a heroic combat with a lion-griffin, while a cornelian from a fifth-century context at Tell el-Heir in northwest Sinai shows a heroic control scene with the same creatures.¹²² In Anatolia, one published sealing from Daskyleion and a stamp seal from Sardis preserve the lion-griffin interacting with humans. The Daskyleion seal portrays the hero in combat with a lion-griffin; a palm tree and a Xerxes inscription act as terminal.¹²³ On the stone from Sardis, the hero stabs a lion-griffin.¹²⁴ Our cylinder seal from Sardis, of course, preserves the very rare hero scene with composite monsters rather than one of the more common animals.

Lion-griffins are more common as images in scenes that do not involve human action. Nineteen examples are tabulated on the Fortification tablets, all snarling and ferocious. Generally, lion-griffins appear singly or in heraldic pairs, sometimes with symbolic elements like incense burners.¹²⁵ All those seals showing single lion-griffins on the Persepolis Fortification tablets have inscriptions occupying about half the area of the seal and cut with particular care, precision, and elaboration.¹²⁶ The inscriptions have yet to be interpreted but are probably the names of the seals' owners. This is obviously an extraordinarily high percentage of inscriptions, perhaps suggesting the lion-griffin functioned as an exclusionary or

elite symbol in Mesopotamian Achaemenid glyptic. Most of the Murashu sealings showing lion-griffins are stamp seals with lion-griffins lying or walking to the right on a ground line, often with a crescent overhead.¹²⁷ This is also the image preserved on the single sealing from Ur with a lion-griffin.¹²⁸ A number of provenanced seals from the northwestern areas of the empire include lion-griffins in isolation: a blue chalcedony from tumulus IV at Nymphaeum shows a rampant lion-griffin on a ground line, while a lion-griffin walks toward a vegetal element on a stone from Tenos.¹²⁹ Three stones from Sardis show lion-griffins walking right with open snarling mouths, and one shows a lion-griffin seated opposite a sphinx in a heraldic composition.¹³⁰

Sphinxes

The Persepolis Fortification tablets preserve the impressions of nineteen seals that show the heroic figure controlling sphinxes or possible sphinxes.¹³¹ There are no secure sphinxes in the Persepolis Treasury tablet corpus, although PTS 1* and PTS 6* preserve pedestal animals that may be sphinxes.¹³² But a sealstone excavated from the Treasury shows a heroic encounter with sphinxes (PT5 413).¹³³ Neither the Murashu archive nor the Ur bullae show sphinxes in heroic encounters or even interacting with humans. The corpus of sealings from the Wâdi ed-Dâliyah includes the impressions of five distinct stamp seals or signet rings with sphinxes on them, one showing a central human figure flanked by two seated sphinxes; one of his arms reaches up in the direction of one sphinx and the other down toward the other animal.¹³⁴ This seems to be an adaptation of a standard heroic encounter scene.

The sphinx's most common role in glyptic as in sculptural art, however, seems to be a ritual one. Sphinxes may occur in conjunction with humans, alone, with other sphinxes, or occasionally with other animals. Those four seals preserved on the Persepolis Fortification tablets showing sphinxes with humans in nonheroic encounter scenes are all images of ritual.¹³⁵ Sphinxes appearing in scenes portraying only animals are almost always emblematic. Twelve seals from the Fortification tablets show sphinxes without humans, and seven more preserve possible sphinxes.¹³⁶ The sphinxes and possible sphinxes on these seals possess the connotations we have seen elsewhere, functioning within ritual settings.

Thirteen of these seals show sphinxes facing each other, usually rampant and with a vegetal or other element between them—once an inscription and once an elaborate circular device. One stamp seal preserves a couchant sphinx facing right. The seal impression excavated from the Treasury that includes a sphinx, PT7 67, is a stamp seal with a sphinx raising one paw to a floral emblem, a crescent overhead.¹³⁷

The sphinx retained its association with ritual throughout its history in Achaemenid glyptic. The Murashu archive preserves six seals showing sphinxes among the sealings available through Legrain's publication of 1925.¹³⁸ Three are cylinder seals showing heraldic sphinxes facing religious symbols: 891 includes an incense burner and a winged disk, 953 shows a floral motif and a winged disk with an Ahuramazda figure between the animals and a bow behind one of them, and 954 has only the winged disk with Ahuramazda hovering over the sphinxes' heads. Stamp seal 888 shows two facing sphinxes touching forepaws like those on the seal from Sardis; the top of the seal is not preserved in the published illustration, but two lines almost touching the sphinxes' heads may be the tailfeathers of a winged disk. On stamp seals 889 and 890, two heraldic sphinxes sit on a ground line, with a crescent overhead. All of these scenes echo the configurations charged with religious overtones familiar from the monumental art of Susa and Persepolis. The sealings from Ur preserving images of sphinxes also demonstrate this ritual connection. Only three seals depict sphinxes: two are rings, the third a large cone seal.¹³⁹ One ring seal shows a sphinx sitting before an incense burner, while the other depicts a sphinx lifting a paw before a small lion emblem on a low base, probably meant to represent a cult figure. The cone seal shows sphinxes rampant on either side of a date palm, to which they raise their front paws. Four of the five sphinx seals from the Wâdi ed-Dâliyah show heraldic sphinxes: three seals indicate them seated on a ground line, and the fourth shows them striding toward a central floral element.¹⁴⁰ The winged disk is no longer included on these sealings with sphinxes, but the continuity of pose suggests that the meaning of the sphinx as some kind of guardian remained the same into the mid-fourth century.

Provenanced seals and sealings from Anatolia show that the sphinx retained these characteristics in the northwestern portions of the empire. Two bullae from Daskyleion preserve the impression of a cylinder seal showing two composite

animals running toward each other with a winged disk overhead, a date palm at the left, and a partially preserved inscription probably bearing the name of Xerxes at the right.¹⁴¹ These may be man-bulls, as the excavators say, or sphinxes; their iconographic role would suit either animal. A seal from Kerch, inscribed in Lydian, depicts two winged, crowned sphinxes sitting on a ground line and touching paws over a symbol.¹⁴² Another seal from Sardis showing a sphinx substitutes a winged, horned lion for the customary second sphinx, the two creatures seated heraldically on a double ground line (fig. 10).¹⁴³ The meaning of this rare substitution is unclear, but the simple heraldic composition closely parallels the ubiquitous paired sphinxes from elsewhere in the Persian empire. Two sphinxes sit facing each other and raising forepaws to a vegetal element on another Sardian seal, just as do their sculpted counterparts at Persepolis.¹⁴⁴

Important additions to the sphinxes found on seals at Sardis are the six gold foil appliques that show winged, crowned sphinxes and a winged disk within a frame resembling a hollowed-out crenelated crown with rosettes around its edge.¹⁴⁵ The two sphinxes touch their raised forepaws at the center of the plaque. They bear a strong resemblance to the monumental sculpted sphinxes from Persepolis, including not only the hairstyle and the flat headdress but also the long horse ears and dangling earrings of the sculpted Persepolitan sphinxes. The role of the sphinx on these clothing appliques seems precisely to parallel its role in the arts of glyptic and sculptural relief.

Unprovenanced seals showing sphinxes also demonstrate that the sphinx was an image vested with strong religious connotations and with close connections to heartland heroic imagery.¹⁴⁶ They fall into two main groups: heraldic sphinxes with or without an explicit religious element between or above them and sphinxes in connection with the heroic figure.

Date

Twelve years ago, Edith Porada suggested a date late in the reign of Darius I for seal IAM 4581.¹⁴⁷ Porada's assessment was based on her interpretation of specific stylistic and iconographical elements: the triangular crenelations of the hero's crown ("later cylinders have smaller and more numerous crenelations on the crown of the

royal hero”), the flat tops of the sphinxes’ headgear, and the use of pedestal figures (“later impressions show a simpler composition with only one register of figures”). I am not convinced such stylistic criteria are a legitimate method of dating seals or other art in the western Achaemenid empire. Nonetheless, the expanded study presented here, with access to the material of the Persepolis Fortification tablets, corroborates Porada’s suggestion.¹⁴⁸ Use of pedestal animals seems to cease entirely after the fifth century. The presence of pedestal animals on the Sardis seal thus suggests a date in the fifth century, and its iconography and composition point to a date in the early part of the century.

Greek Literary Sources

The man buried in the sunken sarcophagus in Tomb 813 apparently died of a head wound caused by a sharp instrument that left a hole in the front of his skull. The location and nature of the wound suggest he was killed while fighting. There were surely many opportunities to die fighting at Sardis in the late sixth or early fifth centuries B.C.E.; the Persian elite at Sardis clearly fought vigorously to maintain their control over the area, and the owner of our seal may well have fallen victim to such an effort.

The historical circumstances of the period are known primarily through the Greek literary record. Herodotus and Thucydides make clear the role of Sardis as a Persian administrative headquarters as well as a center of political creativity and ambition. According to Herodotus, the first satrap of Sardis installed by the victorious Cyrus the Great was a Persian named Tabalus.¹⁴⁹ After the Lydian uprising led by Pactyes, Cyrus

appointed satrap another Persian named Oroetes.¹⁵⁰ This same man continued in his position through the reign of Cambyses and was responsible for killing and crucifying Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, as well as having Mitrobates, satrap of Daskyleion, and his son Cranaspes killed.¹⁵¹ When Darius came into power in 521, he had Oroetes removed from power. A Persian named Bagaeus was entrusted with this task; he had a number of orders to the Persian garrison stationed at Sardis drawn up on papyrus and sealed with the seal of Darius.¹⁵² At Sardis, he gave the documents one by one to the royal scribe to read aloud, thereby testing the loyalty of the soldiers to the new king.¹⁵³ As he saw the army responding to the wishes of Darius, Bagaeus had the order read, “King Darius commands the Persians in Sardis to kill Oroetes” (Herodotus 3.128.5). Oroetes’ bodyguards, on hearing this, immediately drew their acinaces and killed the satrap. Herodotus leaves the date of this incident unclear, but Darius presumably had Oroetes removed shortly after coming to power himself.

Not until his return from the failed invasion of Scythia, according to Herodotus (5.25), did Darius appoint his brother Artaphernes satrap at Sardis. It is not known who governed the district during the intervening few years. Once Artaphernes was settled at Sardis, however, the family sway over the province remained unbroken for decades.¹⁵⁴ His son, another Artaphernes, was general with Datis at Marathon, an honor that shows the esteem and trust of the king rather than any specific connection with Sardis, but the same man led the Lydian contingent in Xerxes’s invasion of Greece.¹⁵⁵ A close royal family connection between Sardis and the Achaemenid court is thus established for the beginning of the fifth century, a likely period for the carving of our seal.

Notes

1. This was clearly a matter of concern to the empire-builder Darius I: see Herodotus 3.38 for a story involving his awareness of and interest in the differing attitudes of disparate peoples in the empire, and in his own words, Darius's Behistun text 1.17–20, 4.70, 4.88–92; Darius at Naqsh-e Rostam text a (behind the figure of Darius), esp. 15–47; Darius at Naqsh-e Rostam text b (on the door). For examples of multilinguality practiced in official sendings, see J. Greenfield and B. Porten, *The Bisitun Inscription of Darius I: Aramaic Version* (London: Humphries, 1982); E. N. von Voigtlander, *The Bisitun Inscription of Darius I: Babylonian Version* (London: Humphries, 1978). See also C. Tuplin, "The Administration of the Achaemenid Empire," in *Coinage and Administration in the Athenian and Persian Empires*, ed. I. Carradice, British Archaeological Reports 343 (1987): 109–66. M. C. Root lays out imperial texts that characterize the diversity of the empire in "Circles of Artistic Programming: Strategies for Studying Creative Process at Persepolis," in *Investigating Artistic Environments in the Ancient Near East*, ed. A. C. Gunter (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1990), 115–42. Throughout this essay, an asterisk (*) will be used to indicate an inscribed seal.
2. The stone is agate, not onyx as suggested in the original publication. See C. D. Curtis, *Sardis XIII: Jewelry and Gold Work* (Rome: Sindacato Italiano Arti Grafiche, 1925), 39.
3. See also Curtis, *Sardis XIII*, 39–40. Another cylinder seal excavated from a tomb at Sardis (Tomb 25) is fastened in a similar manner and illustrated in Curtis, *Sardis XIII*, pl. III, fig. 8, no. 34. The cylinder of the latter seal, however, was made of a material that has disintegrated since its deposition; the popularity of blue glass beads in similar burials at Sardis suggests this material as a likely candidate.
4. Curtis, *Sardis XIII*, 39–40 and C. H. Greenewalt, Jr., "Tomb 813," forthcoming. The height of this seal is average for Achaemenid cylinder seals; its diameter is slightly slenderer than most. See M. B. Garrison and M. C. Root, *Seal Impressions on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets, Fasc. I: Images of Heroic Encounter* (Chicago: Oriental Institute Press, forthcoming).
5. All directions will be described from the viewer's point of view, looking at the impression left by the seal.
6. H. C. Butler, *Sardis I: The Excavations* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1922), 116–17, 159–61.
7. The information in this paragraph is from C. H. Greenewalt, Jr., N. D. Cahill, and M. L. Rautman, "The Sardis Campaign of 1984," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 25 (1987): 38–44; and Greenewalt, "Tomb 813."
8. For the Pyramid Tomb, see most recently C. J. Ratté, "The 'Pyramid Tomb' at Sardis," *Istanbul Mitteilungen* 42 (1992): 135–61.
9. Butler, *Sardis I*, 116, claims the stelae "retained traces of painted ornamental borders."
10. The anthemion resemble others found at Sardis, all marble (Greenewalt, "Tomb 813," 3); cf. also C. Nylander, *Ionians in Pasargadae: Studies in Old Persian Architecture* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri Aktiebolag, 1970). For an excellent recent discussion of marble anthemion from Sardis, see C. J. Ratté, "Anthemion Stelae from Sardis," *American Journal of Archaeology* 98, no. 4 (1994): 593–608.
11. Butler, *Sardis I*, 116–17, 159–61.
12. Greenewalt et al., "The Sardis Campaign of 1984"; Greenewalt, "Tomb 813."
13. Greenewalt, "Tomb 813."
14. See C. H. Greenewalt, Jr., "Two Lydian Graves at Sardis," *California Studies in Classical Antiquity* 5 (1972): 115 n. 5; also B. McLauchlin, "Lydian Graves and Burial Customs" (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Berkeley, 1985).
15. Butler, *Sardis I*, 55–56.
16. For information on the tombs at Naqsh-e Rostam, see E. Schmidt, *Persepolis III: The Royal Tombs and Other Monuments* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), with plans, figs. 31 and 33; P. Calmeyer, "The Subject of the Achaemenid Tomb Reliefs," *Proceedings of the IIIrd Annual Symposium on Archaeological Research in Iran* (Tehran: Iran Center for Archaeological Research, 1975), 233–42; P. Calmeyer, "Zur Genese altiranischer Motive III. Felsgräber," *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, n.F. 8 (1975): 99–113; W. Kleiss and P. Calmeyer, "Das unvollendete achaemenidische Felsgrab bei Persepolis," *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, n.F. 8 (1975): 81–98; L. Vanden Berghe, "Les reliefs élamites de Malamir," *Iranica Antiqua* 3 (1963): 22–39. For a discussion of other, similar Achaemenid tombs, see E. Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East: Archaeological Studies Presented in the Lowell Lectures at Boston* (London: Oxford University Press, 1941), 205–6. For an excellent discussion of an anomalous example in western Anatolia, see N. Cahill,

- "Taş Kule: A Persian-period Tomb near Phokaia," *American Journal of Archaeology* 92 (1988): 481–501. U. Seidl has drawn convincing parallels between Achaemenid-period tombs in Urartia and the royal tombs at Naqsh-e Rostam, demonstrating a cultural connection similar to that I am positing at Sardis. See her article, "Achaemenidische Entlehnungen aus der urartäischen Kultur," in *Achaemenid History VIII: Continuity and Change*, ed. H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, A. Kuhrt, and M. C. Root (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1994), 107–29.
17. Butler, *Sardis I*, 116–17. The finds from within the sarcophagus, with the exception of our seal and three gold foil appliques, were apparently lost when the Sardis excavation house was burned down in the tumult of World War I and the War of Independence following it.
 18. Greenewalt, "Tomb 813," describing jug 813.10, jug 813.11, jug 813.12, and alabastron 813.13, from Chase's pottery cards. For a parallel from Mesopotamia with a skeleton (male or female) buried in a bathtub sarcophagus with personal adornments and alabastra, see F. Tallon, "Susa in the Achaemenid Period: The Achaemenid Tomb on the Acropole," in *The Royal City of Susa: Ancient Near Eastern Treasures in the Louvre*, ed. P. O. Harper, J. Aruz, and F. Tallon (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992), 242–52.
 19. C. H. Greenewalt, Jr., unpublished manuscript. Alabastra were found in Achaemenid-period Tombs 348, 381, 722, 813 (ours), 836, and 901. In addition, one alabastron was found in Tomb 23a, of which the latest find otherwise may be a Little Master cup (New York 14.30.7).
 20. For the burial at Susa, see Tallon, "The Achaemenid Tomb on the Acropole." A silver alabastron from the "Lydian treasure" is discussed in D. von Bothmer's "Echoes from Egypt," in *Artibus Aegypti: Studia in Honorem Bernardi v. Bothmer*, ed. H. de Meulenaere and L. Limme (Brussels: Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire, 1983), 15–23. The full assemblages are beautifully illustrated and discussed in I. Özgen, J. Öztürk, et al., *Heritage Recovered: The Lydian Treasure* (Ankara: Turkish Ministry of Culture, 1996).
 21. E. Schmidt, *Persepolis I: Structures, Reliefs, Inscriptions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953).
 22. Curtis, *Sardis XIII*, 14, pl. II, fig. 3, no. 12.
 23. Schmidt, *Persepolis I*, passim.
 24. Schmidt, *Persepolis I*, pls. 22, 50, 59, 63, 66, 120, 127, 132, 133, 143, 155, 160, 169, 173, 204, 205. See also Schmidt, *Persepolis III*; M. C. Root, *The King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art: Essays on the Creation of an Iconography of Empire* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1979); Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East*, for illustrations of the sculptural motifs at Persepolis.
 25. Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East*, pls. 143 (Darius), 198 (Xerxes). Pl. 143, in particular, shows an elaborate encircled device just like our appliques on the gown of the king.
 26. A. B. Tilia, *Studies and Restorations at Persepolis and Other Sites of Fars* (Rome: Istituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1978), 29–71.
 27. See O. W. Muscarella, "Achaemenid Brick Decoration," in *The Royal City of Susa*, 223–41.
 28. See, e.g., O. W. Muscarella, "Unexcavated Objects," in *Mountains and Lowlands: Essays in the Archaeology of Greater Mesopotamia*, ed. L. D. Levine and T. C. Young, Jr., vol. 7 of *Bibliotheca Mesopotamica* (Malibu: Undena Publications, 1977), 153–208; Tilia, *Studies and Restorations*, 29–71; Curtis, *Sardis XIII*, pls. I, II; Butler, *Sardis I*, 143, fig. 158; D. Stronach, *Pasargadae: A Report on the Excavations Conducted by the British Institute of Persian Studies from 1961 to 1963* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 168–77; Tallon, "The Achaemenid Tomb on the Acropole."
- Garments decorated with metal bracteates are well attested in ancient Near Eastern literature and in both Assyrian and Achaemenid wall reliefs. Other examples of gold foil clothing appliques have been found at the tombs of Scythian Pazyryk and elsewhere, where their orientation in lines running the length of the garments suggests they were perhaps attached along seams. Gold ornaments from another tomb at Sardis (Tomb 381), found at the ankles of the skeleton, may also have been attached to clothing. The perforations around the edge of the appliques from Tomb 813 suggest they too were intended for attachment to clothing.
- Only a few of the tombs excavated at Sardis at the beginning of this century included evidence of gold clothing ornaments. This no doubt partly reflects not only robbing in antiquity but probably also the percentage of burials including such goods. Significantly, all of the appliques found reflect the iconographic traditions of central Persia. Most striking, perhaps, are the appliques from Tomb 836, a carved chamber tomb with a dromos. Although the tomb had been previously robbed, the Butler expedition found scattered along the floor of its dromos six gold foil appliques 3 cm tall representing sphinxes seated within a frame, forty-three small gold rosettes of eight petals each, seven

smaller rosettes, two small gold buttons, and nine gold plaques 1.7 cm tall that represent beardless winged sphinxes, five of which walk to the right and four to the left. This example, like the appliques of Tomb 813, demonstrates clothing ornaments that preserved images directly reflecting those of the central Achaemenid imperial reliefs.

See, e.g., A. L. Oppenheim, "The Golden Garments of the Gods," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 8 (1949): 172–93, for Babylonian references and Assyrian wall reliefs, and Stronach, *Pasargadae*, esp. 93, 97, for Achaemenid reliefs showing evidence of gold attachments to the pleats of garments. Cf. also P. Roos, "An Achaemenian Sketch Slab and the Ornaments of the Royal Dress at Persepolis," *East and West* 20 (1970): 51–59. For Pazyryk, see S. I. Rudenko, *Frozen Tombs of Siberia; The Pazyryk Burials of Iron-Age Horsemen* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970). See also *From the Lands of the Scythians: Ancient Treasures from the Museums of the U.S.S.R. 3000 B.C. to 100 B.C.* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1975), 110, 157–60, et passim. For examples from Lydia, see Özgen et al., *The Lydian Treasure*. The appliques from Sardis are published in Curtis, *Sardis XIII*, nos. 1–16, pp. 11–14, pls. I, II. They come from Tomb 836 (nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6), Tomb 24 (no. 5), Tomb 805 (no. 7), Tomb 27 (nos. 8, 9), Tomb S. 4 (no. 10), Tomb 368 (no. 11), Tomb 813 (no. 12), Tomb 18 (no. 13), Tomb 311 (no. 14), Tomb 343 (no. 15), and Tomb 354 (no. 16). For the Persepolitan sculptures, see Schmidt, *Persepolis I*, pls. 143, 198, and for the positioning of the lions pls. 79, 99, 105, 107, 142; Tilia, *Studies and Restorations*, 29–71. For evidence of the importance of cloth in late Lydian burials at Sardis, see C. H. Greenewalt, Jr., and L. J. Majewski, "Lydian Textiles," *University Museum Papers I: From Athens to Gordion. The Papers of a Memorial Symposium for Rodney S. Young* (Philadelphia: The University Museum, 1980). See also the frequent mention of Lydian cloth in the literary record, compiled in J. G. Pedley, *Ancient Literary Sources on Sardis* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972).

29. The profile eye seems not necessarily to be indicative of date in Achaemenid art. The sculptors of the Apadana relief at Persepolis sculpted humans with frontal eyes but lions with profile eyes and camels with frontal eyes, as illustrated in Schmidt, *Persepolis I*. See also Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East*. Seal impressions displaying scenes of heroic encounter from Persepolis show at least nine clear examples of profile eyes on seals carved before 494 B.C.E.

30. This same feature may be seen on the relief at Behistun and on the hero reliefs at Persepolis.

31. See M. B. Garrison, "Seal Workshops and Artists

in Persepolis: A Study of Seal Impressions Preserving the Theme of Heroic Encounter on the Persepolis Fortification and Treasury Tablets," 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1988), esp. 24–30.

32. See especially Root, *King and Kingship*, passim; and C. Nylander, "Achaemenid Imperial Art," in *Power and Propaganda: A Symposium on Ancient Empires*, ed. M. T. Larsen, Mesopotamia: Copenhagen Studies in Assyriology 7 (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1979), 345–59.

33. See Garrison and Root, *Seal Impressions on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets, Fasc. I*.

34. See Root, *King and Kingship*.

35. E. Schmidt, *Persepolis II: Contents of the Treasury and Other Discoveries* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957).

36. See Schmidt, *Persepolis II*, 4–49.

37. The texts of 2,087 of these tablets were published in R. T. Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969). He published another thirty-three tablets in R. T. Hallock, "Selected Fortification Texts," in *Cahiers de la délégation archéologique française en Iran* 8 (1978): 109–36. Hallock had read and transliterated another 2,586 texts before his death, which tablets will be published by M. W. Stolper and C. Jones of the Oriental Institute. Initial studies of the texts and the information they provide about socio-economic features of the Achaemenid empire may be found in D. M. Lewis, "The Fortification Texts," in *Achaemenid History IV: Centre and Periphery*, ed. H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg and A. Kuhrt (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1990), 1–6; M. B. Garrison, "Seal Workshops," 161–72. For a detailed study of the Achaemenid administrative system as evidenced in the Persepolis Fortification tablet texts, see H. Koch, *Verwaltung und Wirtschaft im persischen Kernland zur Zeit der Achämeniden*, Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients 19 (Wiesbaden: L. Reichert, 1990).

38. These seal impressions are encompassed in the cataloguing project in progress under the direction of M. C. Root and M. B. Garrison with the permission of the Oriental Institute. The first fascicule of the full publication of those seals occurring on the tablets published by Hallock in 1969 is forthcoming: Root and Garrison, *Seal Impressions on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets, Fasc. I*. See also M. C. Root, "The Persepolis Fortification Tablets: Archival Issues and the Problem of Stamps versus Cylinder Seals," in *Proceedings of the Congress Archives*,

- Sealings and Seals in the Hellenistic World*, ed. M.-F. Boussac and A. Invernezzi, *BCH Suppl.* 29 (in press): 3–29.
39. Hallock's work on the sealings focused primarily on the question of seal use; see R. T. Hallock, "The Use of Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets," in *Seals and Sealing in the Ancient Near East*, ed. M. Gibson and R. D. Biggs (Malibu: Undena Publications, 1977), 127–35; R. T. Hallock, "The Evidence of the Persepolis Tablets," in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 2, *The Median and Achaemenid Periods*, ed. I. Gerschevitch (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 588–609. Garrison's "Seal Workshops" addresses questions of seal artists and workshops at Persepolis. Root examines some of the art historical issues raised by the sealings in "Circles of Artistic Programming." See also M. C. Root, "From the Heart: Powerful Persianisms in the Art of the Western Empire," in *Achaemenid History VI. Asia Minor and Egypt: Old Cultures in a New Empire*, ed. H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg and A. Kuhrt (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1991).
 40. For the Murashu archive texts, see M. W. Stolper, *Entrepreneurs and Empire: The Murasu Archive, the Murasu Firm, and Persian Rule in Babylonia* (Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 1985). For the sealings, see L. Legrain, *The Culture of the Babylonians from their Seals in the Collections of the Museum*, University of Pennsylvania, University Museums, Babylonian Section, vol. 14 (Philadelphia: University Museum, 1925); and especially L. Bregstein, "Seal Selection and Seal Usage in Fifth Century B.C. Nippur, Iraq: A Study of the Murashu Archive" (Ph. D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1993).
 41. For the Ur bullae, see L. Legrain, *Ur Excavations X: Seal Cylinders* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1951) and E. Porada, "Greek Coin Impressions from Ur," in *Ur in Retrospect*, ed. M. E. L. Mallowan and D. J. Wiseman, *Iraq* 22 (1960): 228–34. For the Wâdi ed-Dâliyah bullae, see M. J. W. Leith, "Greek and Persian Images in Pre-Alexandrine Samaria: The Wâdi ed-Dâliyah Seal Impressions" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1990).
 42. D. Kaptan-Bayburtluoğlu, "A Group of Seal Impressions on the Bullae from Ergili/Daskyleion," *Epigraphica Anatolica* 16 (1990): 15–27; and W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Meydum and Memphis III* (London: School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1910), 41 and pls. xxxv and xxxvi. Of course, there are many unexcavated and unprovenanced seals in addition to the corpora mentioned above, but I do not discuss them here. Provenance and context are critical for the purposes of this study.
 43. See Boardman, "Pyramidal Stamp Seals in the Persian Empire," *Iran* 8 (1970): 19–46.
 44. Controlled Anatolian sealstones and signet rings of the Achaemenid period include a stamp seal from Kaman-Kalehöyük; from Gordion: Ankara 18361; and from Sardis: IAM 4521, IAM 4522, IAM 4523, IAM 4524, IAM 4527, IAM 4528, IAM 4578, IAM 4579, IAM 4580, IAM 4581, IAM 4585, IAM 4589, IAM 4590, IAM 4591, IAM 4592, IAM 4632, IAM 4634, IAM 4635, IAM 4636, IAM 4637, IAM 4639, IAM 4640, IAM 4641, IAM 4642, IAM 4643, IAM 5133, IAM 5134, Louvre A 1226.
 45. See E. R. M. Dusinberre, "King or God? Imperial Iconography and the 'Tiarate Head' Coins of Achmaenid Anatolia," *Biblical Archaeologist*, forthcoming.
 46. E. Porada, "Why Cylinder Seals?" *Art Bulletin* 75, no. 4 (December 1993): 13–29, esp. 20–21; J. Black and A. Green, *Gods, Demons and Symbols of Ancient Mesopotamia: An Illustrated Dictionary* (London: The British Museum Press, 1992), esp. 107–8.
 47. The hero at Persepolis stabs lion-griffins on doorways into the Palace of Darius, the "Harem" of Xerxes, and the Throne Hall, in a configuration significant for the apotropaic potency of the hero (fig. 5). Lion-griffins also adorn the walls at Susa, where friezes of molded glazed and unglazed brick portray them striding forward with snarling mouths open and where a fragmentary glazed brick preserves part of a frieze composed of isolated snarling lion-griffin heads. Some of the most dramatic lion-griffins are the addorsed monsters serving as column capitals at Persepolis; in these instances, they serve a symbolic role as static and benevolent support, probably with protective or apotropaic resonances (see A. Godard, *The Art of Iran*, trans. M. Heron [New York: Praeger, 1965]; also Root, *King and Kingship*, 308). For images of lion-griffins at Persepolis, see Schmidt, *Persepolis I*, pls. 116, 145, and see pl. 120 for an association of lion-griffins with lotuses like the gold ones found in Tomb 813; Root, *King and Kingship*, 78, 102, 106; Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East*, pl. LXV. The lion-griffin may be the heroic adversary, either combated or controlled; in these instances, it echoes the role of the lion-griffin on Assyrian reliefs. See Black and Green, *Gods, Demons and Symbols*, who identify this monster with the Anzu-demon: figs. 86, 99, 100, 117, and entry under "Imdugud." For the New Year, see Root, *King and Kingship*, 307–8. The hero at Persepolis is bare-headed, whereas images on seals often show him with a crown. This distinction suggests to Root that the crownless hero of the sculpted reliefs, perhaps representing the king in his aspect as "a Persian Man," was identified with

and understood as the Persian king; the figure was therefore displayed wearing a crown on individually commissioned works such as seals (see Root, *King and Kingship*, 309–11). For Susa, see O. W. Muscarella, "Achaemenid Brick Decoration," in *The Royal City of Susa*, 223, 230–31; H. Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (London: Penguin Books, 1970), pl. 438.

48. Examples of such heraldic sphinxes may be found in not only glyptic but also monumental art; see Muscarella, "Achaemenid Brick Decoration."
49. Achaemenid sphinxes echo Assyrian iconography and religious imagery. The headgear worn by Persian sphinxes at Persepolis and Susa incorporates the horns worn by Assyrian deities. Sphinxes seem to bear religious connotations in monumental Persian art, including both sculpted and glazed-brick representations. The sphinxes on the stair façade reliefs from the palace of Darius at Persepolis, from that of Xerxes, from the Council Hall and the Apadana all confront each other: they flank winged disks, Ahuramazda figures, or blank spaces perhaps meant originally to bear an inscription. Frequently they face a lotus blossom like those represented on the gold foil clothing appliques found with the Sardis seal. The sphinxes' gesture, raising a forepaw to the emblems before them, was vested with overtones of respect and worship in Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, and Achaemenid Mesopotamia. Sphinxes formed of colorful glazed bricks have been excavated from Susa, where they comprise panels that probably decorated pilasters, window recesses, or lunettes above windows or doors. These sphinxes confront each other but turn their heads backwards; they have been reconstructed with a winged sun disk overhead. The marble sphinx from the sanctuary at Labraunda in Caria, one of a pair that were probably associated with the so-called Andron of Maussollos as corner acroteria, shows that sculptures of sphinxes in religious sanctuaries or ritual had gained currency in Anatolia too by the fourth century at the latest. It is probably significant that sphinxes do not, like lion-griffins or man-bulls, appear as column capitals at Persepolis, although we do not fully understand the implications of their absence.

For the significance of the heroic control motif, see M. C. Root, "Persian Art," in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* (New York: Doubleday 1992), 1:445–46. For monumental examples of sphinxes, see Frankfort, *Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*, pls. 149, 150, 168, 178, 179, 180, 186, 187, 188, 195, 196, 198, 199, 200, 224, 226, 228, 229, 428, 433; pl. 168. See Schmidt, *Persepolis I*, pls. 22, 63, 127, 160; R. de Mecquenem, "Contribution à l'étude du palais achéménide de Suse," *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique en Iran* 30 (Paris: Presses

Universitaires de France, 1947): 1–119, fig. 52; Muscarella, "Achaemenid Brick Decoration," 224, 230; Curtis, *Sardis XIII*. For an example in Anatolia, see A. C. Gunter, "Sculptural Dedications at Labraunda," *Boreas 17: Architecture and Society in Hecatomnid Caria* (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1989), 92–93. I am grateful to Dr. Gunter for sending me literature on the sphinx. It is unfortunate that the statue is "so weathered that no toolmarks are clearly visible" (personal communication, 24 April 1992), as this might help clarify the various stylistic influences at play in its configuration. The uncertain use of the structures at Labraunda means the symbolic significance of these sphinxes may only be surmised. See, e.g., G. E. Bean, *Turkey beyond the Maeander* (London: John Murray, 1971), 41.

50. For glyptic examples, see, e.g., D. Collon, *First Impressions: Cylinder Seals in the Ancient Near East* (London: British Museum Publications, 1987), 75–89; S. Herbordt, *Neuassyrische Glyptik des 8.-7. Jh. v. Chr.*, State Archives of Assyria Studies 1 (University of Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 1992), 71–78. Porada discusses parallels in rock-cut reliefs in "Why Cylinder Seals?" A comprehensive discussion of rock-cut reliefs may be found in J. Börker-Klähn, *Alt Vorderasiatische Bildstelen und Vergleichbare Felsreliefs* (Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1982). See, e.g., Black and Green, *Gods, Demons and Symbols*, figs. 6, 31, 45, 89, 110, 132.
51. See, e.g., London WA 124938, illustrated in J. Reade, *Assyrian Sculpture* (London: British Museum Press, 1983), fig. 56.
52. See B. Parker, "Excavations at Nimrud, 1949–53: Seals and Seal Impressions," part 2, *Iraq* 17 (Autumn 1955): 93–125; B. Parker, "Seals and Seal Impressions from the Nimrud Excavations," part 1, *Iraq* 24 (Spring 1962): 26–40.
53. J. Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings: Early Bronze Age to Late Classical* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1970), pl. 878; A. Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen: Geschichte der Steinschneidekunst im klassischen Altertum*. (Berlin and Leipzig: Giesecke & Devient, 1903), fig. 81.
54. See Dusinberre, "King or God?"
55. Dusinberre, "King or God?"; Root, *King and Kingship*.
56. See M. B. Garrison and M. C. Root, "Royal Name Seals," forthcoming.
57. Seals 31 (impressed on tablets 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 65, 66, 68, 69, 70, 71), 36* (tablets 397, 398,

- 399, 821, 849, 1028, 1076, 1223, 1612, 1613), 164* (tablets 969, 970), 396 (tablets 93, 94), 523* (tablet 256), 524 (tablet 256), 1466 (?); M. B. Garrison and M. C. Root, *Persepolis Seal Studies: A Provisional Concordance of Seals and Tablets on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets* (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1996). This work lists the seals impressed on each tablet and the tablets on which each seal occurs, thereby making it possible to trace the transactions ratified by a particular seal and/or individual.
58. See Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*; Koch, *Verwaltung und Wirtschaft*. Koch tentatively connects 36* with Rašda, an official at Tirazziš (Shiraz). A certain amount of controversy surrounds the etymology and appearance of the name Ushtana (D. M. Lewis, personal communication, 30 April 1992). For Ushtana and the complications surrounding the satrapy of Babylonia, see A. Kuhrt, "Babylonia from Cyrus to Xerxes," in *Cambridge Ancient History IV: Persia, Greece and the Western Mediterranean c. 525–479 B.C.*, ed. J. Boardman, N. G. L. Hammond, D. M. Lewis, M. Ostwald (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), esp. 130–31.
 59. This apparently uninscribed seal (PFS 524) is used only once—in 495 B.C.E.—on the 2,087 tablets available for study. Ushtana sealed this tablet twice, once with this seal and once with an inscribed pedestal-animal seal (PFS 523*). This dual sealing, using two pedestal-animal seals of which one bears a clear inscription, suggests it may have been important to Ushtana to preserve a legible inscription in the ratification of his transactions. The next year, Ushtana begins to use instead of the uninscribed one a seal that is similar in composition to the uninscribed one but that includes a clear Aramaic inscription (PFS 164*). It is possible it replaced the earlier, uninscribed seal—the crisp outlines preserved in the sealings suggest it had been recently carved, while those of the earlier seal are rather flat and blurry. Of Ushtana's pedestal-animal seals, PFS 36* was used from 504 to 499 B.C.E., and the other three in 495 and 494. PFS 164* was also used once in 493. This gap need not mean a break in his active duty, as but few of the studied Fortification tablets document the intervening years. Ushtana seems to have used PFS 36*, the seal used earlier, on documents recording the supply of wine and grain to midwives and pregnant women associated with the vast estates of the woman Irdabama, while ten years later he uses three other pedestal-animal seals (PFS 164*, PFS 523*, PFS 524) to seal tablets recording the supply of wine and beer to several groups of workers.
 60. Of the Persepolis Fortification seals, ca. 630 show images of human activity. Of these, 67, or 10.6 percent, bear inscriptions.
 61. PFS 82*, 211, 931*, 1567*.
 62. The only example in the Fortification corpus that may show a pedestal animal supporting a divinity is PFS 165*.
 63. PFS 261*, 390*, 458*, 1569.
 64. See Dusinberre, "King or God?"; Root, *King and Kingship*.
 65. C. E. Jones of the Oriental Institute first located and identified this seal. I am grateful to the Oriental Institute for permission to discuss and illustrate this seal here and to M. W. Stolper for his help.
 66. These three seals are unusually large, ranging from ca. 2.5 cm in height (PTS 1* and 3*) to ca. 2.7 cm (PTS 6*).
 67. Schmidt, *Persepolis II*, 24–25; G. G. Cameron, *Persepolis Treasury Tablets* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948), 102, 104, 198. PTS 14* is preserved also on the Persepolis Fortification tablets as PFS 1567*. PTS 14* is ca. 2.0 cm, PTS 15* ca. 1.8 cm, and PTS 17* 2.3 cm in height.
 68. Pl. 189, no. 2203 in P. Amiet, *Glyptique susienne*, 2 vols. (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1972).
 69. Schmidt, *Persepolis II*, 8.
 70. Processes of emulation may create dynamic change in the material record, while the social hierarchy remains constant. See, e.g., R. Bradley, *The Social Foundations of Prehistoric Britain: Themes and Variations in the Archaeology of Power* (London: Longmans, 1984); D. Miller, *Artefacts as Categories: A Study of Ceramic Variability in Central India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); A. Appadurai, *The Social Life of Things* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); I. Morris, *Burial and Ancient Society: The Rise of the Greek City-State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).
 71. I am grateful to Linda Bregstein for her help and the information she has shared with me concerning the sealings of this archive. The seals are numbers 16, 17, and 18. For a discussion of the Murashu sealings, the seal users, and the implications of their use patterns, see her "Seal Selection and Seal Usage."
 72. See Legrain, *Ur X*.

73. Porada, "Greek Coin Impressions from Ur," 228–34.
74. See Leith, "Greek and Persian Images"; for the associated texts, see F. M. Cross, Jr., "Papyri of the Fourth Century B.C. from Dāliyah," in *New Directions in Biblical Archaeology*, ed. D. N. Freedman and J. C. Greenfield (Garden City: Doubleday, 1969), 41–62.
75. See Root, "The Persepolis Fortification Tablets." See also E. Stern, "Assyrian and Babylonian Elements in the Material Culture of Palestine in the Persian Period," in *Transeuphratène* 7 (1994): 51–62.
76. See *The Anatolian Civilisations* (Istanbul: Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 1983), 69. For the date and an excellent discussion of a number of the bullae, see D. Kaptan-Bayburtluoğlu, "A Group of Seal Impressions on the Bullae from Ergili/Daskyleion," *Epigraphica Anatolica* 15 (1990): 15–27. I am indebted to Deniz Kaptan-Bayburtluoğlu for sharing with me the information about unpublished bullae in this paragraph, in personal communications of 23 February 1994 and 5 April 1994.
77. The bullae preserving impressions of the seal are published as XXXIV b in K. Balkan, "Inscribed Bullae from Daskyleion-Ergili," *Anatolia* 4 (1960): 123–29. For a complete analysis of these sealings, see the dissertation of Deniz Kaptan-Bayburtluoğlu, forthcoming.
78. Compared to the 75 percent of hero pedestal seals showing images of control on the Persepolis Fortification and Treasury seals, and 100 percent on the Murashu seals.
79. Schmidt, *Persepolis II*, 42–47, pls. 15–19.
80. For the Gordion seal, see R. S. Young, "Progress at Gordion, 1951–1952," *University of Pennsylvania Museum Bulletin* 17, no. 4 (1953): fig. 10; Collon, *First Impressions*, fig. 424. A photo of the stamp seal was kindly shown me by the director of excavations at Kamankale-Höyük, Dr. Sachihiro Omura, and is being published by Mrs. Sachihiro Omura.
81. The irregularity in the top border above the inscription, with two floral motifs next to each other instead of separated by a dart as elsewhere, suggests both that the engraver began carving the border at this point on the cylinder's surface and that he did not measure the surface first to plan the spacing of the images. This may indicate that the artist was unfamiliar with the logistics of carving cylinder seals. M. Mellink suggests the seal may date to the first half of the fifth century, in "The Persian Empire: Anatolia," *Cambridge Ancient History IV*, 228.
82. Dr. Matthew Glendinning, personal communication, 18 March 1996.
83. A small number of extant unprovenanced Achaemenid seals also show pedestal animals; I shall not deal with these seals in any detail, except to remark that all of them fall into the three categories delineated above: heroic encounter, heroic combat, and the occasional religious scene. The seals are all carved in a deeply engraved style, with variations in the amount of modeling given the surfaces of the hero and the animals. Although none is inscribed, most include palm trees and/or Ahuramazda/winged disk symbols. The seals include: V.A. 3336, XXXVII b in H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals: A Documentary Essay on the Art and Religion of the Ancient Near East* (London: The Gregg Press, Ltd., 1939); eyestone, cylinder, damaged, 32 × 15 cm, no. 824E in E. Porada, *The Collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library* (Washington: Pantheon Books, 1986); London 89352, chalcedony, no. 106 in D. J. Wiseman, *Cylinder Seals of Western Asia* (London: Batchworth Press, 1959); basalt, cylinder, 24 × 12 cm, no. 825 in Porada, *The Collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library*; Boston MFA 66.1047, agate.
84. G. M. A. Richter, "The Late 'Achaemenian' or 'Graeco-Persian' Gems," *Hesperia* suppl. 8 (1949): 296. See also G. M. Young, "A New Hoard from Taxila (Bhir Mound)," *Ancient India* 1 (1946): 33.
85. See especially Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings*, 303–58, and "Pyramidal Stamp Seals."
86. Boardman, "Pyramidal Stamp Seals."
87. Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings*.
88. One of the few examples known to me is BM 89781, said to be from Marathon.
89. See, e.g., Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen*; A. Moortgat, "Hellas und die Kunst der Achaemeniden," *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin* 2 (1926): 3–39; M. Maximova, "Griechisch-persische Kleinkunst in Kleinasien nach den Perserkriegen," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1928), 648–77; G. M. A. Richter, "Greeks in Persia," *American Journal of Archaeology* 50, no. 1 (1946): 14–30; G. M. A. Richter, "Greek Subjects on 'Graeco-Persian' Seal

- Stones," in *Archaeologica Orientalia in Memoriam Ernst Herzfeld*, ed. G. C. Miles (Locust Valley: J. J. Augustin, 1952), 189–94; N. M. Nikoulina, "La glyptique 'grecque-orientale' et 'gréco-perse,'" *Antike Kunst* 14 (1971): 2:90–106; A. Farkas, *Achaemenid Sculpture* (Leiden: Nederlands historisch-archaeologisch Instituut, 1974). Some scholars have considered this issue essentially less interesting than other approaches to the material. See, e.g., H. Seyrig, "Cachets Achéménides," in *Archaeologica Orientalia in Memoriam Ernst Herzfeld*, 195–202; Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings*; idem, "Pyramidal Stamp Seals in the Persian Empire"; idem, "Greek and Persian Glyptic in Anatolia and Beyond," *Revue archéologique*, ser. 6, 1976, no. 1:45–54. Cf. Root, "From the Heart."
90. In part, discussion has generally been limited by the assumptions underlying ethnically determined attributes. Cf. Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen*, 12: "Trotz aller Wandlungen im einzelnen geht aber ein gemeinsamer Geist durch diese orientalische Kunst. Es ist der Geist der Despotie und Unterwürfigkeit. Wenn wir nun zu den Griechen übergehen, atmen wir auf in der Freiheit, der Freiheit mannigfaltigsten Lebens und freudiger Schönheit."
 91. See Garrison "Seal Workshops" and "Seals and the Elite at Persepolis: Some Observations on Early Achaemenid Persian Art," *Ars Orientalis* 21 (1991): 1–29.
 92. Garrison, "Seal Workshops." More recently, see Garrison and Root, *Seal Impressions on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, Fasc. I.
 93. See Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings*, who did not analyze the style in detail but used the term to describe a class of Achaemenid seals that he thought showed iconographic connections to architectural relief sculpture at Persepolis. See also Schmidt, *Persepolis I*. For a more detailed articulation of the style, see Garrison, "Seals and the Elite." In "A Persepolis Fortification Seal on the Tablet MDP 11 308 (Louvre Sb 13078)," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 55 (1996): 15–35, Garrison points out that the Court Style seems in its early phases to be closely connected to the royal Persian court but that, by the mid-fifth century B.C.E., Court Style seals had a very wide distribution (28 n. 41).
 94. On which see Garrison, "Seals and the Elite," esp. 3–7; see also P. Amiet, "La glyptique de la fin de l'Elam," *Arts Asiatiques* 28 (1973): 3–32..
 95. See Root, *King and Kingship*; eadem, "The Parthenon Frieze and the Apadana Reliefs at Persepolis," *American Journal of Archaeology* 89 (1985): 103–20; eadem, "From the Heart"; Garrison, "Seals and the Elite," esp. 17.
 96. Again, this discussion draws upon Garrison, "Seals and the Elite," esp. 10–12; and Garrison and Root, *Seal Impressions on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, Fasc. I.
 97. See Dusinberre, "King or God?"
 98. Garrison, "Seals and the Elite," esp. 8–10.
 99. See Root, "From the Heart," 12–13. The "Neo-Babylonian" style is very problematic and should be a focus of future research.
 100. Seals 31, 36*, 396, and 1466 are carved in the Fortification Style, Seals 164*, 523*, and 524 in Mixed Styles II. See Garrison and Root, *Seal Impressions on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, Fasc. I.
 101. Cf. also Garrison, "Seal Workshops," 377–78.
 102. See esp. Garrison, "Seal Workshops," 378.
 103. But cf. the bulla from Daskyleion, XXXIV b in Balkan, "Inscribed Bullae from Daskyleion-Ergili."
 104. Garrison, "Seal Workshops," 269; Garrison and Root, *Seal Impressions on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, Fasc. I.
 105. Garrison, "Seal Workshops," 289. None of these images is preserved in its vertical entirety. Because none of the pedestal-animal seals was impressed on the Persepolis Fortification tablets so that the whole image was preserved, it is impossible to determine precisely how large any one was. PFS 31* is at least 1.7 cm tall; PFS 36* at least 1.8 cm; PFS 164* at least 1.6 cm; PFS 523* at least 1.7 cm; PFS 524 at least 1.7 cm. Fully preserved, then, they must have been about the same size as the seal from Sardis (1.85 cm). The seal from Sardis was somewhat slenderer, however, measuring approximately 0.7 cm in diameter. The thinnest of the Fortification pedestal seals (31*) was ca. 0.8 cm, while the largest (36*) was a tremendous 1.4 cm in diameter.
 106. Schmidt, *Persepolis II*, 18, pl. 3, PT4 673, PT4 652.
 107. Schmidt, *Persepolis II*, pl. 4; PT4 331.
 108. Cameron, *Persepolis Treasury Tablets*, 86–88.
 109. On this seal, as on PTS 1*, the animals are identified by Schmidt as man-bulls. Their leonine tails and bodies suggest their identification as sphinxes, but that the different animals are so

- difficult to distinguish is in itself interesting and points to their similar functions in Achaemenid glyptic iconography.
110. Schmidt, *Persepolis II*, pl. 4, PT4 749, PT4 862.
 111. As Schmidt comments, goat-fish had been known since the third dynasty of Ur as one of the symbols of Ea, the water god (*Persepolis II*, 9). Cameron associates this Aspathines with the famous "bow bearer" of Darius and points out the connection between Aspathines and Gobryas mentioned in the inscription of Darius at Naqsh-e Rostam (*Persepolis Treasury Tablets*, 102–3). Herodotus (3.70, 3.78) mentions an Aspathines as one of the seven Conspirators, along with Darius; his son Prexaspes was one of the four naval commanders of Xerxes, together with two sons of Darius (Ariobignus and Achaemenes) and Megabazus, son of Megabates (8.97).
 112. I emphasize that the seal need not necessarily have been carved in Sardis, thanks to the mobility of both item and artist. See C. Zaccagnini, "Patterns of Mobility among Ancient Near Eastern Craftsmen," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 42, no. 4 (1983): 245–64. Yet the large number of Graeco-Persian seals with Lydian inscriptions does suggest Lydia as a place of production. See Boardman, "Pyramidal Stamp Seals."
 113. These are the tombs excavated by H. C. Butler; see Butler, *Sardis I*. The seals from Sardian tombs are illustrated in Curtis, *Sardis XIII*, pl. XI.
 114. Illustrated in Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings*.
 115. Curtis, *Sardis XIII*, 39.
 116. Seals IAM 4520: a walking bull; 4523: a lion and bull; 4580: a lion; 4585: a lion; 4634: a lion; 4636: a lion; 4639: a lion; 4525: winged lions; 4528: a lion-griffin; 4642: a lion-griffin; 5134: a lion-griffin; 4579: a sphinx and lion-griffin; 4632: a boar; 4591: a crowned hero shooting a lion; 4527: a hero stabbing a lion; 4589: a hero stabbing a lion; 4578: a figure holding two lions; 4522: a winged figure; 4524: a seated, crowned figure holding a lotus.
 117. See Dusinberre, "King or God?"
 118. See Boardman, "Pyramidal Stamp Seals."
 119. Those seals portraying lion-griffins are PFS 86, 1030, 774, and 981*.
 120. Murashu cylinder seals are 919, 922, 923, and 924. See Legrain, *Culture of the Babylonians*.
 121. See Leith, "Greek and Persian Images."
 122. Oxford 1930.119, from Kish, lapis-lazuli, 27 × 13 cm, no. 672 in B. Buchanan, *Catalogue of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in the Ashmolean Museum*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966); and Tell el-Heir (fifth-century B.C.E. context), N-W Sinai, Israel Dept. of Antiquities and Museums, cornelian, 2.4 × 0.9 cm, no. 423 in Collon, *First Impressions*.
 123. XXXIII a–b in Balkan, "Inscribed Bullae."
 124. No. 119 in Curtis, *Sardis XIII*.
 125. An exception is Persepolis Fortification seal 53, showing a lion-griffin hunting other animals.
 126. PFS 27*, 45*, 124*, 188*.
 127. Murashu stamp seals showing lion-griffins are 848, 849, 852–68; Legrain, *Culture of the Babylonians*.
 128. Bulla no. 785 in Legrain, *Ur X*.
 129. Nymphaeum: Oxford 1885.491, blue chalcedony scaraboid (no. 838 in Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings*); Tenos: Boston 95.84 (no. 144 in Boardman, "Pyramidal Stamp Seals"). The lion-griffins on unprovenanced seals too fall into these categories. Unprovenanced seals with lion-griffins, some of which may have come from Anatolia, include:
 - 1) heroic combat: banded agate cylinder, (no. 815E in Porada, *The Collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library*); London 89422, chalcedony (no. 101 in Wiseman, *Cylinder Seals of Western Asia*); Boston 98.707 (no. 115 in Boardman, "Pyramidal Stamp Seals"); Bibl. Nat. M 7539, conoid (no. 99 in Boardman, "Pyramidal Stamp Seals"); London WA 132356 (no. 98 in Boardman, "Pyramidal Stamp Seals"); London WA 115606 (no. 97 in Boardman, "Pyramidal Stamp Seals"); London WA 132504 (electrotype cylinder) (no. 843 in Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings*).
 - 2) heroic control: London 89696, agate (barrel-shaped) (no. 110 in Wiseman, *Cylinder Seals of Western Asia*); grayish pink limestone cylinder (no. 820E in Porada, *The Collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library*); Oxford 1889.360, red-brown agate breccia (no. 675 in B. Buchanan, *Catalogue of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in the Ashmolean Museum*, vol. 1 [Oxford: Clarendon Press 1966]).
 - 3) single lion-griffins: Bibl. Nat., D 1590, cornelian cut (no. 839 in Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings*); Louvre A 777, agate scaraboid (no. 840 in Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings*); Bibl. Nat., Pauvert de la Chapelle 21 (no. 146 in Boardman, "Pyramidal Stamp Seals"); Bibl. Nat., cornelian, cut down to a scarab (no. 152 in

- Boardman, "Pyramidal Stamp Seals"); Bibl. Nat. 1038 (no. 154 in Boardman, "Pyramidal Stamp Seals"); London 89788, agate (tapering at ends) (no. 113 in Wiseman, *Cylinder Seals of Western Asia*); Bibl. Nat. 1086 (no. 4 in Boardman, "Pyramidal Stamp Seals").
- 4) heraldic lion-griffins: Oxford 1892.1407 (no. 160 in Boardman, "Pyramidal Stamp Seals") (this seal represents two lion-griffins fighting over the body of a deer[?]).
130. Nos. 110, 113, 114, 115 in Curtis, *Sardis XIII*.
131. The seal numbers are PFS 20, 34, 123, 312 (?), 362, 370 (?), 414, 514 (?), 883, 884, 902, 940, 1023, 1076, 1077 (?), 1458, 1586, 1613 (?), 1658 (?). Question marks indicate possible sphinxes (but see above for the difficulty of distinguishing these animals from others). Twelve of these are carved in the Fortification Style, the local style bearing some resemblance to Court Style. See Garrison, "Seal Workshops," 499–540 et passim.
132. Schmidt, *Persepolis II*, pls. 3, 4.
133. Schmidt, *Persepolis II*, pl. 15.
134. Leith, "Greek and Persian Images," 433–40, pl. 42 (five impressions of one seal: sealings 3A, 10A, 11B, 12, 24).
135. Seals 691 (?), 746 (?), 848, 1678 (?).
136. Seals 108 (?), 111, 154 (?), 320 (?), 442, 460, 548 (?), 587, 701, 725 (?), 925, 926, 966, 1092 (?), 1098, 1473 (?), 1558, 1573, 1580. See Garrison and Root, *Seal Impressions on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets, Fasc. III* (Chicago: Oriental Institute Press, forthcoming).
137. Schmidt, *Persepolis II*, pl. 17.
138. Legrain, *Culture of the Babylonians*. The sealings in question are 888 (pl. XL), 889, 890, 891 (pl. XLI), 953, and 954 (pl. XLV).
139. Legrain, *Ur X*, bullae nos. 777, 779, and 780 (one seal). The cone seal is described on 51.
140. Legrain, *Ur X*, 441–57, pls. 43–44 (sealings 13, 15A [floral element], 41, 48).
141. Balkan, "Inscribed Bullae," pl. XXXIII d. The examples published are unclear but may have paws in front and hooves in back. Yet the tails are held in an arc characteristic of bulls in Achaemenid glyptic. Their dentate crowns are commonly found on sphinxes in Graeco-Persian glyptic but on man-bulls in early Achaemenid art. The inscription is discussed on 125–26.
142. Leningrad, from Kerch, cornelian scaraboid, L. 19, no. 5 in Boardman, "Pyramidal Stamp Seals"; see also pp. 23–24 for a catalogue of Aramaic letters on pyramidal stamp seals.
143. Istanbul, from Sardis, rock crystal, L. 15, no. 123 in Boardman, "Pyramidal Stamp Seals."
144. Oxford 1933.417, from Sardis, agate, conoid, L. 22, no. 121 in Boardman, "Pyramidal Stamp Seals."
145. Istanbul Archaeological Museum 4652, from Sardis, gold, 3 × 3.7 cm, B.152 in *The Anatolian Civilisations*. See Curtis, *Sardis XIII*, 11–12, for a full description of these items. The fact that they were stamped is of essential importance, for the same artists responsible for the cutting of sealstones (and perhaps of coin dies) were almost certainly responsible for cutting the stones used to stamp such gold ornaments.
146. These seals include Newell 457, banded agate cylinder seal, 24 × 11 cm (XXXVII 1 in Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*); Bibl. Nat., de Luynes 198, cut down, L. 19 (no. 116 in Boardman, "Pyramidal Stamp Seals"); Geneva 65/20272, L. 14 (no. 117 in Boardman, "Pyramidal Stamp Seals"); London WA 115534, L. 18 (no. 118 in Boardman, "Pyramidal Stamp Seals"); Cambridge E.2/509.1954, agate conoid, L. 22 (no. 120 in Boardman, "Pyramidal Stamp Seals").
147. E. Porada, personal communication to C. H. Greenewalt, Jr. of 22 February, 8 March, and 17 May 1985, cited in C. H. Greenewalt, Jr. et al., "The Sardis Campaign of 1984," 49 n. 37.
148. But the use solely of stylistic criteria for dating these seals may be risky. Similar methods have recently been discredited for Neo-Assyrian glyptic (see Herbordt, *Neuassyrische Glyptik des 8.–7. Jh. v. Chr.*), and it may be premature to attempt stylistically determined dating for Achaemenid glyptic, as so few stylistic studies of dated sealings have been completed. For a complete discussion of stylistic trends evinced on the Persepolis Fortification tablets, see Garrison, "Seal Workshops." It is important to remember, moreover, that the Sardis seal may have been carved far from the Persian center and need not follow trends seen in central Achaemenid lands. It is even more important to keep in mind the degree of choice and personal input an individual had in determining the iconography and style of his seal. See Root, "From the Heart," esp. 19–22.

149. Herodotus 1.153.3. This name is not Persian, however, suggesting that Herodotus may have been mistaken or that the man may have had a non-Persian background. See Manfred Mayrhofer, *Onomastica Persepolitana: Das altiranische Namengut der Persepolis-Täfelchen* (Vienna: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1973).
150. Herodotus 3.120.1. The word Herodotus uses is *hyparchos*, his customary term for governor of a province; for a discussion of the meanings of the various words for ruler, see Bivar, "A 'Satrap' of Cyrus the Younger," *Numismatic Chronicle* series 7, no. 1 (1961): 119–27.
151. Herodotus 3.120–27. Oroetes effected the murder of Polycrates while he was at Magnesia on the Maeander rather than at Sardis—the Greek word is *hizomenos*, which suggests he had temporarily taken up quarters in this town.
152. Herodotus 3.128. Liddel and Scott's *Greek-English Lexicon* defines the word for seal, *sphragis*, as "(I, 1) a seal, signet, seal-ring, (2) the gem or stone for a ring, (II) the impression of a signet-ring, a seal." I believe this definition is unnecessarily narrow, as it excludes cylinder seals. Even small bullae could be sealed with cylinder seals, as the Daskyleion bullae demonstrate, and all royal name seals of Darius of which I am aware are cylinder seals.
153. All satraps had royal scribes, apparently. See Herodotus 3.128. This event at Sardis is perhaps indirect evidence Darius was a usurper; if he were legitimate heir to the throne, he might not need to test the troops' loyalties at all.
154. For a description of Artaphernes's initial actions as satrap, see Herodotus 6.42. His measures were remarkably fair and just; Herodotus explicitly comments on how advantageous they were for the Ionians and how conducive to peace.
155. For Marathon, see Herodotus 6.94.2; for Xerxes's invasion, see 7.74.

COBALT AND LUSTRE AND THE PUBLICATION OF ISLAMIC CERAMICS

By ROBERT B. MASON

Cobalt and Lustre: The First Centuries of Islamic Pottery. The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, vol. 9. By Ernst J. Grube with contributions by M. Bayani, D. Kennet, P. Morgan, N. Nassar, A. Northedge, and C. Tonghini. 348 pp., color illustrations. London: Nour Foundation in association with Azimuth Editions; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994. \$295.00.

IT SEEMS TO BE A CURRENT TREND IN THE PRODUCTION of books on Islamic pottery that bigger is better. The latest example of this trend is the publication of the earlier ceramics from the Khalili Collection, ostensibly written by Ernst Grube but with a horde of other contributors. With other recent books of similar proportions, notably Nurhan Atasoy and Julian Raby's *Iznik: The Pottery of Ottoman Turkey* (1989) and Jean Soustiel's *La ceramique islamique: Le guide du connaisseur* (1985), the size was clearly in proportion to the scholarship. The Iznik volume represented the summation of knowledge on that particular type of ceramic at the time of publication, and the volume was chock-a-block with excellent pictures of representative pieces. *La ceramique islamique* represented a staggeringly broad and ambitious study of the subject by an informed and earnest devotee of the field, and again each type was represented by diagnostic pieces. *Cobalt and Lustre*, on the other hand, seems to be big primarily so that it conforms to the format of the series.

It may be pertinent to ask why it was considered necessary to publish this volume. There are two rationales for such undertakings: one is to provide full publication of a collection; the other is to provide a scholarly work on the subject that calls heavily on one collection for illustration. An example of the first rationale is Maria Manuela Mota's *Loucas Seljuquidas* (1988), which provides an excellent report of the Gulbenkian Collection, with photographs illustrating front and back views of each piece and profile drawings of each vessel. There is even an appendix reproducing the profile drawings to the same scale for direct comparison. The commentary accompanying each piece is informative and relevant without weighting the volume. Examples of the second rationale are Geza Fehervari's *Islamic Pottery: A*

Comprehensive Study Based on the Barlow Collection (1973) and Ernst Grube's *Islamic Pottery of the Eighth to the Fifteenth Century in the Keir Collection* (1976). Both are now dated but were the most comprehensive approaches to the subject for more than two decades.

Cobalt and Lustre is highly unsatisfactory as an attempt to fulfill the first rationale. It does indeed offer large color pictures of the pieces, with abundant associated white space, so that the artistry of each piece may be fully appreciated. Yet it supplies precious few pictures of the reverse of objects. This omission need not concern those interested in a showy coffee-table book, but the reverse is essential for any serious understanding of the stylistic attribution of a piece, and the consistent neglect of this view is a major shortcoming of this book. It would also have been helpful to know more about which parts of the vessels are reconstructions. At times this problem is "solved" by hiding most of a suspect pot behind another, but suspicious areas remain on a number of them. One entry (cat. no. 227), for instance, refers to the neck of a vessel as unpainted when it was included in the sale catalogue. Presumably the paint on it now is reconstruction? It is hard to be entirely confident about the characteristics of the objects unless such matters are meticulously documented.

Another serious defect lies in the drawings of vessel profiles. The practice of providing accurate measured drawings of vessel profiles originated among archaeologists and was introduced into art history by such works as Charles Wilkinson's *Nishapur: Pottery of the Early Islamic Period* (1972). I have argued elsewhere how essential such drawings are for a full and accurate understanding of vessel shape (*Muqarnas* 12 [1995]: 1–10). Yet such profiles have made slow progress into the art-historical literature. There was an abortive attempt in Helen Philon's Benaki catalogue (*Early Islamic Ceramics: Ninth to Late Twelfth Centuries*, 1980), which had very usable drawings of whole vessels but useless, unoriented little squiggles of the sherds. Later there was a promising but scanty handful in Oliver Watson's

Persian Lustre Ware (1985), then a more respectable attempt at showing the full variety in Atasoy and Raby's *Iznik* (1989). Drawing every piece in studies such as these would be impossible, as they include material from collections across the world. As mentioned above, Mota's 1988 report of the Gulbenkian Collection includes drawings of every vessel, as perhaps should be expected nowadays in the reporting of a collection.

Hence the fact that probably every bowl in *Cobalt and Lustre* has a profile drawing should fill one with joy, and the omission of all the jars and other closed forms should seem a petty cavil. The drawings, however, are reproduced at far too small a size. Vessels of such complexity and subtle variety should be published at a scale of at least 1:4, preferably 1:3. The scale is not stated here, but it appears to be about 1:8, and the drawings even appear fuzzy and irregular at this scale. Such a drawing is inadequate for a proper consideration of the profile and suggests that whoever made this production decision has still not grasped the true significance of formal studies.

Further, many drawings appear grossly inaccurate, although it is not possible to be sure without directly comparing object and drawing. In any wheel-made vessel, for instance, a degree of symmetry must be expected, but in many examples documented here one side of the vessel appears unrelated to the other side. An occasional sagging rim would be one thing, but in some cases it is the base that differs radically. One Syrian pedestaled lamp (cat. no. 307) could not function as a lamp, judging by the provided drawing. Either it should have a separate internal reservoir fixed to the top of the pedestal (interior of lamp and pedestal are shown as a continuous undivided void), or the thick flanges around the lamp should be hollow reservoirs (they are shown as solid). I can find no reference to the person who executed the drawings so cannot determine whether s/he is a skilled pencil squeezer with archaeological experience or not. Ideally, authors who are serious in their study of form would do the drawings themselves.

Although I do not consider myself qualified to evaluate such things, every inscription on the vessels is transcribed and translated in an appendix. For a proper and full reporting, it would have been nice to see photographs of the actual inscriptions, particularly for dates and signatures.

Since the volume fails to fulfill the first rationale for publication, we must judge it by the

second. Does it provide a valuable and up-to-date overview of the field? Here I must admit to some bias, as I find the authors strangely ignorant of my own research, which combines analytical scientific techniques to investigate provenance and technology with archaeological approaches to typology and dating in the study of Islamic pottery. I have been publishing in well-known journals since 1988 and am certain that at least Grube, Morgan, and the general editor of the series, Julian Raby, are familiar with my work.

This bias notwithstanding, even a cursory overview of *Cobalt and Lustre* reveals some fundamental confusion in its organization. Its division into sections is sometimes based on dynastic association, sometimes on geography, and at other times on technology. Thus its eight sections are: Pottery of the Umayyad and Abbasid Periods, The Pottery of Khurasan (by which is meant clay-bodied slip-painted wares commonly and at times erroneously restricted to that region), Sgraffiato Wares (surprisingly not included under the previous section), Monochrome-glazed Wares of the Pre-Saljuq Period (again, easily included in previous sections), Fatimid Pottery, Iranian Stonepaste Pottery of the Saljuq Period, The Fine Wares of Ayyubid Syria, and Bamiyan and Afghan Wares (surprisingly not included in previous sections).

The volume's first author, Ernst Grube, provides most of the general essays for each section. These are, for the most part, informative overviews by a knowledgeable connoisseur of the field. Grube's catalogue entries are easily distinguished from those of the other authors, as they are clearly written by someone who has spent a lifetime considering this material, as well as traveling the world visiting obscure museums and collections. Yet some of his remarks seem unnecessary, such as his lengthy discussion of the debate over whether Tang Sancai ceramics ever came to the Middle East—now some ten years after a team of British Museum scientists clearly identified Sancai wares at Samarra and Fustat. His unwillingness to accept that scientific analysis can easily and finally solve problems that have plagued the art-historical community for decades may explain his neglect of my own work. More surprisingly, his essay on "Fatimid Pottery," which consumes more pages than do illustrations of the pottery itself, makes no reference to Marilyn Jenkins, who has been working on this material for some thirty years.

Peter Morgan provides several essays on the

technology of the various types, despite the collection owner's belief, stated in the foreword, that technology based on scientific methods is not necessary for this volume. It seems strange in this era of accurate analytical methods to devote large sections to technology that include no analytical methods and are not written by experts on such research. Quite complicated technology is examined with no more than an unassisted eyeball, creating serious errors and confusions throughout these sections. The greatest such error is the use of the Khalili Collection in isolation to make generalizations about the various ceramic types, whether determined by analytical methods or not.

An example of Morgan's disregard for rigorous scientific analysis is his repeated claim that stonepaste was made in Iran earlier than elsewhere. He bases this claim on some textual evidence and two stonepaste vessels that predate the traditional chronology: a piece included in the volume with a date equivalent to 1139 and an underglaze-painted piece in Cairo with a date equivalent to 1166. This claim is something of a straw man to start with, as I know of no one nowadays who agrees with Lane's theory that the luster potters left Fustat in 1169, then went to Iran to develop several distinct and probably successive styles of pottery before finally putting a date on one in 1179. My research indicates a date of about 1100 for the beginning of production in Iran. Morgan's textual evidence consists of two references already discussed and largely discounted by James Allan in the notes to his translation of Abu'l Qa'sim's treatise (*Iran* 11 [1973]: 110–20). The first, a reference considered to be from about A.D. 950 although preserved as part of a compilation written by Yaqut (A.D. 1179–1225), refers to opaque glass made in Fars. No archaeological evidence is provided to support the existence of this material or its development into stonepaste. The second reference, to a text written by al-Biruni in Ghazna and dedicated in about A.D. 1041–50, states that “here” it is possible to make “Chinese pottery” from quartz and clay. The meaning of “here” is debatable; could it mean “here” in Ghazna or “here” in the Dar al-Islam? Biruni's further reference to this technology as being “half-bred, impure Nabateans” may even refer to an origin in southern Iraq, as suggested by Allan. This nebulous account is considerably later than the prototypical practices I have found in Iraq, indeed later than the more

common prototypical stonepaste vessels of Egypt (ca. 975–1025), as shown in work known to Morgan and published before this volume (*Archaeometry* 36 [1994]: 77–91). Given the archaeologically demonstrated continuity of progress from Iraqi practice to full Egyptian development and the total lack of evidence for earlier stonepaste in Iran, the case for introduction seems to fit the evidence best.

In the first section of the book, Alastair Northedge and Derek Kennet provide an uncritical overview of the more widely available published evidence concerning the archaeology of early Abbasid pottery. The only original observation derived from their own fieldwork is that the monochrome Abbasid luster wares are hardly ever found at Samarra. This interesting finding corresponds to my observations from studying Friedrich Sarre's pottery, currently spread throughout numerous Western collections. Perhaps, then, Sarre was correct in his claim that all of his excavations were in levels dated to the period of the caliphal occupation.

In the section on Saljuq pottery the luster wares are uniformly attributed to Kashan—a solid hypothesis since the publication of Watson's *Persian Lustre Ware*. Still, this is one of those places I would have liked to see some reference to my petrographic work, which demonstrates that a couple of pieces in a confined time span can be attributed to Kashan due to their inscriptions but that a much larger sample of Iranian luster wares, from sites across the Islamic world in all periods and styles, share the same distinct body. To me, this has even greater weight in the attribution of styles without these inscriptions. The attribution of all Iraqi luster wares to Basra is equally strong, and although Morgan recognizes that he is incapable of distinguishing the Basra body from any other, my work shows that it is actually distinctive in thin-section analysis. Thankfully, that work is at least referred to, although inaccurately as “Keall and Mason” (R. B. Mason and E. J. Keall, “The ‘Abbasid Glazed Wares of Siraf and the Basra Connection: Petrographic Analysis,” *Iran* 29 [1991]: 51–66).

The authors divide Iranian luster wares coarsely into three “phases.” To this division, proposed by Watson, the present authors add a number of subdivisions. Although these phases of Kashan luster ware are said to be successive, the authors appear somewhat confused by a number of pieces with archaizing designs on them. One

example (cat. no. 257) has an inscription on the back that is common on what I consider later examples of the "Monumental" style (the back is of course not illustrated, so it is hard to be sure); a figure in reserve in the well that is similar to some "Monumental" style pieces; horsemen arrayed around the interior that are similar to those of the "Miniature" style, complete with checkered trees; and a biconical bowl form typical of the "Kashan" style (this is a splayed bowl comprising parts of two cones on top of each other). The piece also has a clear glaze, presumably alkali, which Morgan considers to be restricted to the "Monumental" phase. The latter point perfectly illustrates the errors incurred by studying only one collection, for I have come across alkali glazes in Kashan pottery throughout its period of production. Considered together, these observations seem to make complete nonsense of the phasing proposed in this volume, yet the authors make no attempt to reconcile the inconsistency. I believe the various styles of Kashan luster to be indeed successive and this pot to be an early thirteenth-century throwback. I am not entirely comfortable with the style of the "early" parts: the checkered trees and in particular the fronds are wrong. The form, however, is typical early thirteenth century; if twelfth century, the vessel would be a prototypical version of this form, known occasionally from Minai and less often from luster wares.

Cristina Tonghini provides one of the few general essays in the book not written by Grube. She discusses at length the history of Syrian wares since their "re-discovery" in the last hundred years or so but does not provide a critical review of the dating evidence. Such historical research does not seem so developed in the other sections of the volume. Interestingly, Tonghini suggests that underglaze-painted wares originate in Syria with an early and widespread type of pottery that has blotches and lines of cobalt blue. Here she appears to confuse certain blue-splashed white incised wares (which are early) with another group (which is widespread). Items in the latter group, which includes pottery attributed to Konya (discussed in Soustiel's tome), appear to my eye actually to be wasters, which were damaged before they could be luster-painted. Some of the Konya pieces themselves are self-evidently wasters (i.e., they are severely warped), but pottery can be ruined—dropped, for instance—and still make a fine artifact several centuries later. I believe Tonghini is onto something here. I would put

the earliest of these wares in Egypt, where there were soda-lead glazes, but it still remains questionable whether the blue pigment is actually under the glaze. I would hypothesize that the next stage is in Syrian Laqabi wares, which also have a soda-lead glaze, although again it remains to be tested whether this pigment is under the glaze (something I am currently working on). The final stage would occur when the Syrian potters switch to an alkali glaze. I have certainly found that early underglaze-painted wares in Syria represent the fully developed technology, comprising oxide pigments applied without a medium, whereas contemporary wares in Iran are in fact slip-painted wares, including the well-known Silhouette style but also wares with painted rather than slip-excised decoration. Although the technical point has not been fully published yet, I would have thought the contemporaneity of Iranian and Syrian wares would have been widely known, so I was surprised to read that Morgan gives the Iranian ware precedence (p. 156). Perhaps he should have had a chat with Tonghini.

Tonghini shows rather less originality in her statement that the Syrian polychrome underglaze-painted wares are inspired by Iranian Minai wares, a commonly held opinion but one I thought a Syrian partisan like Tonghini would have questioned. The simple fact that some Minai have dates on them automatically means that we know more about them, but this alone does not give them precedence. They are frequently prettier than the Syrian wares, which often have a decayed alkali glaze, and they may have taken longer to make with that tricky overglaze pigment. But none of these reasons is sufficient to establish that influence went from Iran to Syria. Indeed, if I am correct in ascribing precedence to Syria for the development of underglaze-painting, then the Syrian wares may have been from a technically more dynamic and original center, while Minai may reflect a rather time-consuming backward attempt to create the same thing. Minai is also much rarer on archaeological sites than Syrian polychrome wares. My studies of both these wares show that motifs common on Syrian wares are only occasionally found on Minai, which are dominated by motifs developed in the native luster-painting tradition. Taken together, this evidence suggests that it was the Iranian potters who received the influence.

I disagree with Tonghini's assertion that incised wares are earlier than luster wares in Syria (p. 258), an assertion also made for Iran by Grube

(p. 147) and Morgan (p. 156). Tonghini cites her Qalat Jabar work, but this work actually shows that luster wares are much rarer than incised wares at Qalat Jabar, as indeed they are on every Syrian or Iranian site I have studied. What this means is that if ten sherds are spread though a site's strata and one of them is luster-painted, it is highly unlikely that sherd will be at the bottom. Even among a hundred sherds, any seasoned field archaeologist will say that all ten luster sherds are fated to be in one stratum. Similarly, if among ten early vessels only one is preserved and eventually included in a museum (or private!) collection, that one is unlikely to be the luster ware. In detailed studies of form and motif, I can find only predominance, not precedence, for incised wares.

Collectively, *Cobalt and Lustre* fails as a comprehensive study because so much of it is based solely on the Khalili Collection. As mentioned in the foreword, this collection has been acquired in the past twenty years, that is, since the U.N. convention on the export of cultural property in 1970. A very small fraction appears to have a history in the West, and then only from recent sales. Most of the objects seem to have appeared suddenly with no history at all, and it is unknown where or how Khalili obtained them. As presented here, the overwhelming bulk of the collection clearly comes from regions that have experienced lapses in government control in the past twenty years: Iran, Iraq, Uzbekistan, and most notably Afghanistan. Wares made in Afghanistan,

and many others that may have been found there, constitute a sizable part of the collection and are thought to warrant a special section unto themselves. Anyone aware of the market is aware of these objects, which have flooded the showrooms of Sotheby's and Christies in the past few years. By contrast, the Fatimid section contains three small sherds of Egyptian luster ware, the remainder probably being Syrian. Hence rather than representing the full breadth of Islamic ceramics, this collection reflects recent political history. Regions that have had a war—and illicit or at least clandestine trade in guns, drugs, and antiquities—are represented. By making such a collection the basis of a comprehensive study, the authors draw stark attention to this fact.

This shortcoming is a great pity, as the collection contains some very interesting pieces, and had this simply been a thoroughly reported catalogue with a few erudite overviews by Grube, I could have spent more time reporting them. One of my favorite pieces is cat. no. 315, a Syrian luster-ware bowl. During firing, a fragment of another bowl became fused to the bottom of this vessel and remains there to this day. The luster-painter was not perturbed by this misfortune, however, and proceeded to paint right over the imperfection. Had this piece been more fragmentary, it could have very easily been confused with a waster. It thus stands as a caution, as Tonghini rightly points out (I only wish I knew what the reverse looked like!).

BOOK REVIEWS

The Topkapı Scroll—Geometry and Ornament in Islamic Architecture (Topkapı Palace Museum Library MS H. 1965). By Gülru Necipoğlu with an essay on the geometry of the *muqarnas* by Mohammad al-Asad. 412 pp., 61 color and 277 black and white illustrations. Santa Monica, CA: The Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1995. \$160.00.

The stimulus for this beautiful tome was a paper scroll, 29.5 meters long, rescued from obscurity by the curator of the Topkapı Library, Filiz Çağman, and exhibited in Istanbul in 1986. The scroll (*tūmār*) contains 114 ink drawings, which are designs for various types of geometric ornament, both two- and three-dimensional. Many of these designs are familiar in a general way from buildings throughout the Islamic world, from Samarqand to Granada. Geometric ornament is recognized as the most characteristic mode of decoration in Islamic art, whether architecture, illumination, or artifact. It is, however, the least understood in terms of its manner of production as well as its significance. What accounts for its popularity? European travelers from the sixteenth century on, followed by Orientalist scholars of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and more recently voices from the Muslim world have theorized about the meaning of this archetypical invention of Islamic art. The discovery of this scroll provided a pretext ("point of departure") for holding these questions up to the light of modern inquiry, informed by computer technology, contextualization, semiotics, and the extraordinary expansion of the database in the field of Islamic art. The author's ability to meet this challenge with courage, imagination, and erudition makes this book one of the most important contributions to the understanding of Islamic art. Her many comments on the Latin West make it compulsory reading for scholars of medieval architecture as well. The medieval mason and his contemporary in the Islamic world shared many of the same practices and, to some extent, the same vision.

The entire scroll is reproduced twice in the catalogue: first as a series of "overlays" with a discussion of how the design was generated and, second, in half-size color facsimile (color-coding being critical to an understanding of the drawings). The overlays provide the original grid, which is not visible in a photograph because it is a "dead drawing" (incised but not inked) and may also be incomplete. The Persian term for these designs, *girih* ("knot"), is derived from "the nodal points or vertices of the web-like geometric grid systems or construction lines used in generating patterns . . . in two and three dimensions."

This visual feast does not begin, however, until the

last third of the book, although the author urges us in the preface to turn to the drawings as soon as we have finished reading part 1, a description of the scroll and related material, its dating, and its role in the practice of late Timurid-Turkmen architecture. The scroll itself, along with fragments of other such scrolls and collections of drawings, are seen as "*aides-memoires*," showing how architectural design was "conceptualized, recorded, and transmitted." The juxtaposing within the scroll of two-dimensional geometric ornament with designs for the three-dimensional *muqarnas* and stellate vault points to the "fluid dialogue between planar and spatial geometry." The making of the *muqarnas*, that amazing faceted corbeling that is so characteristic of Islamic architecture, is demystified by descriptions of how the actual "shelves" corresponding to "rows" within the planar design are carved into the plaster floor of the room to be vaulted and then lifted up and put in place. The reader is aided in imagining this process by the lucid contribution of Mohammad al-Asad at the end, demonstrating how a planar drawing from the scroll may be used to generate the three-dimensional *muqarnas* on the computer. Of course, medieval architects had to rely on their ability to visualize the three-dimensional but also, as al-Asad advises, "the gestalt is ignored and the individual unit becomes the primary focus of attention." Much of the information needed to accomplish this is not found in the scroll but in the secret training of the mason. For this reason the inexperienced reader, expecting to learn how such complex designs were generated, may encounter some difficulty in understanding the "overlays" (initiation into this art may be found in some of the other books cited by the author). Designs are grouped into four classes, based on the geometry of the grid (squared, triangulated, star-and-polygon) and whether planar or spatial. Within these are subcategories, but the significance of the differences is not apparent. The drawings are presented in the order in which they are found in the scroll, even though the scroll itself is not in its original format. It was cut apart and reassembled, and it contains different styles of notation. To aid visual comparison, it might have been useful to group by class in the "overlay" section while retaining the original order in the facsimile images. One way that the scroll might have been useful to an architect would be as a reminder of the available options within a class.

After placing the Topkapı scroll within the context of related material and proposing a date based on comparison with Timurid-Turkmen buildings in central Iran from the mid-fifteenth century (e.g., Varzanah, Banderabad), the author explores the meaning of this form of ornament. First she challenges past interpretations,

exposing the Orientalist approach as ahistoric and ethnographic ("the timeless essence of Islamic visual culture") but also the more recent studies that "orientalize the Orient" (using the same ahistorical lines of argument as the Orientalists). Then follows the strongest argument of the book, an investigation of the history of geometric design, based on the monuments (convincing) and historical context (intriguing, if somewhat tenuous). The tendency toward abstraction, apparent in Iraq in the ninth century, is related to the Mu'tazilite "vision of a continually fluctuating atomistic world." Observing that the standardization of geometric design takes place within the Seljuq world, the author attributes its spread to the Sunni/Abbasid restoration, noting that it skips Shiite Fatimid Egypt and does not arrive in Spain and North Africa until the Almoravids (who recognized the Abbasid caliph). By the thirteenth century, as Sufism gains a toehold within Orthodoxy, old forms mutate; and with the arrival of the Mongols, other modes of decoration compete with the geometric. Strapwork recedes while "interpenetrating color fields" dominate. This is the moment frozen in the Topkapı scroll. By the mid-sixteenth century the three new empires—Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal—reject their Timurid-Turkmen heritage and opt for more naturalistic, vegetal ornament (a fashion that could, alternatively, be attributed to their positive identification with things European, especially those accessible in printed books). Each mutation and its dissemination is explained in cultural terms. While we cannot fully accept all of these equations, we must acknowledge that geometric ornament did undergo an evolution. What we see in the scroll represents its culmination. As this mode of ornament evolved, so its meaning for the different societies it addressed must also have altered. Thus, its meaning cannot have remained constant, as proposed by groups the author criticizes.

The final chapters explore various levels of meaning. The author relates the geometry found in Islamic architectural ornament to an early and continuing interest in the mathematical sciences, based on Greek texts and local centers of Hellenistic learning in the Near East. Along with a widespread and intense interest in theory went its practical application. Even if we cannot be certain about the symbolic value of these designs, their entrenchment in the ethos of the society alone helps explain their popularity. The seeds of the scroll tradition are evident already in the practical manual of al-Buzjani (attributed to eleventh to twelfth century), particularly in the example of the Paris manuscript that appends an anonymous treatise on interlocking similar or congruent figures.

In addition to the "hegemonic sign systems" associating each of the historical phases with a social or political phenomenon, what ideological or psychological resonances can help explain the popularity of geometric design in Islamic art? The author discusses the place

of geometry in the literature on Islamic aesthetics, the sense that ratios and proportions underlie every art (*Epistles of the Brethren of Purity*, late tenth century), a notion transmitted to the Arabs through the works of Plotinus. Inherent in ideas about the arts is the esteem in which mechanical arts were held, being considered "intellectual," and the sense that geometric patterns shared the same basis as music, poetry, and calligraphy. Finally, the author looks for possible cosmic connotations of geometric ornament, an interpretation favored by the Burckhardt/Ardalan group. Evidence for this comes mainly in the form of inscriptions that accompany vaults decorated with *muqarnas* (and also, as she notes earlier, the fact that architects were sometimes also skilled astronomers). This association could derive, however, from the vault itself, the cosmic association going back to pre-Islamic times and reinforced over centuries (as in the dome of the divan at the Umayyad bath of Khirbat al-Mafjar with its cap in the form of a rosette containing six human heads representing the planets). Certainly, as the author concedes, the depiction of starlike forms in the *muqarnas* would have strengthened this association.

This book accomplishes many useful and important objectives. First, it makes available a complete document, a Timurid-Turkmen architect's scroll. Secondly, it deals with the many questions raised either by the scroll directly or by the tradition that it represents. It is most successful in responding to the first set of questions and most courageous in the raising of the second set. With regard to the scroll and other such practical "manuals," the central question is how they were meant to be used. Some will argue that the average mason had little understanding of mathematics and would simply follow the templates. Others might see these as aids for the master craftsman, reminding him of information that he already knows. But how did these designs originate? Let us confront the author's fascinating discussion of the role of the intellect in art with the phenomenon of this scroll. Are we to suppose that the artist created a new geometric design simply by playing around with his three tools—compass, straight-edge, and angle-bracket ruler—until he was satisfied? Or had he imagined the design, performing all of the necessary calculations in his head, using the tools merely to set out the design as a composer jots down the score of a symphony "heard" in the mind? What emerges from the wide range of sources exposed by the author is the preoccupation of manuals with the theoretical. Probably many of al-Jazari's "ingenious mechanical devices" were never intended to be built. Perhaps much of what al-Kashi presents has no practical purpose. What becomes apparent by looking through the many permutations of grids in the scroll is that the creation of this art was a *cerebral* process. The architect had the ability to visualize how various polygons may or may not interlock, given the proportions of the space. It is instructive

to note that the parabolic dome appearing in the ninth-century treatise of Thabit b. Qurra (figs. 103–6) was not built until the fifteenth century. These drawings show domes formed by intersecting parabolic arcs that continue below the spring-line. Possibly, such drawings inspired the “bulging” Timurid domes at Turbat-i Shaykh Jam and Mashhad. Similarly, Persian paintings of the fifteenth century presage the “onion-shaped” domes of Mughal India.

There was probably a continuous dialogue between theoretician and practitioner. The theoretician was always looking at the work of the practitioner, as al-Kashi did in describing the mason’s solution to a problem. Another case in point is the treatise on agriculture (*Irshād al-Zirāʿah*), written in the early sixteenth century by Qasim b. Yusuf of Herat, who states that what he knows about gardens is based on the practices of Sultan Husayn’s distinguished landscape architect Mirak-i Sayyid Ghiyath (see Maria Subtelny, “Mirak-i Sayyid Ghiyas and the Timurid Tradition of Landscape Architecture,” *Studia Iranica* 24 [1995]: 19–60).

The second set of questions continues a familiar discourse but steers it in a new direction. Serious stumbling blocks that had impeded progress in the past are removed, one by one, and many new doors for further inquiry are opened. While these questions await further discussion, it is clear that the geometric mode acquired a very special meaning for Islamic architecture that was perhaps most apparent to the outsider. If geometric design did not signify “Islamic” to the Muslim world, it most certainly did to the Christian world, which is perhaps why it was never absorbed into the decorative vocabulary of the West.

The volume won four scholarly awards in 1996: the Third Annual Spiro Kostof Award for Architecture and Urbanism presented by the Society of Architectural Historians, the Albert Hourani Book Award presented by the Middle East Studies Association, the Best New Professional/Scholarly Publishing Book Award in Architecture and Urban Planning presented by the Association of American Publishers’ Professional/Scholarly Publishing Division, and an American Institute of Architects International Architecture Book Award Citation for Excellence.

It is unfortunate that its publisher did not consider the book’s physical weightiness and unwieldy format. While glorious to behold and touch, it is physically difficult to read. An alternative might have been two volumes or even two publications: the facsimile and its commentary in one volume and the second containing the essays (perhaps issued also as an affordable paperback for students).

LISA GOLOMBEK

The Arts of China to A.D. 900. By William Watson. 276 pp., 94 color plates, 302 black and white photographs/illustrations, 1 map, bibliography, index, character glossary. New Haven and London: Yale University Press Pelican History of Art, 1995. \$65.00.

The Arts of China to A.D. 900 is the first of a three-volume set that seems in concept to supersede the classic history of Chinese art by Laurence Sickman and Alexander Soper, *The Art and Architecture of China*, published in the same Pelican series in 1956 and last issued in a third edition in 1968. Since this last edition appeared, archaeological excavations have supplied evidence to support or contradict past interpretations and also have added new considerations to any study of early Chinese art. The opportunity to employ new methods and to provide prolegomena for these recent finds in a survey format is exciting but also challenging. The market for a book like this is substantial and growing, and Yale University Press is promoting the book as a “valuable resource for both experts and beginners in the field.”

Watson’s inclusion of some archaeologically recovered works represents an improvement over the Sickman and Soper text, and because of the expanded three-volume format, the author devotes many more pages to pre-Han dynasty art. For example, where the Sickman and Soper text had to rely on ancient literary references, the present volume bases its treatment of early architecture on published reconstructions of the superstructures of excavated foundations: the large assembly halls from Erlitou, Panlongcheng, Xiaotun, as well as the “shrine” set above the tomb of Fu Hao, and the palace/ritual structure at Fengchu village, Qishan County, Shaanxi. Watson adds discussions of media such as jade and lacquer wares, which were virtually excluded in the earlier text, and broadens his handling of ancient China by considering arts produced along the borders of the empire. A short but welcome section is devoted to Vajrayāna art in Tang dynasty China. Vajrayāna sculpture is difficult to assess because of the paucity of preserved examples in China, but the few remaining specimens testify to an important religious development in East Asia. Other positive features of the book include the larger format (8 3/4 × 11 inches), more illustrations in comparison to the equivalent sections in *Art and Architecture of China*, and the addition of a significant number of color plates.

Despite these improvements to the format and coverage of the Sickman/Soper classic, *The Arts of China to A.D. 900* presents many problems, especially as a textbook. First, its numerous errors suggest that the book did not receive the editorial scrutiny appropriate for a publication slated for at least a decade of wide distribution before reprinting. For example, one egregious error, in the chronological table preceding page 1, lists the Eastern Han rather than the Western Han dynasty after the Qin. Other errors occur in the captions to the

illustrations: fig. 160, the *boshanlu* from the tomb of Liu Sheng is here misidentified as from the tomb of Dou Wan; fig. 360, the esoteric Buddhist deity Acala Vidyārāja (Fudō Myōō), is labeled as belonging to the collection of the Field Museum but is actually one of a group of stone sculptures believed to have been associated with Anguo Temple in the vicinity of the capital; and fig. 318 is supposed to illustrate a painting from the Freer Gallery of Art, which Watson relates to the style of Zhou Fang and which depicts people playing *weiqi*, but another painting, *Playing Weiqi in Paradise*, also in the Freer collection (F 11.188), mistakenly appears instead.¹ Moreover, inconsistencies in the chapter headings will confuse the novice: unlike all the other chapter headings, the titles of chapters 3 and 4 are transliterations of the Chinese instead of translations—Xizhou instead of Western Zhou; Chunqiu and Zhanguo instead of Spring and Autumn period and Warring States period.

The book suffers organizationally as well. The first six of twenty-three chapters are arranged by media (pottery vessels, bronze vessels, etc.) because, according to Watson, "In earlier periods the restriction of the surviving evidence to funeral gifts controlled by stringent customs, and the logic of the art forms themselves, made it convenient to separate the discussion according to the craft materials" (p. 81). For example, the chapter on "Neolithic Art" considers only pottery of the Yangshao and Longshan cultures. Since the Liangzhu culture is best known for jade objects placed in burials, it is mentioned only in the chapter on "Jade"; hence the novice could be left with the impression that this culture did not produce pottery. In several chapters, Watson takes a slightly more comprehensive view, examining various media and including some information about "social and political contexts" ("Cultural Unity: The Han Empire" and "Tang Non-Buddhist Sculpture and Decorated Objects"), but for the most part, the chapters are organized chronologically and arranged according to media or type of object (pottery, bronze vessels, sculpture, painting/draughtsmanship, and architecture). "Tang Secular Painting, Figures and Landscape" is one of the most confused sections. It begins with texts about art: *Tangchao minghua lu* and the *Lidai minghua ji* but also the *Guhua pinlu* of Xie He (fl. ca. 500). It continues to merge the pre-Tang and Tang eras, discussing Gu Kaizhi (ca. 345–406) and two handscrolls traditionally used to represent Gu's style even though they are later copies: *The Admonitions of the Instructress to the Court Ladies* (*Nushi zhen tu zhuan*) (figs. 325–28) and *The Nymph of the Luo River* (*Luoshen fu tu*) (fig. 335). Distinctions between pre-Tang and Tang pictorial arts are further blurred by the inclusion of a lacquered screen excavated from the tomb of Sima Jinlong near Datong, Shanxi Province, and dated to the Northern Wei period, A.D. 484 (fig. 322).² The presence of these paintings in a

chapter supposedly treating Tang painting, rather than in the chapter on "Draughtsmanship and Painting of the Six Dynasties," is perplexing.

Another important weakness is the book's idiosyncratic methodology. Watson relies almost exclusively on stylistic analysis, paying little or no attention to iconographic, contextual, comparative, and theoretical issues. Yet even his seemingly straightforward stylistic analysis can be called into question. For instance in the chapter on Zhou dynasty bronze vessels, some of his categories are traditional (e.g., "Liyu" style), but others are of Watson's invention: a Western Zhou *you* vessel (fig. 64) is placed in a category called "epigonic," which privileges a "classic" Shang style. This type of personal bias is evident throughout the text, as seen in the following examples. Watson introduces his chapter on Shang art by stating that he will consider bronzes produced outside of the Shang metropolitan area in order to "modify the earlier view of an isolated and wholly independent artistic tradition established at Yinxu, influencing but uninfluenced." Yet curiously at the end of the chapter, when bronzes far from the Shang metropolitan area (in this case from Ningxiang in Hunan Province) are finally discussed, they are dismissed as "*jeune* versions of Shang designs" (pp. 11 and 26). Watson also relates these Hunan vessels to those designated as "Shang-Zhou transitional," which are described as exhibiting "grotesque experimentation . . . seen in the shapes and ornament of the conventional types." And finally Watson clearly calls on personal prejudice when he compares the decor on the *cire perdue* bronzes from the tomb of Marquis Yi of Zeng to "eruptions of diseased skin," maintaining that in the case of the famous *pan* and *zun* (fig. 96) the technique results in "a total effect that can only embarrass the eye of the viewer."

A related problem is Watson's inattention to citing sources that support his assertions. Two examples from "Iconography under Western Han" will illustrate my point. First, Watson cursorily explains the painting on silk from the Tomb of Lady Dai at Mawangdui (p. 93 and fig. 147) as relating to Daoist cults of immortality, suggesting that the figure with a serpentine tail at the center of the top section of the painting might be "identified with Xiwangmu, the Queen Mother of the West." He provides no iconographic attribute or textual corroboration for this assertion—a statement that would find no backing in modern scholarship on this painting. No bibliographic references are provided to expand our reading of this intriguing painting. Second, Watson suggests that *boshanlu*, or mountain-topped incense burners, like the one in the Freer Gallery of Art (figs. 157–58), "introduce for the first time into the officially countenanced art an element of genre, human figures and objects taken from mundane life, stylized but still answering to the new realism" (p. 91). In contrast, most scholars have interpreted these motifs not as genre scenes but as ritual activities.³

Perhaps most worrisome is the fact that Watson's coverage is sadly out of date, for, as revealed in the bibliography, few of his sources postdate the mid-1980s. For instance, the references for further reading on China's "early history in light of archaeology" in the first endnote (p. 247) are valuable but dated: Creel (1937), Granet (1934 and 1957), Kaizuka (1946), Maspero (1965), Maspero and Balazs (1967), Elisseeff (1979), Keightley (1983), and K. C. Chang (1980). To be useful for both novice and expert, such a book as this one must integrate the most recent archaeological reports with scholarship foundational to Chinese art history. Curiously, Watson cites the 1963 edition of K. C. Chang's *The Archaeology of Ancient China* rather than the revised and enlarged fourth edition of 1986. The publications of many American and European scholars, which could provide more in-depth studies of a subject, are not included in the bibliography. When a more recent citation does occur, it was clearly a last-minute addition whose content has not been absorbed in the text. For instance, in the bibliography for "Shang Art," Watson cites Robert Bagley's "A Shang City in Sichuan Province" (*Oriental Art* 21, no. 11 [1990]), which concerns the intriguing bronze objects placed in pits rather than a tomb at Sanxingdui in Sichuan Province. Reference to this article is never made in the text or in any note, even though this site is a key findspot for bronzes produced in regions outside of the metropolitan Shang "center."

Watson also ignores scholarship that deals with problems in the field. For example, the important issue of how to date the finds of Erlitou—are they early Shang or Xia dynasty?—is relegated to a note. Although a definitive answer cannot be given at this point, scholars who are grappling with the issue, such as Robert Thorp and K. C. Chang, should have been cited.⁴ Other important lacunae are the exclusion of the Hongshan culture from the chapter on Neolithic art and the virtual elimination of the Qin dynasty with the exception of a brief discussion, in "Cultural Unity: The Han Empire," of the terra cotta warriors from the pits in the vicinity of the mausoleum of Qin Shihuangdi. Works that demonstrate significant connections between the art commissioned by the Qin and that produced by their Han successors are missing. Especially interesting is a small bronze chariot outfitted with bronze horses and charioteers found west of the tumulus of Qin Shihuangdi at Lintong.⁵ The animals and people are depicted in the same style as the terra cotta warriors, but the surfaces of the chariot are decorated with scrolls and arabesques seen earlier in lacquer wares from Chu (fig. 118) and continued in the Western Han dynasty in the decorative flourishes on the bowl of the *boshanlu* from the tomb of Liu Sheng (fig. 160).

The chapters concerning the post-Han period omit Daoist sculpture. These images are not as numerous as Buddhist examples, but they are important because, especially during the Tang dynasty, some emperors

declared the supremacy of the Daoist religion.⁶ An impressive image of a Daoist deity (H. 220 cm) dated A.D. 719 in the Shanxi Provincial Museum, for example, reveals the influence of Buddhist sculpture but more importantly displays new iconographic elements that represent Daoist ideals.⁷ It is also surprising that Watson's discussion of esoteric Buddhism during the Tang dynasty does not include the spectacular finds from the pagoda at Famen Temple in Shaanxi Province.⁸ Throughout *The Arts of China to A.D. 900*, it is disappointing that epigraphic evidence is scarcely mentioned and the art of calligraphy is not considered.

Supplementing the text are a chronology, one all-purpose map of China indicating major sites, a glossary of Chinese and Japanese characters, a cumbersome bibliography, and a minimal index. Here as elsewhere, Professor Watson was ill-served by his copyeditor at Yale University Press, for these apparatus have many errors. Such a book is indeed a monumental and ambitious undertaking, but considering its problems and lacunae, the niche it can usefully fill is not clear.

Notes

1. For the Anguo temple find see: Cheng Xuehua, "Tang tiejin huacai shike xuanxiang" (A selection of Tang dynasty gilded and polychromed sculptures), *Wenwu*, no. 7 (1961): 61–63, fig. 9. The image of Acala in the Field Museum (FM 121386) is illustrated in Berthold Laufer, "A Bird's-Eye View of Chinese Art," *Journal of the American Institute of Architects* 10 (1922): 183–98, fig. 12. For the painting Watson intended to use and described on p. 198, section 4, see: Thomas Lawton, *Freer Gallery of Art Fiftieth Anniversary Exhibition*, vol. 2, *Chinese Figure Painting* (Washington, DC, 1973), pl. 3, where the painting is titled *Southern T'ang Emperor Playing Wei-ch'i* (F 11.195).
2. See *Zhongguo meishu quanji: huihua bian 1: yuanshi shehui zhi Nan Bei chao huihua* (Beijing, 1986), 57.
3. Kiyohiko Munakata, *Sacred Mountains in Chinese Art* (Urbana-Champaign: Krannert Art Gallery, University of Illinois, 1991), 28–33.
4. Robert Thorp, "Erlitou and the Search for the Xia," *Early China* 16 (1991): 1–38; and K. C. Chang, "The Origin of Shang and the Problem of Xia in Chinese Archaeology," in *The Great Bronze Age of China: A Symposium*, ed. George Kuwayama (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum, 1983), 10–15.
5. Archaeological team of the Qin tumulus of Shaanxi Province, *Qin Shihuang ling tong che ma* (Beijing, 1984), 27–33.

6. See Jean James, "Brief Notes: Some Iconographic Problems in Early Daoist-Buddhist Sculptures in China," *Archives of Asian Art* 42 (1989): 71–76.
7. Hou Yi, "Tang dai Daojiao shi zaoxiang changyang tianzun," *Wenwu*, no. 12 (1991): 42–47, fig. 1.
8. See Shi Xingbang et al., *Famensi digong zhenbao* (Precious cultural relics in the crypt of Famen Temple) (Xi'an, 1989); and Roderick Whitfield, "Esoteric Buddhist Elements in the Famensi Reliquary Deposit," *Asiatische Studien/Études Asiatiques* 44, no. 2 (1990): 247–66.

SUSAN N. ERICKSON

Traders and Raiders on China's Northern Frontier. By Jenny F. So and Emma C. Bunker. 208 pp., 206 illustrations, 40 in color. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press and Arthur Sackler Gallery, 1996. \$35.00 paper.

This beautifully illustrated volume has been produced in connection with the exhibition held at the Arthur Sackler Gallery from 19 November 1995 to 2 September 1996. The first of its two parts consists of six individually authored chapters, in which Jenny So (chapters 2, 3, and 6) and Emma Bunker (chapters 1, 4, and 5) explore the contacts between the northern pastoral peoples of the steppe region and China from the second millennium B.C. to the first century A.D. The second is the catalogue of the exhibition, which consists of 104 entries of mostly individual artifacts.

It is immediately apparent that *Traders and Raiders* represents an attempt to go beyond the simple description of art objects and their historical context. The popular "trade or raid" characterization of the relationship between China and the nomads is based on the notion that the nomadic mode of production requires the acquisition of external products. This need translates into a chronic tension between pastoralists and agriculturalists, which causes the former, if unable to obtain the needed products by trade, to resort to war (raid).¹ Whereas some historians accentuate the military aspect of the confrontation, the authors' preference for economic and cultural interchange allows for a more balanced view, which stresses the symbiotic aspect of the relationship. Hence, trade occupies a central position in So and Bunker's historical reconstruction, which hinges on the structural relevance of exchange with respect to the development, in the frontier zone, of special forms of artistic expression and production techniques.

Chapter 1, "The People, the Land, the Economy," is a useful introduction to the geography and history

of the land of the steppe nomads. In chapter 2, "Early Trade and Contact," the beginning of the interaction between "steppe and sown" is traced back to the latter part of the second millennium B.C., when the region known in the archaeological literature as the "Northern Zone" of China, which extends from Ningxia to Shaanxi, northern Shanxi, Hebei, Inner Mongolia, and Liaoning, already featured substantial cultural differences from the Chinese Shang dynasty and was home to a discrete bronze metallurgical culture. Daggers and knives with animal-head or jingle pommels, harness bells, and the still-mysterious "bow-shaped fitting" are regarded as typical of this period, and the finding of several northern objects in Chinese tombs, such as that of Fu Hao, the consort of the Shang king Wu Ding (ca. 1200 B.C.), suggests the existence of a network of exchange and communication beyond the traditional boundaries of China. The authors divide the north into two discrete cultural areas, separated by the Taihang Mountains, though from the point of view of shared object types and motifs both areas belong to the same bronze culture (p. 38).

This zone also had a close relationship with the west, in particular south Siberia and Central Asia.² Chapter 3, "Expanded Cultural Exchange: ca. 1000–500 B.C.," focuses on this relationship, particularly on the shape of vessels, personal ornaments, and horse and chariot fittings. Evidence related to the role of the horse is essential to our understanding of pastoral nomadism in the Northern Zone, and recent archaeological research seems to confirm that the origin of technology related to chariots and horse domestication must be sought in the west, particularly in Central Asia.³ Whether its appearance in north China should be attributed to sudden migrations or to a gradual process of cultural transmission is a moot point. Certainly, during the first half of the first millennium B.C. we see in the Northern Zone an expansion of cultures comparable to the horse-riding nomads of Central Asia. Some burials have yielded a large number of weapons, suggesting the formation of a mature military aristocracy. In these martial societies women could hold leading positions and participate in war (pp. 44–45). While these general trends are common to various northern areas, discrete cultural centers can also be identified in Inner Mongolia, Liaoning, Hebei, the Beijing region, and the Ningxia-Gansu region.

Chapter 4, entitled "Luxury Exports from China to the North: Sixth–First Century B.C.," introduces the central thesis of the book: that the north constituted a specialized market for Chinese luxury goods produced for, and indeed commissioned by, a nomadic clientele. This bold theory offers a stimulating interpretation of the growing presence of northern motifs in China, attributing the emergence of this trade pattern to factors such as migrations from the west, conversion from "seminomadism" to "full-scale transhumance," and

establishment of "business agreements" with Chinese manufacturers. According to this argument, the people living to the west of the Taihang Mountains were fully developed nomads who, coming from the far northwest (presumably Central Asia), moved to Gansu, Ningxia, and the Ordos region. They needed Chinese products more than the mixed economic groups living east of the Taihang Mountains. The Guyuan-Qingyang archaeological region in particular provides evidence of Chinese imports, such as *ge*-halberd blades, and other objects—belt hooks and yoke ornaments—that point to Chinese workmanship (pp. 55–56). A Chinese commercial presence is perceived also in the Ordos region, where gold and silver artifacts with Chinese characters indicating their weight have been found.

The evidence gathered, however, falls short of being fully convincing. Besides controversial issues related to accurate dating and provenance of the objects in question, textual or archaeological data remain very scant and may support a number of different hypotheses. For instance, at Yujiashuang, a site in Pengpu County (Ningxia) fully consistent with the Guyuan-Qingyang culture of the fifth–fourth century B.C., the intrusive element appears to be a northern Mongolic people, whose features resemble the inhabitants of Mongolia and Manchuria and point to a northeastern, rather than western, origin of at least part of the population.⁴ The question of population movements is very complex, but clearly pastoral groups were able to move in multiple directions across a broad area and shared numerous cultural traits, in particular with respect to metallurgy. Hopefully, future research along the lines of Chernykh's excellent definition of metallurgical zones will provide a key to understanding the extent and cultural relevance of migrations.⁵

The study of contacts between the north and China should take into consideration, first of all, the economic and historical causes that may have led to the creation of conditions favorable to trade. Among these, the great expansion of pastoral production in the north, archaeologically documented by the increase of animal remains and changes in ritual practices, must have played a fundamental role. Historically, the most conspicuous phenomena in sixth–fifth-century China were the recrudescence of interstate conflicts and the steady northern advance of the states of Qin, Zhao, and Yan, which caused the incorporation of many non-Chinese peoples. Chinese states involved in military build-up must have needed animals of which the pastoral nomads had a surplus, and it is reasonable to assume that this situation resulted in the increased commercial and cultural ties expressed by objects such as the belt plaques and gold ornaments illustrated here—high-value transportable commodities easy to use in trade transactions. This theme is further explored in chapter 5, "Chinese Luxury Goods Enhanced: Fifth–First Century B.C.," which shows the development, in China,

of ornaments inspired by northern motifs and the enrichment of Chinese art through the introduction of foreign techniques such as *cloisonné*, granulation, strip-twisted wire, and linked chains (pp. 74–75). Artistic miscegenation is also evident in the evolution of belt ornaments and fasteners, examined in chapter 6.

Finally, the authors ought to be complimented for a choice of objects that privileges variety without sacrificing aesthetic beauty and technical interest. Each catalogue entry includes a meticulous description with additional notes based on archaeological sources that greatly enhance the value of the book as an essential reference tool. A few inaccuracies, such as Chinese *che* instead of *lun* for wheel (p. 21), or the indiscriminate use of the word *tribe* to refer to non-Chinese groups, where *people*, *state*, *community*, or *culture* would have been more appropriate, do not detract from the value of the work.

This book introduces the lover of Chinese art to the glittery world of peoples who were for a long time the conveyor belt of cultural contacts between China and the west. Moreover, it illustrates how these peoples also formed a mosaic of independent and yet interconnected cultures, which, in the first millennium B.C., constituted the source, for China, not only of military challenges but also of artistic and economic contacts whose relevance for the development of Chinese civilization as a whole has barely begun to be probed.

Notes

1. See Sechin Jagchid and V. J. Symons, *Peace, War and Trade along the Great Wall* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989).
2. See Lin Yun, "A Reexamination of the Relationship between Bronzes of the Shang Culture and of the Northern Zone," in *Studies of Shang Archaeology*, ed. K. C. Chang (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 237–73.
3. See David Anthony and Nikolai B. Vinogradov, "Birth of the Chariot," *Archaeology* 48, no. 2 (1995): 36–41; and David W. Anthony and Dorcas R. Brown, "The Origins of Horseback Riding," *Antiquity* 65 (1991): 22–38.
4. Han Kangxin, "Ningxia Pengpu Yujiashuang mudi rengu zhongxi tedian zhi yanjiu," *Kaogu xuebao*, no. 1 (1995): 107–25.
5. N. Chernykh, *Ancient Metallurgy in the USSR* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

NICOLA DI COSMO

Ink Plum: The Making of a Chinese Scholar-Painting Genre.

By Maggie Bickford. xix + 295 pp., 40 plates. Cambridge, New York, and Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1996. \$85.00.

From a doctoral dissertation to an exhibition and finally to a full-length book, Maggie Bickford's *Ink Plum: The Making of a Chinese Scholar-Painting Genre* has set an outstanding example of what can be done on a typical art historical subject deep-rooted in Chinese culture. In its broad scope and thorough treatment, it finds few equals in the scholarship of Chinese art history.

Ink plum is a subject so dear to the hearts of Chinese scholar-painters that for almost a thousand years it has symbolized endurance even in the vicissitudes of winter as well as triumph over hardship and suffering in time of adversity. For scholar-painters, it is a subject not difficult to learn but easy to express, not only in China but also in Korea and Japan during the last several centuries. Bickford traces the subject back to the earliest form of Chinese literature, the *Shijing* (The classic of poetry), which dates to the early part of the first millennium B.C. While extant paintings do not go back that far, evidence of its existence is reflected in the decorative arts of later periods, especially those recently excavated from Tang, Song, and earlier tombs.

In tracing the development of plum as a subject in Chinese literature and art, Bickford charts a number of major changes. First, the treatment of plum as fruit and flower in the early periods evolved into the ink plum of the Song and Yuan. Artistically, this subject first appeared as background in figure paintings, then as a component in bird-and-flower paintings. Geographically, it was transmitted from the northern to the southern part of China. It also became part of the three-in-one subject in both poetry and painting as one of the "Three Friends of the Cold Winter," together with pine and bamboo. Importantly, its development coincided with the growth of literati painting during the late Northern Song and throughout the Southern Song and Yuan periods, when the Han Chinese faced the domination first of the northern half of the country and then of the whole country by the so-called barbarians from the north (Liao, Jin, and the Mongols). In the late Yuan period, ink plum was finally developed into a standard genre of painting by Wang Mian. Proud and tenacious, but also elegant and beautiful, it became the symbol of the scholar-recluse in time of adversity and suffering. In her examination of all these developments, Bickford adduces great quantities of literary and artistic material, treating her subject with the thoroughness of serious scholarship. She offers good discussions of style, iconography, art theory, intellectual history, and the whole cultural context.

In the course of her discussion, Bickford touches upon some of the most important ideas connected with the subject of plum. She examines in detail the treat-

ment of plum by such poets of the Nanchao (Southern Dynasties during the period of Six Dynasties) and later periods as Tao Qian of Jin, Wang Wei, Du Fu, Bai Juyi in the Tang, and Lin Fu, Mei Yaochen, Ouyang Xiu, and Su Shi of the Northern Song period, as well as by the painters Xu Xi, Zhongren, Yang Wujiu, Chao Mengjian, Wu Taisu, and Wang Mian. In each instance, the major contribution is well specified—whether it be Su Shi's contribution of several basic terms for the expression of plum blossoms, the contribution of Chan Buddhist ideas on the subject, or the development of ink plum in connection with literati painting.

One problem in dealing with such a vast body of material over a long period of time is the scholar's sense of obligation to do justice to all the material collected. As a result of this obligation, Bickford's treatment sometimes seems to lack focus. Although some writers and artists receive special studies, notably Tao Qian, Wang Wei, Du Fu, Bai Juyi, and Su Shi, their contributions to the symbolic expression of flowering plum can still use further definition. Yet, as to the visual development, the author more satisfactorily treats the early artists of the ink plum, such as Zhongren, Yang Wujiu, and Chao Mengjian—all except Xu Xi. Luckily for Bickford, enough key works of these painters, as well as of Wu Taisu and Wang Mian, have come down to the present day to allow her to weave her ideas into a coherent theory. Perhaps this study will lead to similar studies on the other two of the "Three Friends of the Cold Winter," namely, the pine and the bamboo.

The book ends with a discussion of the culmination of the literati ink plum tradition in the late Yuan painter Wang Mian, who was probably the starting point for Bickford's study of this subject. The considerable biographical and historical material available on Wang Mian, as well as paintings, calligraphy, and poetry, offer the opportunity for very thorough treatment. Indeed, as a complex personality living in a chaotic age, Wang Mian presents many extremely interesting problems. Bickford has thoroughly studied all the related material and proposes some basic answers to the problems of the line between the professional and amateur status of artists in later Chinese painting, between material success and spiritual value in the literati, and between loyalty to one's own dynasty and desire for fame and success in the court of even a new regime. All these topics are thoughtfully presented, giving us a vivid picture of the artist and his time.

From my point of view, one of Wang Mian's inscriptions, the *Mei Xiansheng zhuan* (Biography of Mr. Plum) (pl. 30), deserves a full translation with extensive notes. Although Bickford paraphrases this piece, it should receive more attention. Perhaps the fact that this painting is no longer extant and thus not available for a thorough study has kept her from undertaking a fuller examination. Still, we are fortunate to have a photograph from which to study the text. A thorough treatment

will definitely yield more understanding of Wang Mian himself.

Methodologically, Bickford's book represents the culmination of a long line of development in Chinese art history, from traditional Chinese connoisseurship to stylistic analysis, iconographic study, intellectual history, and cultural context. In some ways, the long history of Chinese culture provides ample material for the contextual approach, permitting consideration of the relation between art and many other human activities, such as philosophy, religion, history, literature, and popular culture. It is significant that, of a total of twenty some dissertations on Yuan art history recently completed in the U.S. and Europe, Bickford's on plum is the only one that has been published, undoubtedly because of its broad scope and extensive treatment of its subject from the earliest history of China all the way down to the fourteenth century. The volume's uniqueness in this regard speaks to its importance.

In some ways, this book is an homage to the late Professor Shujiro Shimada, who began his studies of ink plum during the 1930s and whose help was instrumental in Bickford's study. There is no doubt that, were he still alive today, he would be very pleased with the appearance of this book.

CHU-TSING LI

Byzantine Magic. Edited by Henry Maguire. 187 pp., approx. 37 black and white illustrations. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1995. Distributed by Harvard University Press. \$30.00.

During his successful tenure as Director of Byzantine Studies at Dumbarton Oaks, the Harvard Center for Byzantine Studies, Henry Maguire brought a number of new projects to completion. The present volume, *Byzantine Magic*, collects the results of a colloquium he organized at Dumbarton Oaks in February of 1993. *Byzantine Magic* is an important volume for historians of the medieval Middle East and Europe, thanks, in large part, to Maguire's broad frame for inquiry, which extends beyond the textual and the merely anecdotal. According to his succinct introductory remarks, the book seeks to answer fundamental questions about the place of magic in Byzantium and to introduce Byzantine magic for future comparative study along the lines posed in the following questions: "How did magic in Byzantium differ from magic in western Europe during the same period and why? Why were there virtually no witches in the East, but only 'foolish old women'? How does magic in the Islamic world relate to early Byzantine practices? What were the connections between the magical learning of the Italian

Renaissance and the Byzantine tradition?" (p. 7). *Byzantine Magic* thus serves an immediate purpose by introducing the serious study of its subject to the currently burgeoning group of scholars interested in the magical practices of historic cultures.

The essays offered here are carefully arranged so as to provide a foundation for further work. Thus, "The Fathers of the Church and the Evil Eye" by Matthew W. Dickie begins with early theological texts, while "The Archaeological Context of Magic in the Early Byzantine Period" by James Russell looks to material remains associated with the *baskanos ophthalmos*, and Maguire's own "Magic and the Christian Image" directs our attention to one substantial category of artistic remains that attest to other magical beliefs and practices: textiles (although these hardly figure in the canonical artistic genres of art-historical study). Similarly, the widely appealing hagiography and popular tales addressed in "Holy and Unholy Miracle Workers" by Alexander Kazhdan may be contrasted to their reception by two extraordinarily sophisticated minds of the elite eleventh- and twelfth-century literati, explored in "Reactions of Two Byzantine Intellectuals to the Theory and Practice of Magic: Michael Psellos and Michael Italikos" by John Duffy. A third twelfth-century mind, revealed in "Balsamon on Magic: From Roman Secular Law to Byzantine Canon Law" by Marie Theres Fögen, provides yet another Byzantine perspective on its own traditions. Fögen's diachronic sweep also allows her to conclude that Byzantine magic was domesticated concurrently with and subsequent to its Christianization. This insight helped prepare me for the still-untapped documentary evidence from the Palaeologan period described in "A Contribution to the Study of Palaeologan Magic" by Richard P. H. Greenfield. "Magic in Slavia Orthodoxa: The Written Tradition" by Robert Mathiesen, the final article, illuminates the afterlife of Byzantine magic by surveying the known Slavic texts, but it is also educational for its crosscultural comparative approach, thus exemplifying the comparative study called for in Maguire's introduction.

This collection establishes magic as a significant category of Byzantine culture despite its previous exclusion from traditional studies of empire, religion and theology, art history and archaeology, and, to a lesser degree, law and science. Interestingly, magic could make an appearance under most if not all of these subject headings. This volume also demonstrates that the field still needs a geographical and chronological survey to attract the interest of a wider general audience. In addition, illustrations are limited to the art and archaeology articles. While generally of good quality and sufficiently numerous, the reproductions are sometimes difficult to "read" due to the nature of the material (e.g., tiny broken amulets and miniature motifs on large textiles). Now, more than ever, the field needs a critical review of past scholarship: this reviewer, for example,

could find no discussion of coeval pagan developments in the early Byzantine world although such subjects have recently gained a considerable audience because of publications by Garth Fowden, Pierre Chuvin, and Thomas Mathews.¹ (Similarly, my own historiographic interests lead me to wonder how many creative and scholarly writers on Byzantium were, like Yeats, personally interested in magic.)

Byzantine Magic is, moreover, of greatest use for Byzantinists already involved in the study of magic. Other readers would probably have benefited from a general bibliography at the end of the volume.² A more comprehensive and balanced index would have better served a wider audience as well: the index is inconsistent in its topical emphases (thus, we find the heading "fertility customs, modern" but no heading for Byzantine fertility customs although discussions of some amulets, for example, might be grouped here) and difficult to use in searches for issues and themes (most entries are names of people [or of texts] with fairly short lists of citations, whereas subject lists are much longer, with few subentries). Consequently, the index may be more easily utilized by those already acquainted with the scholars, historical figures, and texts associated with Byzantine magic.

Henry Maguire and the other authors are to be congratulated for their timely, considered engagement with current inquiries into magic in other historic cultures, their demonstration of the significance of magic in Byzantine culture, and their welcome invitation to continue investigation of Byzantium's own responses to its magical practices and beliefs. Additional studies are indeed necessary, if only to enhance and complement the achievements of the present volume.

Notes

1. Garth Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes: A Historical Approach to the Late Pagan Mind* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986); Pierre Chuvin, *A Chronicle of the Last Pagans* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990); and Thomas F. Mathews, *The Clash of Gods: A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).
2. So that careful perusal of footnotes is not the only way to find more lavishly illustrated volumes, such as, for example, the exhibition catalogue by Eunice Dauterman Maguire, Henry P. Maguire, and Maggie J. Duncan-Flowers, *Art and Holy Powers in the Early Christian House* (Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1989).

THELMA K. THOMAS

Beyond the Java Sea: Art of Indonesia's Outer Islands. By Paul Michael Taylor and Lorraine V. Aragon, with assistance from Annamarie L. Rice. 318 pp., illustrations (some color), maps. Washington, DC: The National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution; New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1991. Out of print.

Published in connection with the Smithsonian's exhibition of the art of peoples living outside the political centers of present-day Indonesia, this volume represents the first large-scale presentation of this art to a cosmopolitan public in the United States and, through the catalogue, to English readers everywhere. The volume's textual and visual scope, as well as its extensive bibliography, make it the most significant survey-level contribution so far to both the academic curriculum and the general perception of what is "art" in island Southeast Asia.

Despite important previous studies and exhibitions in this field (e.g., by the Barbier-Müller Museum, Jerome Feldman, Mattiebelle Gittinger, and Susan Rodgers, to mention some of the most seminal names), this is the first volume to present such a large cross-section of arts from so many parts of Indonesia. It covers metalwork (swords, jewelry, warrior costumes); textiles (barkcloth, ikat, bead and shell work, supplementary weft and embroidered work); wood, bone, bamboo, and stone carving; architecture; less material art forms like writing (repository, in some of the cultures, of a more extensive oral tradition); and ritual performance. With this broad scope, and ample references to more in-depth studies on individual topics, *Beyond the Java Sea* succeeds in presenting the peoples from Nias, Lampung, Sulawesi, the Moluccas, and Irian alongside Dayak, Batak, and other local peoples as members of complex, richly orchestrated cultures with both local and regional experiences.

The book is divided into two sections: "Appreciating Outer-Island Art" and the "Catalogue"—the latter representing nearly five-sixths of the book. The brief discussions, in each section, of environmental, economic, social, and religious contexts and practices, particularly the passing of finely wrought objects along kinship lines and exchanges—basic ethnographic sketches—mitigate the exoticization of the "other" so often found in studies that isolate art from its social context. Such exoticizing studies privilege the art's formal resonances with a Western modernist aesthetic, ignoring the idea that aesthetics are at least in part culturally rooted.

The numerous photographic images of women (historical and contemporary) as well as the inclusion, as a matter of course, of textile arts ensure that both genders are here represented more equally than they are in more narrowly defined studies of indigenous arts. Another strong point is the discussion of the errors that arise from applying the terms *primitive*, *tribal*, and *indigenous* too broadly. Strategies used to move beyond

a definition of *indigenous* as “pure,” “untainted,” and “remote from more evolved forms or political centers” include appropriate references to interregional influences and the discussion of court arts of the outer islands in the last chapter. Finally, the extensive use of photographs from different eras, including the present, helps dispel the misimpression that indigenous, nonurbanized peoples exist in a timeless, static haze.

The exhibition documented in this volume was one of three high-profile shows presented during the 1990–91 Festival of Indonesia in America, a series of events endorsed (to mixed reviews) by both countries’ governments and business communities. Compared to “Sculpture of Indonesia,” curated by Jan Fontein, and “Court Arts of Indonesia,” curated by Helen Jessup, the “Beyond the Java Sea” exhibition occupied a more liminal position. Classical sculpture is still primary for most art historians (whether Euro-Americans or Asians trained in the Euro-American tradition); court arts too, though less known, fit more closely with European notions of *objets d’art* and have been sporadically collected over the last hundred years. By contrast, the so-called primitive arts of Pacific and Asian peoples have only recently attracted the collectors’ market, earlier dominated by African art.

Of the three main Festival exhibitions, “Beyond the Java Sea,” then, represented the area of Asian art that suffers most from ingrained Euro-American ideas about the relationship between art forms/media/styles and hierarchies of civilization perpetuated in various versions of cultural Darwinism. Even more than “Beyond the Java Sea,” however, the Festival exhibition that resonated least for the American scholarly and commercial establishment (and was thus included only at the last minute, without high-quality publication support or nationally recognized exhibition venues) was the “Modern Indonesian Art” exhibition, curated by Joseph Fischer and four others, including this reviewer. To their credit, and in keeping with their commitment to challenging elitist “fine arts” hierarchies, Taylor and Aragon refer both to the classical art-historical dismissal of “crafts,” which has affected the reception of court arts, and to the vigorous contemporary art production in Indonesia (though they stress the ethnographic aspect of the artists and skew some of the art-historical information).

The problems with this volume reflect challenges that all museumized approaches face in their collection and presentation of material—problems discussed extensively in anthropology and cultural studies in the last decade. These will be evident to any discerning reader. More significantly, the authors acknowledge these problems, past and present, and attempt, at times successfully, to redress them. Still missing from the narrative, however, are the voices of the peoples under discussion: though bits of poetry and snippets from interviews are effectively included, it is still the voice of the (mostly foreign) academic that dominates.

For those who have incorporated significant portions of non-Hindu/Buddhist, non-Muslim arts into their teaching of Southeast Asian arts, this book comes as a gift to both instructor and student. Although it involves only a modest amount of original research, *Beyond the Java Sea* offers the most comprehensive survey of the literature on the topic as well as rare anecdotal information from the authors’ curatorial travels. The book is a *tour de force* of organization and presentation of earlier, scattered research and photographic materials, archival as well as personal.

Supplemented with in-depth studies by area specialists and the important critiques of museum-based approaches to culture of the last decade, *Beyond the Java Sea* can serve as a core textbook for both graduate and undergraduate teaching. With this documentation of objects that are disintegrating, evolving, or being removed (through legal or illegal means) from their places of origin, we are better equipped to embrace little-known areas of knowledge and experience. Through their text as well as their varied and extensive imaging of the peoples concerned, books written with appropriately open-ended frameworks can, I believe, rectify the objectifying, sanitizing, misrepresenting effects of museum displays. Such an achievement is partially evident here.

Although this volume mostly avoids the art-historical/museological myopia that ignores information beyond the physical object, the problems of displaying and interpreting other cultures—the more acute the further from that of the writers—do surface at times: the authors, employed in a venture sponsored by governments and corporations, have one foot within the limiting institutions of scholarship, collecting, entrepreneurship, and diplomacy and the other foot outside, groping toward equitable crosscultural exchanges, people to people. The most radical departure from confining frameworks lies in the book’s narrative, spun out between the broad array of stunning objects and representations of real people, in reproductions and photographs, available to the reader who will undertake also to read between the lines.

ASTRI WRIGHT

Neuassyrische Glyptik des 8.–7. Jh. v. Chr. unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Siegelungen auf Tafeln und Tonverschlüssen. State Archives of Assyria Studies, vol. 1. By Suzanne Herbordt. xx + 276 pp., 36 plates, 1 map. Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project of the Academy of Finland and the Finnish Oriental Society, 1992. \$39.50 paper.

Among the wealth of specialized period studies of the glyptic art of ancient western Asia that have appeared in the last five years, Suzanne Herbordt’s book on

Neo-Assyrian seal art is one of the best. She takes it as her task to assemble most known impressions of Neo-Assyrian seals preserved on clay tablets and various clay artifacts (e.g., chest sealings, sack sealings, etc.). Her decision to devote the study only to seal impressions is logical and welcome, since the great majority of these Neo-Assyrian seal impressions have secure provenances, and many occur on tablets whose texts include date formulae providing a secure date for the use of the seal. I mention these two issues of provenance and dating specifically, since the study of actual surviving Neo-Assyrian seals (as opposed to the ancient impressions of seals on clay artifacts) has long been hampered by the lack of large numbers of securely provenanced and dated examples. Perhaps that is why Herbordt's study is the first monographic treatment of Neo-Assyrian glyptic ever to appear in print, despite the importance of the Neo-Assyrian period in history and art and despite the large number of surviving Neo-Assyrian seals. Because she is working with mostly provenanced material, much of which is dated, Herbordt can make observations not only on issues of chronology but also on seal praxis, patterns of image usage, and social issues of seal ownership. Many of the impressions included in this book are published for the first time.

Herbordt opens her study with an excellent *Forschungsgeschichte*. The glyptic art of the Neo-Assyrian period is rich, and the seals themselves are often quite large and handsomely carved. Thus past studies have focused almost exclusively on these often beautiful artifacts of glyptic art rather than on the sometimes fragmentary and poorly preserved seal impressions appearing on clay documents. Previous studies tended to concentrate on identifying iconographical and stylistic repertoires, as well as establishing a secure chronology for the period. The starting point has traditionally been to assign a seal design to one of the four major carving styles (Linear, Cut, Drilled, and Modeled) as established by Porada and Moortgat. Because of the lack of provenanced and dated seals, the overall chronology of the period is tenuous, and in general research has failed to move much beyond formal typology. Another traditional area of research concerns the appearance (starting in the ninth century B.C. but not occurring in large numbers until the eighth century B.C.) of stamp seals in Neo-Assyrian glyptic. Herbordt, like most scholars before her, prefers to treat cylinder and stamp seals separately.

The largest and most important deposits of Neo-Assyrian sealings come from Nimrud (144 separate designs in her catalogue) and Nineveh (204 designs) and are now housed in the British Museum (some of the Nimrud sealings are in Baghdad). The author provides an excellent discussion of the archaeological circumstances surrounding the discovery of the seal impressions from these two sites, including helpful plans. She also includes the published sealings from Assur (15 designs), Balawat/Imgur-Enlil (3 designs), Gezer (3

designs), Tell Halaf/Guzana (5 designs), Khorsabad/Dur Šarrukin (1 design), Karkemiš (2 designs), Sultantepe (4 designs), the area of Mardin (2 designs), the area of Harran (1 design [see p. 12], for which there does not appear to be a catalogue entry), and 29 unprovenanced examples ("Sonstige"). Although the dated material ranges from the ninth century B.C. to the fall of the Assyrian empire, the bulk of it dates in the seventh century B.C. The sealings were found in various types of structures, including temples, palaces, and private houses.

Perhaps the most innovative part of Herbordt's study is chapter 3, on seal praxis in the Neo-Assyrian period, a topic previously treated in only a summary manner in somewhat obscure publications. She carefully reviews the terminology (both modern and ancient), the function of seals and seal impressions, the types of written documents (both public and private) on which seal impressions occur in the period, objects used in place of a seal to deliver an impression, and the differences between Neo-Assyrian seal praxis and seal praxis in the Neo-Babylonian and Middle Assyrian periods. Herbordt establishes a typology of the uninscribed clay artifacts that carry seal impressions and provides excellent descriptions and detailed drawings of select examples (both recto and verso). The types of objects that were sealed include strings (bullae, the great majority; see her fig. 6), sacks, jars, writing tablets, chests, knobs, trunks, and baskets. Interestingly, almost all the seals that occur on these uninscribed sealed artifacts are stamp seals (p. 69).

Eschewing the traditional stylistic approach, Herbordt in chapter 4 analyzes her material according to thematic design. Scenes on cylinder and stamp seals are treated in separate sections. Although the author at times makes thematic linkages between scenes found on stamps and those found on cylinders, her overall tendency is to keep scenes on the two shapes distinct. Each section on the individual themes is a mini-essay discussing not only the evidence provided by the seal impressions but also comparanda from designs on surviving cylinder and stamp seals and monumental wall relief and painting. Herbordt also discusses the chronological lifespan of the image as gleaned from the archival information of the seal impressions. She includes a few brief remarks on the evidence for the origins of the theme, although generally tracing it back only as far as the second half of the second millennium B.C. (Middle Assyrian, Mitanni, Kassite, Hittite, Neo-Hittite, Middle Syrian, and Middle Elamite periods). The author sometimes comments on the continuation of a theme into the Achaemenid period (it is unclear why she is selective here) but generally limits her comparisons to the sealings from the Murašu archive. (All of these comments on the Achaemenid continuation of Neo-Assyrian themes will have to be modified with the future publication of the sealings from the Persepolis Fortification archive.) There are also some

iconographic observations (mainly the identification of deities). Despite her desire to move the analysis away from issues of style, Herbordt nevertheless frequently notes that certain themes are confined to one or two stylistic groups. She also comments on seal praxis, isolating patterns of use of particular themes by particular offices or officials and thus providing much interesting data for a true social history of Neo-Assyrian glyptic art.

The thematic analysis in chapter 4 thus constitutes a short, comprehensive survey of Assyrian glyptic, and it will, I am certain, become a handy and often-consulted reference tool. The only disappointing aspects of this chapter are the confusing conflation of hunt and heroic combat scenes and the unclear distinction between "deity" and "hero." I also found the observations on the origins of a particular theme often too short and cryptic (this appears to have been done purposely, lest the study become too unwieldy); for instance, there is no allowance for the revival of themes from seals surviving from periods predating the Middle Assyrian (note the occurrence of an Old Assyrian seal on the Vassal Treaties of Esarhaddon).

Chapter 5 is entirely devoted to the so-called Assyrian royal seal types (with rare exceptions the scene shows the king stabbing a rampant lion) and other office seals that survive in impressions. Herbordt provides an excellent summary of the evidence and history of scholarship on the royal seal types. Following Millard's earlier publication of the royal seal type, Herbordt devises a typology based upon the size and curvature of the seal face. She identifies three main groups (small, medium, and large; *contra* Millard, who identified only two major groups), each group having two subdivisions. She rightly corrects Millard's theory that the inscribed examples of the royal seal type somehow were used differently (Millard's discussion of seal praxis was short and cryptic). In fact, the inscribed examples all come from the time of Assurbanipal, and seals with and without inscriptions were used to seal the same types of material. Herbordt declares (p. 134) that all the royal seal types were used to identify palace property (but cf. a remark in the conclusion, p. 158, that the royal seal type was also used as the seal of the king on decrees and edicts). She is also surely right to conclude (p. 136) that the design of the royal seal type has its origins in the Neo-Assyrian period and cannot be linked directly to any previous periods.

The discussion of other office seals seems somewhat problematic. Because many of these seals occur not on written tablets (where the name of the office may be preserved in the text) but on uninscribed lumps of clay, the identification of an office seal is not a straightforward proposition. Herbordt's main criteria for the identification of an office seal appear to be: 1) the context of the findspot of the seal impressions; 2) associated seal impressions from the findspot; 3) the high artistic quality of the design (often including a decorative

border similar to that seen on the royal seal type); 4) the fact that the design does not occur in the corpus of known private seals. The last criterion runs the risk of being a circular argument. In total she isolates some eighteen different design types that may mark office seals (almost all the seals are stamp seals). By far the most interesting of these seals are two preserving a scene showing a hunter on horseback spearing animals (pl. 31.1–2). Herbordt identifies the rider as Assurbanipal, based upon the fact that he frequently showed himself on horseback. She does note, however, the absence of the characteristic royal tiara and ribbon, as well as the presence of strong Iranian characteristics in the design (the clothing [trousers] on the riders and the theme of hunt from horseback; she references the famous cylinder seal of Cyrus of Anšan [PFS 93*] preserved in the Persepolis Fortification archive). She suggests that the Assyrian seal cutters could very well have used a seal such as PFS 93* as a prototype for these two designs. I would argue that her seals on pl. 31.1–2 are in fact Iranian. Close observation of the stylistic qualities of these seals shows that they have little to do with Assyrian glyptic styles. The smooth, deep modeling and the form of the human bodies are clearly Elamite (see my comments, with another similar seal from Persepolis, PFS 51, in "Seals and the Elite at Persepolis: Some Observations on Early Achaemenid Persian Art," *Arx Orientalis* 21 [1991]: 3–7).

A short chapter on seals of the gods follows. In fact the only securely identified surviving examples of seals belonging to deities and used on a tablet (as versus votives) are found on the famous Vassal Treaties of Esarhaddon.

In the conclusion, the author reiterates and expands on some of her earlier observations. Her points on the polyglot nature of the Assyrian royal capitals shed light on the foreign areas that may have influenced Neo-Assyrian glyptic. She rightly stresses that the study of Neo-Assyrian stamp seals has too often taken a back seat to the study of cylinder seals (a "stiefmütterliche Behandlung"!). Some stylistic observations basically confirm earlier theories regarding the chronological range of these styles. The author dislikes the term "Modeled Style," since the style in fact combines a Drilled Style and a Cut Style (p. 153). In this she is correct, but like her predecessors she has oversimplified the situation. In fact, what currently goes under the term "Modeled Style" encompasses a wide range of styles that use various techniques to achieve a plastic rendering of human and animal form. In my opinion, a thorough study of the Modeled Style would significantly advance our understanding of Neo-Assyrian glyptic. Herbordt feels strongly that her thematic arrangement of the sealings is preferable to a stylistic typology. She then summarizes the main findings of her study, the most important of which is the overarching statement that Neo-Assyrian glyptic exhibited a standardized and uniform production from the ninth to the seventh century B.C.

The last half of the book is a well-organized, useful catalogue of images that the author has collected. The description section of each entry includes, where applicable, the occurrence of fingernail impressions or other substitutes for seals, the number of impressions of the seal, where it is applied on the document, and a transliteration and translation of the seal inscription (where present). The commentary sets out the problems in assigning the seal to a specific user when there are discrepancies (e.g., too many or too few seal owners named in the texts), chronological comments, and, where appropriate, comparanda, both sealings and seals.

This is an excellent publication. My one major reservation concerns the author's somewhat dismissive attitude toward issues of style; I feel strongly that there is much to be learned from a close stylistic analysis of all Neo-Assyrian styles. For example, the author several times comments on the difficulty of distinguishing Neo-Assyrian from Neo-Babylonian seals (e.g., pp. 90 n. 154, 93–94; a seminal article by Edith Porada in 1947 still stands as the most definitive treatment of the issue);

careful stylistic analyses may yield some insight here. In this sense a close companion study to this work is a long journal article that appeared in the same year on Neo-Babylonian cylinder seals (B. Wittmann, "Babylonische Rollsiegel des 11.–7. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.," *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 23 [1992]: 169–289). The lack of large numbers of published, securely dated and provenanced Neo-Babylonian seal designs remains a major hindrance. A better understanding of the Neo-Assyrian styles is, however, now clearly within sight (the publication of the large collection of first-millennium B.C. cylinder seals in the British Museum will contribute substantially to all aspects of glyptic research for this period: D. Collon and P. H. Merrilles, *Catalogue of the Western Asiatic Seals in the British Museum, Cylinder Seals 5, Neo-Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid Periods*, London, in preparation). Herbordt's volume marks an important contribution to the study of Neo-Assyrian art, and we are much indebted to the author for this excellent and useful work.

MARK B. GARRISON

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